LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

BY

SIR G. A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., LL.D., I.C.S. (Retd.).

VOL. I.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. I

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

BY

SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., LL.D., I.C.S. (RETD.),

FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY; CORRESPONDANT ÉTRANGER DE L'INSTITUTS DE FRANCE; HONORARY FELLOW OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, THE ROYAL DANISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, THE SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-OUGRIENNE, THE ASSOCIATION PHONÉTIQUE INTERNATIONALE, THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION, THE NĀGARĪ PRACHĀRIṆĪ SABHĀ, AND THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY; FOREIGN ASSOCIATE MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE DE PARIS; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE KÖNIGLICHE GESELLSCHAFT DER WISSENSCHAFTEN ZU GÖTTINGEN.

CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1927

Government of India Publications are obtainable from the Government of India Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta, and from the following Agents :—

EUROPE.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA,
42, GROSVENOR GARDENS, LONDON, S.W. 1.

And at all Booksellers.

INDIA AND CEYLON.

Provincial Book Depôts :

MADRAS :—Office of the Superintendent, Government Press, Mount Road, Madras.
BOMBAY :—Superintendent, Government Book Depôt, Town Hall, Bombay.
SIND :—Library attached to the Office of the Commissioner in Sind, Karachi.
BENGAL :—Office of the Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, Writers' Buildings, Room No. 1, Ground Floor, Calcutta.
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH :—Office of the Superintendent of Government Press, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad.
PUNJAB :—Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore.
BURMA :—Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, Rangoon.
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR :—Office of the Central Provinces Secretariat, Nagpur.
ASSAM :—Office of the Superintendent, Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong.
BIHAR AND ORISSA :—Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, P. O. Gulzarbagh, Patna.
COORG :—Office of the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, Bangalore.
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE :—Office of the Manager, Government Printing and Stationery, Peshawar.

Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla.
W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.
R. Cambray & Co., Calcutta.
S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.
The Indian School Supply Depôt, 309, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta, and 226, Nawabpur, Dacca.
Butterworth & Co. (India), Ltd., Calcutta.
Rai M. C. Sarcar Bahadur & Sons, 90-2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
The Weldon Library, 17, Park Street, Calcutta.
Standard Literature Company, Limited, Calcutta.
Association Press, Calcutta.
Chukervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 13, College Square, Calcutta.
The Book Company, Calcutta.
James Murray & Co., 12, Government Place, Calcutta. (For Meteorological Publications only.)
Ray Chaudhury & Co., 68/5, Asutosh Mukherji Road, Calcutta.
The Oriental Publishing House, 34, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
B. C. Basak, Esq., Proprietor, Albert Library, Dacca.
Higginbothams, Madras.
V. Kalyanarama Iyer & Co., Madras.
P. R. Rama Iyer & Co., Madras.
Rochouse & Sons, Madras.
G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.
The Modern Stores, Salem, Madras.
Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
Bright & Co., Trivandrum.
The Booklover's Resort, Taikad, Trivandrum, South India.
V. S. Swaminathan, Bookseller, West Tower Street, Madura.
E. M. Gopalakrishna Kone, Pudumandapam, Madura.
Vijapur & Co., Vizagapatam.
Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.
D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay.
Sunder Pandurang, Bombay.
Ram Chandra Govind & Sons, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
N. M. Tripathi & Co., Booksellers, Princess Street, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
Proprietor, New Kitabkhana, Poona.
The Manager, Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona City.
S. S. Gondhalekar's Book Depôt, Publisher and Bookseller, Budhwar Chawk, Poona City.
Managing Director, Co-operative Bookstall, Booksellers and Publishers, Poona City.
Rama Krishna Bros., opposite Vishrambag, Poona City.
Karsandas Narandas & Sons, Surat.
Mangaldas & Sons, Booksellers and Publishers, Bhaga Talao, Surat.
Mrs. Radhabai Atmaram Sagoon, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
A. H. Wheeler & Co., Allahabad, Calcutta and Bombay.
R. B. Umedkar & Co., The Bharat Book Depôt, Dharwar.
The Standard Bookstall, Karachi, Quetta, Delhi, Murree and Rawalpindi.
The Karachi Book Depôt, Elphinstone Street, Camp, Karachi.
The Standard Bookstall, Quetta.
U. P. Malhotra & Co., Quetta.
J. Ray & Sons, 43 K. & L., Edwardes Road, Rawalpindi and Murree.
The Standard Book Depôt, Lahore, Lucknow, Nainital, Mussoorie, Dalhousie, Ambala Cantonment and Delhi.
N. B. Mathur, Supdt., Nazir Kanun Hind Press, Allahabad.
The North India Christian Tract and Book Society, 18, Clive Road, Allahabad.
Ram Dayal Agarwala, 184, Katra, Allahabad.
Manager, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., 41, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
Munshi Seeta Ram, Managing Proprietor, Indian Army Book Depôt, Juhi, Cawnpore.
Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore and Allahabad.
Rama Krishna & Sons, Booksellers, Anarkali, Lahore.
Puri Brothers, Booksellers and Publishers, Katcheri Road, Lahore.
The Tilak School Bookshop, Lahore.
The Standard Bookstall, Lahore.
Manager of the Imperial Book Depôt, 63, Chandney Chowk Street, Delhi.
Oxford Book and Stationery Company, Delhi.
Supdt., American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon.
Proprietor, Rangoon Times Press, Rangoon.
The Modern Publishing House, Ltd., 30, Phayre Street, Rangoon.
The International Buddhist Book Depôt, Post Box No. 971, Rangoon.
Burma Book Club, Ltd., Rangoon.
Manager, the "Ritavada," Nagpur.
Bhisey Brothers, Booksellers and Stationers, Sitabaldi, Nagpur.
S. C. Talukdar, Proprietor, Students & Co., Cooch Behar.
Times of Ceylon Co., Ltd., Colombo.
The Manager, Ceylon Observer, Colombo.
The Manager, The Indian Book Shop, Benares City.
The Srivilliputtur Co-operative Trading Union, Ltd., Srivilliputtur (Satur, S. I. R.).
Sanwari Lal, Esq., Pakariya Street, Pilibhit, United Provinces.
The Manager, Educational Book Depôt, Jubbulpore.
Raghunath Prasad & Sons, Patna City.
Dandekar Brothers, Indore City.
The Hyderabad Book Depôt, Chaderghat, Hyderabad (Deccan).

τοσαῦτα, εἰ τύχοι, γένη φωνῶν ἐστιν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἄφωνον· ἐὰν οὖν μὴ εἰδῶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος· καὶ ὁ λαλῶν, ἐν ἐμοὶ βάρβαρος.

I Corinthians, xiv, 10, 11.

The following is the list of volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India.

Vol. I. Part I. Introduction.
" " II. Comparative Vocabulary of Indian Languages.
" " III. Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.
" II. Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families.
" III. Part I. Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam.
" " II. Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
" " III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
" IV. Muṇḍā and Dravidian languages.
" V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.
Part I. Bengali and Assamese.
" II. Bihārī and Oriyā.
" VI. Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group (Eastern Hindī).
" VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group (Marāṭhī).
" VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group.
Part I. Sindhī and Lahndā.
" II. Dardic, or Piśācha, languages (including Kāshmīrī).
" IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.
Part I. Western Hindī and Paňjābī.
" II. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī.
" III. Bhil languages, Khāndēśī, etc.
" IV. Pahāṛī languages.
" X. Eranian family.
" XI. "Gipsy" languages.

PREFACE.

In this Volume it has been my object to present a summary of the results of the Linguistic Survey of India, so far as it has been under my charge, in a form convenient for reference alike to professed students of language and to the lay reader.

The descriptive portion falls into two sections. In the first, which I have named the Introduction, I have given an account of previous attempts to set forth the languages of India, and of the procedure followed in the present Survey. Some of what is stated in this section will also be found scattered through other volumes, but here it is all brought together in one collected account.

The second section is an attempt to bring under one view the results of the Survey and the lessons to be derived from them. Much of it has been based on the Chapter on the Languages of India contributed by me to the Indian Census Report for the year 1901, but this has been brought up to date, and a good deal has been added to it. That chapter may, in fact, be looked upon as a first draft of this section of the volume. Written as it was nearly a quarter of a century ago, there have been found many opportunities for additions and improvements.

These two sections are followed by two collections (*Majora* and *Minora*) of Addenda and Corrigenda for the whole Survey. The first (*Addenda Majora*) consists of the more important additions, and, especially, of accounts of languages for which materials became available after the volume referred to had gone to press. Only in this way have I been able to bring the earlier volumes up to date. The *Addenda et Corrigenda Minora* mainly include additions of detail, corrections of misprints and of mistakes of my own, and the like. These latter are issued loose and are printed in such a way that they can be readily cut up and inserted in their proper places in the several volumes of the Survey.

To the whole, three Appendixes have been added. The first is a classified list of all the languages of India, in which the statistics of the Survey have been compared with those of the Census of 1921. The second Appendix is a list of those Indian languages of which gramophone records are available in this country and in Paris, and the third is an Index of all the names referring to languages of India that I have been able to collect. I hope that the last will be found a useful work of reference for anyone who may desire to identify a name with which he is not familiar. It also forms an Index to the contents of Volumes II to XI of the Survey itself.

A second part of this volume is now in the press. It is a comparative vocabulary of 168 selected words in about 368 different languages and dialects, and will, I hope, be found useful by students of languages.

A third part is being prepared by the competent pen of Professor Turner of the School of Oriental Studies. It will be a Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, for the special use of philologists. It will appear in due course, and will complete the Survey.

It is with a feeling of gratitude for having been permitted to finish a work extending over thirty years that, after writing this Preface, the pen will be laid down. Without any pretended modesty I confess that no one is more than myself aware of the deficiencies of

the Survey, nor, on the other hand, need I plead guilty to a vain boast when I claim that what has been done in it for India has been done for no other country in the world. Such as it is, I bid it adieu, sure of sympathy with my mistakes, and of appreciation of what in it is worthy, on the part of those lovers of India who are competent to put its merits and its defects to test.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CONTENTS.

(In Summary.)

CONTENTS.

(In Detail.)

PAGE.

PAGE.

CHAPTER XII.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES—*contd.*

CHAPTER XIII.—INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES. OUTER SUB-BRANCH—

PAGE.

MAPS.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

A.—For the Deva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ऋ *ṛi*, ए *e*, ए *ē*, ऐ *ai*, ओ *o*, ओ *ō*, औ *au*.

क *ka* ख *kha* ग *ga* घ *gha* ङ *ṅa* च *cha* छ *chha* ज *ja* झ *jha* ञ *ña*

ट *ṭa* ठ *tha* ड *ḍa* ढ *ḍha* ण *ṇa* त *ta* थ *tha* द *da* ध *dha* न *na*

प *pa* फ *pha* ब *ba* भ *bha* म *ma* य *ya* र *ra* ल *la* व *va* or *wa*

श *śa* ष *sha* स *sa* ह *ha* ड़ *ṛa* ढ़ *ṛha* ळ *ḷa* ळ्ह *ḷha*

Visarga (:) is represented by *ḥ*, thus क्रमशः *kramaśaḥ*. *Anusvāra* (ं) is represented by *ṁ*, thus सिंह *siṁh*, वंश *vaṁś*. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*; thus বংশ *bangśa*. *Anunāsika* or *Chandra-bindu* is represented by the sign ˜ over the letter nasalized, thus मैं *mẽ*.

B.—For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا	*a*, etc.	ج	*j*	د	*d*	ر	*r*	س	*s*	ع	ʿ
ب	*b*	چ	*ch*	ڈ	*ḍ*	ڑ	*ṛ*	ش	*sh*	غ	*gh*
پ	*p*	ح	*ḥ*	ذ	*ẕ*	ز	*z*	ص	*ṣ*	ف	*f*
ت	*t*	خ	*kh*			ژ	*zh*	ض	*ẓ*	ق	*q*
ٹ	*ṭ*							ط	*ṭ*	ک	*k*
ث	*s*							ظ	*ẓ*	گ	*g*
										ل	*l*
										م	*m*
										ن	*n*
										ں	when representing *anunāsika* in Dēva-nāgarī, by ˜ over nasalized vowel.
										و	*w* or *v*
										ہ	*h*
										ی	*y*, etc.

Tanwīn is represented by *n*, thus فوراً *fauran*. *Alif-i-maqṣūra* is represented by *ā*;—thus دعوی *da'wā*.

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus بندہ *banda*. When pronounced, it is written,—thus گناہ *gunāh*.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus बन *ban*, not *bana*. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindi) देखता *dēkk'tā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*; (Kāshmirī) ژٕ *ka'k*; کرٕ *kar'*, pronounced *kor*; (Bihārī) देखथि *dēkhath'*.

C.—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted :—

(*a*) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (च), Pashtō (ځ), Kāshmīrī (ګ, च), Tibetan (ཚ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsh*.

(*b*) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ज), Pashtō (ډ), and Tibetan (ཛ), is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzh*.

(*c*) Kāshmīrī ں (ज) is represented by *ẓ*.

(*d*) Sindhī ڄ, Western Pañjabī (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) ڄ, and Pashtō ږ or ڼ are represented by *ṇ*.

(*e*) The following are letters peculiar to Pashtō :—

ټ *ṭ* ; ځ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation ; ډ *ḍ* ; ړ *ṛ* ; ږ *zh* or *y*, according to pronunciation ; څ *ch* or *kh*, according to pronunciation ; ږ or ڼ *ṇ*.

(*f*) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhī :—

ٻ *bh* ; ڀ *bh* ; ٿ *th* ; ٽ *ṭ* ; ٺ *ṭh* ; ڦ *ph* ; ڇ *ch* ; ڄ *jh* ; ڃ *chh* ; ڃ *ñ* ; ڏ *dh* ; ڊ *ḍ* ; ڏ *ḍḍ* ; ڊ *ḍh* ; ڪ *k* ; ک *kh* ; ڳ *gg* ; ڳ *gh* ; ڱ *ṅ* ; ڼ *ṇ*.

D.—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following :—

á,	represents	the sound	of the	*a* in *all*.
ă,	,,	,,	,,	*a* in *hat*.
ĕ,	,,	,,	,,	*e* in *met*.
ŏ,	,,	,,	,,	*o* in *kot*.
e,	,,	,,	,,	*é* in the French *était*.
o,	,,	,,	,,	*o* in the first *o* in *promote*.
ö,	,,	,,	,,	*ö* in the German *schön*.
ü,	,,	,,	,,	*ü* in the ,, *müde*.
th,	,,	,,	,,	*th* in *think*.
dh,	,,	,,	,,	*th* in *this*.

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Muṇḍā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, and so on.

E.—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *dssistai*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.

INTRODUCTION

Previous enquiries into Indian Languages.

The languages of India have from the earliest times been an object of interest to those that spoke them, but their serious study by foreigners is not more than three hundred years old. Even the great Albirūnī in the account of the India of his day (about 1030 A.D.) spoke only of Sanskrit, then a dead language, and its difficulties. Regarding the living forms of speech, he merely said,[1] "Further, the language is divided into a neglected vernacular one, only in use among the common people, and a classical one, only in use among the upper and educated classes, which is much cultivated."

Albirūnī.

Amīr Khusrau, a Turk by origin, but born in India, gives us (1317 A.D.) more detailed information.[2] He says :—

Amir Khusrau.

As I was born in Hind, I may be allowed to say a word respecting its language. There is at this time in every province a language peculiar to itself, and not borrowed from any other—Sindī [*i.e.*, Sindhī], Lahōrī [Panjābī], Kashmīrī, the language of Dugar [Dōgrā of Jammu], Dhūr Samundar [Kanarese of Mysore], Tilang [Telugu], Gujarāt, Ma'bar [Tamil of the Coromandel Coast], Gaur [Northern Bengali], Benga l Audh [Eastern Hindī], Delhi and its environs [Western Hindī]. These are all languages of Hind, which from ancient times have been applied in every way to the common purposes of life.

Elsewhere[3] he speaks of Hindi,—meaning by this term 'the language of Hind', or India (*i.e.*, probably Sanskrit), and not what we nowadays call by that name :—

If you ponder the matter well, you will not find the Hindī language inferior to the Pārsī [Persian]. It is inferior to the Arabic, which is the chief of all languages . . Arabic, in speech, has a separate province, and no other language can combine with it. The Pārsī is deficient in its vocabulary, and cannot be treated without Arabic condiments; as the latter is pure, and the former mixed, you might say that one was the soul, and the other the body. With the former nothing can enter into combination, but with the latter, every kind of thing. It is not proper to place the cornelian of Yemen on a level with the pearl of Darī.

The language of Hind is like the Arabic, inasmuch as neither admits of combination. If there is grammar and syntax in Arabic, there is not one letter less of them in the Hindī. If you ask whether there are the sciences of exposition and rhetoric, I answer that the Hindī is in no way deficient in these respects. Whoever possesses these three languages in his store, will know that I speak without error or exaggeration.

Here we learn much more than what we are told by Albirūnī. The latter writes as if one and the same spoken language was current over the whole of India, though, no doubt, he knew better. The other gives a fairly complete list of seven Indo-Aryan languages with two dialects, and of three of the principal Dravidian forms of speech.

Although he was not a foreigner, I may quote in this connexion the words of Abū'l Faẓl in the 'Āīn-i-Akbarī[4] upon the same subject, for, while he was an Indian born and bred, he did not look at matters from a Hindū point of view :—

Abū'l Faẓl.

Throughout the wide extent of Hindūstān, many are the dialects that are spoken, and the diversities of those that do not exclude a common inter-intelligibility are innumerable. Those forms of speech that are not understood one of another are the dialects of Delhi [Western Hindī], Bengal [Bengalī], Multan [Lahndā], Mārwār [Western Rājasthānī], Gujarāt [Gujarātī], Telingāna [Telugu], Marhaṭṭa [Marāṭhī], Karnātik [Kanarese], Sind [Sindhī], Afghān of Shāl [Pashtō], Baluchistan [Balōchī], and Kashmīr [Kāsamīrī]

[1] Seshan's translation, i, 18.
[2] Elliot, op. cit., p. 556.
[3] Elliot, "History of India," iii, 562.
[4] Jarrett's Translation, iii, p. 119.

Here we have a somewhat fuller catalogue, though some important names,—*e.g.* Tamil,—are omitted; but we see that they are bare lists and nothing more, and I know of no early oriental account of the languages themselves, either as a whole, or taken individually.[1]

Terry.

So far as I am aware, the earliest notice of the modern Indian languages that appeared in Europe was in Edward Terry's 'Voyage to the East Indies,' published in 1655 A.D. He there informs us[2] that 'the Vulgar Tongue of the Countrey of Indostan hath great Affinity with the Persian and Arabian Tongues, but is pleasanter and easier to pronounce. It is a fluent language, expressing many things in a few words.[3] They write and read like us, *viz.*, from the Left to the Right Hand.' Some of the English merchants of those days could certainly speak Hindōstānī with fluency,[4] and Thomas Coryate, when presented to the Great Mogul by Sir Thomas Roe, is said to have addressed that potentate in a Persian speech.

Fryer.

So, Fryer[5] (1673) in his 'New Account of East India and Persia' says regarding India, 'The language at Court is *Persian*, that commonly spoken is Indostan (for which they have no proper character, the written language being called *Banyan*), which is a mixture of *Persian* and *Sclavonian*, as are all the dialects of India.'

Pietro Della Valle.

Before Terry and Fryer, there had been descriptions of Nāgarī, the principal written character of Northern India. The celebrated traveller Pietro Della Valle[6] describes it (1623) as 'an ancient character ..... known to the learned, and used by the Brahmans, who, to distinguish it from the other vulgar characters, call it Nagheri.'

Heinrich Roth.

Again, Father Heinrich Roth, who was a member of the Jesuits' College at Agra from 1653 to 1668, met Athanasius Kircher at Rome in 1664, and there gave him several specimens of the same character which the latter published in 1667 in his 'China Illustrata.'

China Illustrata.

One of these was the Paternoster in Latin transliterated into Nāgarī. We shall see that for many years this was taken to be a specimen of actual Sanskrit.

---

[1] Before turning to European accounts of Indian languages, I may mention an amusing legend concerning another, and earlier, Linguistic Survey, current among the Afghāns, whose language, Pashtō, is admitted to be inharmonious. It is said that King Solomon sent forth his Grand Vizier, Asaf, to collect specimens of all the languages spoken on the earth. The official returned with his task accomplished. In full darbār he recited passages in every tongue till he came to Pashtō. Here he halted, and produced a pot in which he rattled a stone. 'That,' said he, 'is the nearest approach that I can make to the language of the Afghāns.' It is plain that even Solomon, with all his wisdom, had not, at the time, succeeded in anticipating the methods of Professor Daniel Jones and of the International Phonetic Association.

[2] Quoted from Ogilby's "Asia." See below. Much of what follows will also be found scattered through the different volumes of the Survey, or in other writings of mine. The various statements are here combined into one general view.

[3] Hindōstānī had this undeserved reputation for many generations. There is a story of one of the first English Judges of the Calcutta High Court. In sentencing a man to death, he is said to have dwelt at length, in English, on the enormity of the offence, the unhappy feelings of the criminal's parents, and his certain fate in the next world unless he repented. When he had finished, he instructed the court interpreter to translate to the prisoner what he had said. This worthy's translation consisted of the six words, '*Jōō, badzāt, phāsī kā hukm huā,*' 'go, rascal, you are ordered to be hanged.' The Judge is said thereupon to have expressed his admiration at the wonderful conciseness of the Indian language.

[4] "Hobson-Jobson," s.v. 'Hindostanee' gives the following anecdote of Tom Coryate taken from Terry. The occurrence is dated 1616. 'After this he [Coryate] got a great mastery in the Indostan, or more vulgar-language; there was a woman, a laundress, belonging to my Lord Embassador's house, who had such a freedom and liberty of speech, that she would sometimes scould, brawl, and rail, from the sun-rising to the sun-set; one day he undertook her in her own language: And by sight of the clock he so silenced her, that she had not one word more to speak.'

[5] Also from 'Hobson-Jobson,' l. c.

[6] Viaggi, iii, 57. Quotation taken from Delgado's *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, s. v. 'Devanagárico.'

Ogilby's 'Asia.'

We may now pass on to Ogilby's 'Asia.' Its full title is *Asia, the First Part, Being An accurate Description of PERSIA, and the several Provinces thereof. The Vast Empire of the Great Mogol, and other Parts of India and their Several Kingdoms and Regions with the Denominations and Descriptions of the Cities, Towns, and Places of Remark therein contain'd. The Various Customs, Habits, Religion and Languages of the Inhabitants. Their Political Governments and Way of Commerce, also The plants and animals peculiar to each Country. Collected and Translated from most Authentic Authors, and Augmented with later Observations, illustrated with Notes and Adorn'd with peculiar Maps, and proper Sculptures. By John Ogilby Esq.; His Majesty's Cosmographer, Geographick Printer, and Master of His Majesty's Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland. London, printed by the Author at his house in White-Friers. M. DC. LXXIII.* Although its author was the 'Uncle Ogleby' of Dryden's MacFlecnoe, and was also one of the victims of Pope's Dunciad, this many-sided man,—poet, translator of Virgil and of Homer, dramatist, as well as geographer, contrived to fill his bulky work with an immense amount of various and curious information. He was acquainted (pp. 129-134) with the South Indian method of writing on palm-leaves by pressing in grooves with an iron stylus, which is the origin of the circular shape of the letters of the modern Oriyā and other southern alphabets. He then goes on,—

As to what concerns the Language of the *Indians*, it onely differs in general from the *Moors* and *Mahometans*, but they have also several different Dialects amongst themselves. Amongst all their Languages, there is none which spreads it se.f more than the *Malayan*, (as shall be declared more at large), and therefore it will not be amiss in this place to render into *English* some of their chiefest words .....

According to *Della Valle* all the Provinces in *India* have one and the same Language, though peculiar Letters; for notwithstanding that the Language or Speech is understood in divers Countreys, yet the characters are different.

The Learned sort, or *Brahmans*, have a Language and Letters by *Kircher*, called *Nagher*, which being accounted Sacred, is onely known to their Tribe or Family, and used amongst them as *Latine* amongst the Learned in *Europe*.

Their Characters are fair and large, taking up much room; They also differ much from the Letters us'd by the *Benjan* Merchants in *Surat*.

He then quotes Terry as above (p. 2), and goes on :—

In India, and the Countreys under the *Mogol's* Jurisdiction, the *Persian* Tongue is more common than the *Indian*, being generally spoken by the Nobility at Court, and used in all Publick Businesses and Writings, which cannot seem strange to any, considering the *Mogolean* Princes have their Extract from *Tartary* and *Samarcand*, whence the *Persian* Tongue was first brought.

The Vulgar *Mahometans*, Peruschi tells us, speak the *Turkish* Tongue, but not so eloquently as the natural born *Turks* Learned Persons, and Mahometan Priests, speak the *Arabick*, in which the *Alcoran* and other books are written.

But no Language extends further, and is of greater use, than the *Malayan*, so called from the City *Malacka*, from whence it hath its Original. It is spoken in all the Isles lying in the Straights of *Sunda*, and through the adjacent Countrey; but especially us'd by Merchants.

Linschot tells us, That many People of divers Nations, which came to build the City, and settle in *Malacka*, made this peculiar Language of all the other *Indian* Tongues, consisting of the most pleasing Words, and neatest manner and way of speaking, of all other the Neighbouring People; which makes this Language to be the best and most eloquent of all *India*, and also the most useful, and easiest to learn; For there is not one Merchant which comes from the neighboring Countreys to Trade here, but learns this Tongue.

The extraordinary statement that Malay was the lingua franca of India, seems to have been widely current in Ogilby's time and long afterwards. The blunder is evidently due to confusion of the Dutch East Indies with India proper. Wilkins in his preface to Chamberlayne's 'Sylloge' (vide post) explained that he could not procure a version of the Lord's Prayer in the Bengali language, as that form of speech was becoming extinct (!) and was being superseded by Malay. He therefore, for Bengali, gave a Malay version written in a mangled form of the Bengali character. That this idea was widely spread is shown by the reproduction of the same Malay-Bengali specimen in Fritz's "Sprachmeister" written in 1748.

Andreas Müller.

Passing over works such as Henricus van Rheede tot Drakenstein's 'Hortus Indicus Malabaricus' (1678) and Thomas Hyde's work on chess, the 'Historia Shahiludii' (1694), both of which contained specimens of the Nagarī alphabet, we next come to Andreas Müller's collection of versions of the Lord's Prayer, written under the pseudonym of Thomas Ludekene and published in Berlin in 1680.[1] Its full title is *Oratio Orationum. S. s. Orationis Dominicae Versiones praeter authenticam fere centum, eäque longe emendatius quam antehac, et e probatissimis Autoribus potius quam prioribus Collectionibus, jamque singulā genuinis Linguā suā Characteribus, adeoque magnam Partem ex Aere ad Editionem a Barnimo Hagio traditae editaeque a Thoma Ludekenio, Solq. March. Berolini, ex Officina Rungiana, Anno 1680.* The Barnimus Hagius mentioned herein as the engraver is another pseudonym of Müller himself. In this collection Roth's Paternoster was reprinted as being actually Sanskrit, and not a mere transliteration of the Latin original.

Omitting more than a mention of isolated accounts of single Indian languages, such as the 'Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae' (1704) of the Capuchin Franciscus M. Turonensis, John Joshua Ketelaer's Grammar and Vocabulary of the Lingua Hindostanica (about 1715), and Ziegenbalg's (1716) and Beschi's (1728) Tamil Grammars, we come to another important collection of versions of the Lord's Prayer (Amsterdam, 1715), the 'Sylloge' of John Chamberlayne, a Fellow of our Royal Society, with a preface by David Wilkins, the Coptic scholar, who was also actively associated in the work. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to remark that, while it supports the mistake about Malay being current in India, it again reproduces Roth's Paternoster, but without Müller's blunder about the language in which it was written being Sanskrit.

Chamberlayne's 'Sylloge.'

Fritz's 'Sprachmeister.'

We may here anticipate chronological order by mentioning the last attempt at comparing languages solely by collecting versions of the Lord's Prayer. This was the 'Sprachmeister' of Johann Friedrich Fritz, published at Leipzig in 1748, with a preface by the celebrated Indian missionary Schultze. The title page runs as follows:—*Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister, Welcher nicht allein hundert Alphabete nebst ihrer Aussprache, So bey denen meisten Europäisch-Asiatisch-Africanisch- und Americanischen Völckern und Nationen; gebräuchlich sind, Auch einigen* Tabulis Polyglottis *verschiedener Sprachen und Zahlen vor Augen leget, Sondern auch das Gebet des Herrn, In 200 Sprachen und Mund-Arten.*

[1] In those days such collections of the Lord's Prayer were very common. Fritz, in his 'Sprachmeister,' enumerates no less than fifty-five as made before 1748. They were the first beginnings of the study of comparative philology.

mit dereselben Characteren und Lesung, nach einer Geographischen Ordnung mittheilet. Aus glaubwürdigen Auctoribus *zusammen getragen, und mit darzu nöthigen Kupfern versehen. Leipzig, zu finden bey Christian Friedrich Gessnern. 1748.* Fritz's book is a long way ahead of its predecessor Chamberlayne's. It contains 172 pages of various alphabets, including many coming from India, 56 pages of tables showing the first ten numerals, and 128 pages, with numerous plates, of versions of the Lord's Prayer. The Indian alphabets explained are Bengali, Tamil, Burmese, Grantha, Telugu, Singhalese, and Nāgarī. The Indian versions are Latin (in the Nāgarī character), Sanskrit, Hindōstānī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Kōṅkaṇī, Singhalese, Malay in the Bengali character (see above, p. 4), Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Burmese. Of some of these several versions are given under variant names. As an Appendix, the author gives comparative tables of the words for 'father,' 'heaven,' 'earth,' and 'bread' in all these languages. For its time, the Sprachmeister is a very creditable piece of work, carried out in a really scientific spirit.

LaCroze.

Maturin Veyssière LaCroze was born at Nantes in 1661, was appointed librarian to the Elector at Berlin in 1697, and died in that city in 1739. This remarkable scholar, amid his manifold activities, was a profound student of oriental lore, as it was then understood, and carried on a copious correspondence with most of the learned men of Europe. This correspondence was published in 1742-46 at Leipzig in three closely printed Latin volumes, and is still obtainable in the book-market. In the year 1714 Wilkins wrote to him asking for help in the preparation of Chamberlayne's 'Sylloge.' This request incited LaCroze to write a long communication[1] to Chamberlayne dealing with the general question of the study of languages, and vindicating comparative philology from the charge of inutility. He then proceeds briefly to describe the inter-relationship of the various languages known to him, and, coming to India, says, 'I have, however, little to offer concerning the alphabets of this country, except that they are derived from that called *Hanscrit*,[2] the source of the oldest forms of which is the [Semitic] alphabet of Persia or Assyria, and which is used by the Brachmans. From these Brachmans the other Indian tribes have imbibed their superstitions, and it was amongst them that Xaca,[3] who laid the bonds of false religions on the peoples of the East, was himself brought up. Thus, the order of the alphabet is the same amongst the Brachmans, the people of Malabar, the Singhalese, Siamese, Javans, and even the language of Bali,[4] which is the sacred tongue of Laos, Pegu, Cambodia, and Siam.[5]' With a passing reference to the letters written to Ziegenbalg, of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, who was LaCroze's chief source of information regarding the languages of southern India, we come to the latter's voluminous correspondence with Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, then residing in Leipzig, and subsequently in Petrograd. The earlier letters

Bayer.

[1] Thesaurus Epistolicus LaCrozianus, iii, 78ff.

[2] The use of 'Hanscrit' for 'Sanskrit' is no doubt taken from Kircher's "China Illustrata," mentioned above (p. 2) where the word is so spelt. His theory connecting the earliest forms of the Indian alphabet with Assyrian (Assyrian cuneiform was of course unknown in these days, and he was not referring to it, but to some form of Phoenician) is a remarkable anticipation of the results of modern science. Later on he argues that the Indians have done just what the Greeks have done, in changing the Phoenician right to left direction of writing to left to right. When we remember that LaCroze had no Aśōka inscriptions and no Moabite Stone to consult, and that his theory was not a guess, but was founded on argument, we must acknowledge the prophetic acuteness of the scientific vision of this great Frenchman.

[3] *i.e.* Śākya, the Buddha.

[4] The Siamese pronunciation of Pāli.

[5] The foregoing passage is not a quotation, but is an abstract of LaCroze's remarks.

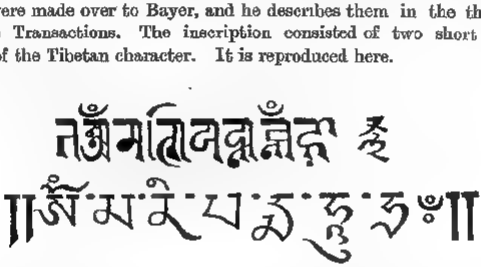
afford few points of interest to Indian students, as they deal chiefly with Tangut, Mongolian, and Chinese, although in March 1717,[1] there is an interesting passage at arms where Bayer attacks LaCroze's theory about the ultimate origin of the Brachmans' alphabet. In this earlier correspondence, the only Indian language that I find mentioned is Bengali,[2]—probably the first mention of that alphabet to be published in Europe.

St. Petersburg Academy.

The foundation of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, on the lines of the French Academy, were laid down by Peter the Great, and in 1725 it was formally opened by the Empress Catherine. The most learned men of Europe,—including Bayer,—were invited to join it, and it was finally put on a permanent footing by Peter II. The first two volumes of the Transactions, relating to the year 1726, were published in 1728, and are now very rare, nearly the whole issue having been destroyed in a fire which consumed the Academy in 1741.

Messerschmidt.

In 1727, Daniel Messerschmidt, who had been deputed by Peter the Great to explore Siberia, returned to Petrograd and, among other curiosities, brought with him an inscription and a Chinese printed book. These were made over to Bayer, and he describes them in the third and fourth volumes of the Transactions. The inscription consisted of two short lines, each in a different form of the Tibetan character. It is reproduced here.



Bayer, with the aid of the book to be subsequently described and of his knowledge of Manchu, deciphered this as '*Ong ma ni pa dme ch³um chi*,' but was unable to discover its meaning. Messerschmidt, he says, told him that it was one of the commonest prayers of the Tunguts (*i.e.* Tibetans) and meant 'God have mercy on us.' This decipherment of the well-known Buddhist formula *Oṁ, maṇi padmē, huṁ*, though its translation was incorrect, marks the first step in a new stage of the study of Indian languages in Europe. For the next few years European scholars attacked the languages of northern India through Chinese and Tibetan.

The other curiosity brought back by Messerschmidt,—a book consisting of eight leaves,—had been printed in China, and may be looked upon as the Rosetta stone of these explorers. It gave in parallel lines an entire syllabary of the Tibetan Lāntsha alphabet with a transliteration into ordinary Tibetan, and into a form of Manchu which Bayer called Mongolian. A facsimile of the first page and a half[4] is given on the plate opposite.

[1] The. Ep. LaCr. i, 16.

[2] The. Ep. LaCr. i, 23; iii, 23.

[3] Pronounced like the *ch* in 'loch.'

[4] There were two lines to a page. But as three lines contain the complete alphabet of simple letters, I have followed Bayer in giving a page and a half on the plate.

COPY OF THE FIRST PAGE AND A HALF OF THE CHINESE PRINTED BOOK DESCRIBED BY BAYER IN 1726.

Bayer's first procedure was to establish so far as was possible the Tibetan characters. This was an easy task, for the language was already partly known to him, and he had other Tibetan students and books at his command. Then, with the aid of this and other specimens, he established the Manchu transliteration, and finally from these two, he was able to make a very fair attempt at transliterating the Lāntsha, which is a kind of ornamental Nāgarī. In the plate I have given the transliteration fixed by him and used for deciphering the *Om, maṇi padmē, hum* of the inscription. It will be observed that the transcription is by no means faultless, though it is wonderful for so early an attempt.[1]

Schultze.

Having thus made out the Lāntsha alphabet, Bayer sent a copy of it to Schultze, the missionary at Tranquebar, and was gratified to learn that the letters could be read by the Brahmans of northern India.[2] Schultze, himself, to judge from the specimens he gives, cannot at that time have known Sanskrit, or, indeed, much of any Indo-Aryan language. He spells the name 'Benares' काशा or भनारेसि and talks of भाषरः नागरीः. He, however, describes three alphabets and gives specimens of them,—the Nāgarī, the 'Balabandu,' and the 'Akàr Nàgarì.' They had evidently been sent to Bayer just as they had been written down for Schultze, who could not read them. By 'Balabandu' he meant Marāṭhī, but the three alphabets are all merely Nāgarī written by different hands. Schultze also gives instructions for pronunciation. Some of them may be quoted[3]:—

i breue, lingua ad dexteram inclinata.
í longum, lingua ad sinistram mota.
u breue, recto ex ore protruditur.
ú longum, quasi duplex, sono in altum prolato.
dha [*i.e. ḍa*], *d* formatur lingua quasi apoplectica, vt saliua ad palatum opem ferat, *h* admodum auditur; ceterum quasi aliquod *n* praemittitur, quod in primis sentitur, quoties vocalis praecedit, e.g. *ba-ndha*, legitur plane *ban-dha*.

Evidently our forefathers had the same difficulty with the cerebral letters that we have nowadays, and the 'lingua quasi apoplectica' is still a difficulty to many a griffin.

Bayer relates how a certain Calmuc Ambassador named Bordon, who was then in Petrograd, helped him to acquire this pronunciation, and concludes with a brief notice, received from India, of the Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, and 'Maura' languages. By the last named, he meant, I suppose, Urdū, which the English subsequently called 'Moors.' All this time he was conducting an active correspondence with LaCroze, in which not only does the Chinese book find due mention, but we meet one of the earliest attempts at genuine comparative philology in the modern sense of the term,—a comparison of the first four numerals in eight different languages.[4] During the next ten years, the two friends now and then refer to Indian languages, and to the last LaCroze maintains the correctness of his theory of the Semitic origin of the Indian Alphabet.

All this time,—indeed since the 16th century,—Southern India had been the scene of the activities of Danish and Jesuit missionaries. Schultze has been already referred

[1] Professor Zachariae has drawn my attention to a still earlier account of this formula. It is given in p. 7 of Kircher's 'China Illustrata' (1667), and Kircher transliterates it '*O manipe mi hum*,' which he says means 'manipe salva me.'

[2] 'Brahmanes extraneos et peregrinos.'

[3] Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae, IV (1729), 293ff.

[4] The. Ep. LaCr. i, 58.

to more than once, and if I do not do more than mention the names of such men as Beschi, the Englishman Thomas Estevão (Stephens) of Goa, or (of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar) Fabricius and Ziegenbalg, it is only because these great scholars are not properly connected with the subject under consideration,—the history of the general study of Indian languages. They wrote grammars and dictionaries or translated the scriptures each in or into one or more South Indian languages, but they had no connexion with the study of Indian languages as a whole.[1]

Beligatti.

Somewhat different is the case of the Roman Catholic Missionaries of Northern India. The Capuchin Missionary Cassiano Beligatti wrote a treatise on the Nāgarī alphabet, entitled 'Alphabetum Brammhanicum sev Industanum Universitatis Kasi' (Rome, 1771). The book itself would not deserve mention here were it not accompanied by a preface from the pen of Johannes Christophorus Amadutius containing a very complete summary, with copious references to authorities, of the then existing knowledge regarding Indian languages. It correctly describes Sanskrit (written समसंस्कृत) as the language of the learned, and next describes the भखा बोली or 'Beka Boli' (*i.e.*, *Bhāshā Bōli*) or common tongue which is found in the 'University of Kasi or Benarès.' He adds that different regions and different languages have their own alphabets, and among the languages he enumerates (1) Bengalensis, (2) Tourutiana [*i.e.*, Maithilī], (3) Nepalensis, (4) Marathica, (5) Peguana [*i.e.*, Burmese or Mōn], (6) Singalaea, (7) Telugica, and (8) Tamulica. This book is of further interest because the Nāgarī and Kaithī characters are set up in moveable type,—the first to be used, I believe, for this purpose in Europe.

Amadutius.

Two other later works may here be mentioned in order to wind up the first stage of Indian linguistic studies. The first is the 'Symphona Symphona' of Iwarus Abel (1782). It is a comparative vocabulary of Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit, Marāthī, Balabanda (? also Marāṭhī), Kanarese, Hindostānī, Kōṅkaṇī, Gujarātī, and Peguan (Burmese). Fifty-three words, such as parts of the body, heaven, sun, certain animals, house, water, tree, the personal pronouns, the numerals, and so on, – are given in all these languages and compared together. The other is the anonymous 'Alphabeta Indica,' with a preface by Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo[2] (Rome 1791). This is a collection of four Indian alphabets, all set up in moveable types. Finally, Adelung's "Mithridates" (1806 and following years) is a résumé of all the linguistic learning of the 18th century, and forms a link between the old philology and the new.

Abel's 'Symphona.'

Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo.

Adelung.

A consideration of this early stage of the enquiry into the languages of India will show that during the 17th and 18th centuries there had been laborious accumulation of materials, but hardly any

Results of the old philology.

[1] For the same reason, I make no mention of the first Sanskrit book translated into a European language. This was the "Open Door to Heathendom" by the Missionary Abraham Roger (1651). It was a translation into Dutch of the second and third Śatakas of Bhartṛihari.

[2] Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo had in the previous year published a Sanskrit Grammar. Its full title was 'SIDHARUBAM seu *Grammatica Samscrdamica*, cui accedit dissertatio historico-critica in linguam Samscrdamicam, vulgo Samscret dictam, in qua huius linguae existentia, origo, praestantia, antiquitas, extensio, maternitas ostenditur, libri aliqui ea exarati critice recensentur, et simul aliquae antiquissimae gentilium orationes liturgicae passim attinguntur et explicantur auctore *Fr. Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo*, Carmelita excalceato, Malabariae Missionario. Romae 1790, 4 (ex typogr. S. Congr. de prop. fide).'

scientific study. Such study could not, indeed have been expected in those days. The necessary materials, though increasing gradually from decade to decade, were throughout too scanty for it to have been possible. Nevertheless the period was marked by a steady advance in knowledge beyond the older belief that all languages were derived from Hebrew. In the early years of the 17th century the existence in India of Sanskrit, the sacred literary language, became known, and from this, as a sort of corollary, there arose the belief that besides it there was in addition one general colloquial form of speech used by the vulgar over the whole continent. A further development of this belief was the curious error that that colloquial language was Malay, a kind of lingua franca, before which the indigenous speech was disappearing. It took many decades to wipe out this misapprehension and its consequences. The existence of more than one spoken language was the next discovery. This was first associated with collections of alphabets, apparently as mere curiosities and without any reference to the languages for which they were employed. But the knowledge thus gained of diverse alphabets led to a suspicion of the existence of diverse tongues, and this, in its turn, led to the making of collections of versions of the Lord's Prayer, at first full of blunders, but becoming more and more complete and more and more accurate as the years went on. These collections invited comparisons of their contents, and suggested the first beginnings of comparative philology. It is at this stage that the great names of LaCroze and Bayer come into prominence. They began to make rudimentary classifications of languages based on comparisons of the numerals and similar words, and succeeded in tracing the connexion between the alphabets of Tibet and India, a fact which was destined in later days to have a far-reaching importance. They got into communication with the great pioneer missionaries of Southern India, and, with their help, enriched the mass of materials available for study. In fact, as is shown by Amadutius's preface to Beligatti's 'Alphabetum Brammhanicum', it was on their researches that all subsequent investigations of the period were founded; and it was by following their methods that Iwarus Abel and Adelung were able to make the great advance in scientific exploration that is associated with their names.

At the end of the period we find that Europe had a fairly clear idea of the names and general characters of the principal Indian languages, and that its scholars had begun to compare one with another. The old philology thus on its deathbed gave birth to the new. The materials for classification had been collected and set in order, but no general classification had yet been attempted.

Modern comparative philology dates from the introduction of Sanskrit as a serious object of study, and from the consequent recognition of the existence of an Indo-European family of languages by Sir William Jones in 1786. In his third Annual Discourse to the Asiatic Society [of Bengal], delivered in that year, he said[1] :—

Sir William Jones.

The *Mohammedans*, we know, heard the people of proper *Hindustan* or *India*, on a limited scale, speaking a *Bháshá*, or living tongue, of a very singular construction, the purest dialect of which was current in the districts round *Agrà*, and chiefly on the poetical ground of *Mat'hurà*; and this is commonly called the idiom of *Vraja*. Five words in six, perhaps, of this language were derived from the *Sanscrit*, in which books of religion and science were composed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquisite grammatical *arrangement*, as the name itself implies, from some unpolished idiom; but the basis of the *Hindustáni*,

[1] Asiatic Researches, i. 422.

particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both these tongues, as *Arabick* differs from *Persian*, or *German* from *Greek*. Now the general effect of conquest is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its groundwork, but to blend with it a considerable number of exotick names both for things and actions; as it has happened in every country, that I can recollect, where the conquerors have not preserved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the *Turks* in *Greece*, and the *Saxons* in *Britain*; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure *Hindi*, whether of *Tartarian* or *Chaldean* origin, was primeval in Upper *India*, into which the *Sanscrit* was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age; for we cannot doubt that the language of the *Véda's* was used in the great extent of country, which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of *Brahmà* has prevailed in it.

The *Sanscrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin* and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanscrit*; and the old *Persian* might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of *Persia*.

Here we have speculations not only as to the modern vernaculars of India (which are mainly erroneous), but also as to the connexion of Sanskrit with the languages of Europe. These latter speculations were converted into a scientific certainty by the labours of Franz Bopp, whose first work,—*Ueber das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache*,—appeared in 1816, to be followed by his epoch-making Comparative Grammar, published in 1833 and the following years, and translated into English by E. B. Eastwick in 1865. The history of general Indo-European philology does not concern us here, and therefore, in order to carry this particular branch of learning down to our own times, I do no more than mention the names of Bopp's great successors,—Grimm, Pott, Schleicher, Whitney, Brugmann, Delbrück, Meillet, and Jespersen.

Bopp.

Returning to inquiries into the modern languages of India, we have seen that here too the problem was originally laid down by Sir William Jones, but accompanied by speculations which subsequent research has shown to be unfounded so far as the Indo-Aryan languages are concerned. Dravidian languages, as a distinct group, were then unknown, but if he had said about them what he did erroneously say about Hindi, he would not have been far from what are now believed to have been the actual facts. Anyhow, the problem, as laid down by him, was first taken up by the Serampore missionaries. William Carey landed in India in November 1793, and his translation of the New Testament into Bengali appeared in 1801. In the following year versions into other Indian languages were published; but in 1816 Carey found himself on the wrong track and reported to his home correspondents as follows:—

Carey and the modern vernaculars.

In the prosecution of it [sc. our object], we have found that our ideas relative to the number of languages which spring from the Sungskrit were far from being accurate. The fact is, that in this point of view, India is to-day almost an unexplored country. That eight or nine languages had sprung from that great philological root, the Sungskrit, we well knew. But we imagined that the Tamul, the Kurnata, the Telinga, the Guzrattee, the Orissa, the Bengalee, the Mahratta, the Punjabee, and the Hindoostanee, comprised nearly all the collateral branches springing from the Sungskrit language; and that all the rest were varieties of the Hindee, and some of them, indeed, little better than jargons capable of conveying ideas.

But although we entered on our work with these ideas, we were ultimately constrained to relinquish them. First, one language was found to differ widely from the Hindee in point of termination, then another, and in so great a degree, that the idea of their being dialects of the Hindee seemed scarcely tenable. Yet, while they were found to possess terminations for the nouns and verbs distinct from the Hindee, they were found as complete as the Hindee itself; and we at length perceived, that we might, with as much propriety term them dialects of the Mahratta or the Bengalee language, as of the Hindee. In fact, we have ascertained that there are more than twenty languages, composed, it is true, of nearly the same words and all equally related to the common parent, the Sungskrit, but each possessing a distinct set of terminations, and, therefore, having equal claims to the title of distinct cognate languages. Among these we number the Juypore, the Bruj, the Ooduypore, the Bikaneer, the Mooltanee, the Marawar, the Magada (or South Bahar), the Sindh, the Mythil, the Wuch, the Kutch, the Harutee, the Koshula, etc., languages, the very names of which have scarcely reached Europe, but which have been recognised as distinct languages by the natives of India almost from time immemorial.

That these languages, though differing from each other only in terminations and a few of the words that they contain, can scarcely be called dialects, will appear, if we reflect, that there is in India no general language current, of which they can be supposed to be dialects. The Sungskrit, the parent of them all, is at present the current language of no country, though spoken by the learned nearly throughout India. It's grammatical apparatus, too, the most copious and complex perhaps on earth, is totally unlike any of its various branches. To term them dialects of the Hindee is preposterous, when some of them, in their terminations, approach nearer the Bengalee than the Hindee, while others approach more nearly to the Mahratta. The fact is, indeed, that the latest and most exact researches have shown that the Hindee has no country which can exclusively claim it as its own. Being the language of the Musulman courts and camps, it is spoken in those cities and towns which have been formerly, or are now, the seat of Musulman princes; and in general by those Musulmans who attend on the persons of European gentlemen in a most every part of India. Hence, it is the language which most Europeans get an idea of before any other, and which indeed, in many instances, terminates their philological researches. These circumstances have led to the supposition, that it is the language of the greater part of Hindoostan; while the fact is, that it is not always understood by the common people at a distance of only twenty miles from the towns in which it is spoken. These speak their own vernacular language, in Bengal the Bengalee, and in other countries that which is appropriately the language of the country, which may account for a circumstance well known to those gentlemen who fill the judicial department, namely, that the publishing of the Honourable Company's Regulations in Hindoostanee has often been objected to, on the ground that in that language they would be unintelligible to the bulk of the people in the various provinces of Hindoostan. Had this idea been followed up, it might have led to the knowledge of the fact, that each of these various provinces has a language of its own, most of them nearly alike in the bulk of their words, but differing so widely in the grammatical terminations, as, when spoken, to be scarcely intelligible to their next neighbours.

Carey's Linguistic Survey.

The report (which is signed by W. Carey, J. Marshman, and W. Ward) goes on to give detailed proof of the foregoing remarks. Thirty-four specimens are given of thirty-three Indian languages. In each the specimen consists of the conjugated present and past tenses of the verb 'to be,' and of a version of the Lord's Prayer. Each specimen is taken up separately and, word by word, dissected, in order to show that it is not a specimen of a dialect, but of an independent language. The whole discussion is too long to quote, but it is very interesting reading, especially as it is the first attempt at a systematic survey of the languages of India. In this connexion, it is well to remember that its date is 1816, and that its authors were Carey, Marshman, and Ward. The languages considered are as follows (I give the original spelling):—Sungskrit, Bengalee, Hindee, Kashmeera, Dogura [*i.e.* Dogrī], Wuch [*i.e.* Lahndá], Sindh, Southern Sindh, Kutch, Goojuratee, Kunkuna, Punjabee or Shikh, Bikaneer, Marawar, Juya-poora, Ooduya-poora, Harutee, Maluwa, Bruj, Bundelkhund, Mahratta, Magudha or South Bahar, North Koshula [*i.e.* Awadhi], Mythilee, Nepal, Assam, Orissa or Ootkul, Telinga, Kurnata, Pushtoo or Afghan, Bulochee, Khassee, Burman.

This list is instructive in two points. In the first place it shows that the Dravidian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and so forth—were not yet recognized as a separate family. That had to await the acute discernment of Hodgson. Here they are looked upon as being just as much Sanskritic as Bengali or Hindi. The other point is that no distinction has been made between language and dialect. We find great languages,—like Burmese, Bengali, or Paṣhtō—side by side with forms of speech like Jaipurī and Hārauṭī, which are hardly separate dialects—certainly less so than the dialect of Somerset and that of Devonshire. This is due to the fact that, at least in Northern India, there is no word exactly corresponding to our 'language,' as distinct from 'dialect.' All that the average Indian recognizes is dialect. Unless taught by European methods, he has no word for denoting a group of cognate dialects under one general head. He has numerous (hundreds of) dialect names, just as we talk of the Somersetshire and Yorkshire dialects, but no word parallel to our general term, 'English.'

With Carey's report, further inquiry into the general relationship of the Aryan languages of India seems to have been dropped for a considerable period. The lately-formed Asiatic Society in Calcutta was too busy with the study of Sanskrit and Persian to trouble much about the modern vernaculars. Practical grammars of the more important languages were, it is true, compiled in plenty, but there was at first no co-ordinated inquiry into the subject as a whole. On the other hand, the non-Aryan languages at once received the attention of a number of distinguished scholars. The Indo-Chinese tongues were the first to receive attention. In 1798 Dr. Francis Buchanan published in the Asiatic Researches (Vol. V.) a Comparative Vocabulary of some of the languages spoken in Burma, and three years later D. J. Leyden, in the tenth volume, wrote on the Language and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. Again, in 1837, in Volume VI of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, we have a comparison of the Indo-Chinese languages by Nathan Brown, who was also the author of other papers connected with the same subject which later appeared in the Journal of the American Oriental Society. In 1828 (Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI) we first meet one name that overshadows all the rest,—that of Brian Houghton Hodgson,—as the author of an article on the Language, Literature, and Religion of the Bauddhas of Nepál and Bhot (Tibet). This was followed by a long series of papers on the zoology and ethnology of Nepal, but, nineteen years afterwards, in 1847 (Journal A. S. B. Vol. XVI), he resumes his philological enquiries with a Comparative Vocabulary of the Sub-Himalayan dialects. Then followed a number of important papers, still classics, and still full of varied and accurate information regarding nearly every non-Aryan language of India and the neighbouring countries. Space will not allow me to give even a dry catalogue of the subjects which he adorned. Suffice it to say here that he gave comparative vocabularies of nearly all the Indo-Chinese languages spoken in India and the neighbouring countries, and of the Muṇḍā and of the Dravidian forms of speech. These he compared with many languages of Central Asia in the search of one common origin for the whole. So far as I am aware, he was the first Englishman to use the term 'Dravidian' for the languages of Central and Southern India, but he included under that term not only the Dravidian languages proper, but also those of an altogether different family,—the Muṇḍā. It is true that he failed to establish his favourite theory of a common origin for all the languages explored by him,—that is a matter still under inquiry, and on

Buchanan, Leyden, and N. Brown.

B. H. Hodgson.

which the opinions of scholars are still divided,—but this hardly diminishes the value of his writings, which contain a mass of evidence on the aboriginal languages of India that has never been superseded. Its hall-marks are the wide extent of area covered, clearness of arrangement, and accuracy of treatment. Hodgson's last paper on Indian languages, on the languages of the broken tribes of Nepal, appeared in 1858, in the twenty-seventh volume of the Journal of the Society with which he was so intimately connected, so that his literary activity covered just thirty years. Ten years later, in 1868, there appeared Hunter's "Comparative Dictionary of the languages of India and High Asia", which, with some additions, summarized the results of Hodgson's linguistic collections, and presented them in a form convenient to the student.

Hunter.

The earliest fruit of Hodgson's researches was Max Müller's Letter to the Chevalier Bunsen, published in 1854. In this Müller established, for the first time, the existence of the Muṇḍā[1] family of languages as an independent body of speech, apart from the Dravidian, and gave it a name. Two years later, in 1856, appeared what has ever since been the foundation of research into the tongues of Southern India, Bishop Caldwell's 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages.' Here, for the first time, a group of Indian languages was treated as a whole by a scholar who was practically familiar with its elements and at the same time a trained philologist.

Max Müller.

Muṇḍā Languages.

Caldwell. Dravidian Languages.

The Indo-Chinese languages also continued to receive study. The indefatigable Logan published essay after essay in the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," in which the languages of Burma and Assam were compared and analysed. Logan wanted the philological training possessed by Caldwell, and hence his work has not retained the same authority as that of the great bishop, but he made many shrewd suggestions as to the relationship existing between the languages with which he dealt, and these have been confirmed, or rediscovered (for his writings are hardly known at the present day), by subsequent inquirers. Forbes's posthumous 'Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India' (1881) is but a tantalizing fragment, and it fell to the late professor Ernst Kuhn to attack seriously one branch of the question and to put the philology of the languages of Further India upon a sound footing. His *Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens* in the 'Sitzungsberichte' of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences (1889) has been the starting point for a number of younger students who are writing at the present day, amongst whom special attention must be drawn to Pater W. Schmidt's brilliant work on 'Die Mon-Khmer-Völker' (1906) Pater Schmidt has here proved not only that the Mōn-Khmēr languages form a link between the Muṇḍā languages of India proper and the languages of Indonesia, grouping the first two, with Khāsī and some other minor forms of speech, under the

Indo-Chinese Languages.

Logan.

Forbes.

Kuhn.

W. Schmidt.

Austro-Asiatic. Austric.

[1] He gave it himself this name, and by a recognized convention among all scholars, a discoverer has the right of naming his discovery and of expecting that other scholars will employ that name, unless it is clearly proved to be wrong. So it is in Botany and in Zoology, and so it ought to be in Philology; but later writers transgressed against the comity of scholarship, and invented other names for the family, such as Kōl, or the absurd 'Kolarian,' a name not only liable to misinterpretation, but also based on an imaginary statement that the speakers hailed from Colar in Southern India, which has no foundation whatever in fact. Throughout the Survey, I therefore adhere to the name given to the family by its first discoverer. It may be added that this name was used in Sanskrit literature for the people who spoke these languages, centuries before Max Müller was born. See page 35, note[4].

one name of the 'Austroasiatic' languages,—but has gone much further. He has shown that the languages of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia also form a group which he terms the 'Austronesic.' The Indonesian languages thus form a link between the Austroasiatic and the Austronesic languages, the whole forming one great linguistic family,—called the 'Austric'—extending from the hills of Central India to Easter Island, off the coast of South America, and covering a wider area even than that of the Indo-European tongues.

Indo-Aryan Languages.

Indo-Aryan languages also received attention in the Bengal Asiatic Society. The earlier contributions were grammars and vocabularies of particular languages or dialects, and do not immediately concern us, though mention must be made of the wonderful pioneer work done in this direction by Major Robert Leech. We owe to his indefatigable diligence and accurate observation quite an extraordinary number of vocabularies and grammars of hitherto untouched languages. Between 1838 and 1843 he gave us grammars of Brahūī, Balōchī, Paṅjābī, Paṣhto, Bundēlī and Kāshmīrī, besides vocabularies of Ōrmuṛī, Pashai, Laghmānī, Khōwār, Tirāhī, and Dīrī. For some of these his work is still our only authority, for the languages are now either extinct or spoken in tracts not since visited by British officers. For others, his work was superseded only at the end of the nineteenth century.

Leech.

It was in Bombay that the comparative study of the Indo-Aryan languages was resumed thirty-seven years after the publication of Carey's Report. We find the evidence of this in the fourth volume of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the number for January 1853 Sir Thomas Erskine Perry, then Chief Justice of Bombay and President of the Society, published his paper 'On the Geographical Distribution of the principal Languages of India.' He divided the languages of India into two great classes,— 'the language of the intruding Arians, or Sanskritoid, in the North, and the language of a civilized race in the South of India, represented by its most cultivated branch, the Tamil.' The former he reckoned as seven in number, *viz.*, Hindī, Kāshmīrī, Bengalī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Kōṅkaṇī, and Oriyā, with ten dialects. Paṅjābī, Lahndā (called by him Multáni), Sindhī, and Mārwāṛī he looked upon as all dialects of Hindī. Maithilī he classed as a dialect of Bengali. Since he wrote, it will be seen that many of the forms of speech that he looked upon as dialects have been raised to the dignity of being recognized as independent languages. The Southern languages he called 'Turanian or Tamiloid.' He did not seem to be aware of the term 'Dravidian' which was first used simultaneously in 1856 both by Hodgson and by Caldwell. Perry mentioned Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil, Malayālam, Tuḷu, and (with a query) Gōṇḍī. He gave brief descriptive accounts of the general characteristics of each language, and carefully indicated the habitat of each, the whole being illustrated by an excellent language map. It will be observed that he altogether ignored the Indo-Chinese languages, and that he made no mention of the Mundā languages, which were not identified by Max Müller till the following year. While Perry confined himself to the geographical distribution of the Indian languages, another Bombay scholar was studying the interaction between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. The same volume of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S. contains J. Stevenson's *Comparative Vocabulary of the Non-Sanscrit Vocables of the Vernacular Languages of India*. Here the important question of the borrowing of Dravidian words by the different Indo-

Sir Erskine Perry.

Stevenson.

Aryan languages, and of its ethnical significance is treated for the first time, and with great acumen. It was inevitable that, at that stage of linguistic science, many of Stevenson's comparisons should be mistaken, but still the article remains a solid contribution to the general linguistic science of India.

Beames.

On the other side of India, in 1867, John Beames, a young Indian Civilian of barely ten years' service, attracted attention by the publication of a little summary of what was then known about all the languages of the country in his 'Outlines of Indian Philology.' Five years later appeared the first volume of his well-known 'Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India.' The same year witnessed the publication of Dr. Hoernle's first essays in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the same subject, which were followed in 1880 by his 'Grammar of Eastern Hindī compared with the other Gaudian Languages.' These two excellent works, each a masterpiece in its own way, have since been the twin foundation of all researches into the origin and mutual relationship of the languages of the Indo-Aryan family of speech.

Hoernle.

All this time, for many decades, grammars and vocabularies of individual forms of Indian speech had been issuing in considerable numbers. For the better known languages, such as Hindōstanī, Marāṭhī, or Bengali, they came out in scores, and it must be confessed that most of them were but labour wasted. Each writer copied his predecessor, according to his capacity, corrected a few mistakes or not, introduced a few more or not, and proclaimed a new gospel which was not new. Now and then a work of striking merit, such as Molesworth's Marāṭhi Dictionary, Trumpp's Sindhī or Kellogg's Hindī Grammar, appeared, but most of the rest were sorry stuff and were hardly wanted. The less-known languages, though equally important, were studiously left alone. Carey wrote his Pañjābī grammar in 1812, and, except for a brief sketch by Leech, it was forty years before anyone again attempted to describe in a formal manner the language of the Sikkhs. But, if this was the case with languages whose speakers were numbered by millions, the state of affairs regarding the scores of minor languages spoken by thousands, the languages of the hill-tribes of Central India, of the Tibeto-Burmans of Eastern Bengal and Assam, was much worse. An enthusiast wrote a grammar or compiled a vocabulary here and there. Government encouraged its officers to make more, and a few did so,—excellent works in their way.

Sir George Campbell.

In 1874, Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, printed a set of vocabularies compiled by local officials, but, with this exception, very little was done. Even with the help of foreigners the work hardly progressed. The first serious grammar of Paṣhtō,—the language of Afghanistan,—was written by a Russian—Dorn—and up to quite lately, although numerous elementary grammars have been written by Englishmen, all the scientific study of this form of speech was carried on by French or Germans. Similarly, we owe the only existing grammar and vocabulary of Nēwārī, the principal language of Nepal, to another Russian. Examples of this kind might be multiplied, but, even with outside help, the total result was that our knowledge of these minor languages, a knowledge most important for the purposes of administration as well as in the interests of science, was scanty, unevenly distributed, and unequal. In fact, so late as the year 1878 no one had as yet made even a catalogue of all the

Russian investigations.

languages spoken in India, and the estimates of their number varied between 50 or 60 and 250. Dr. Cust made a brave attempt to put together such an inventory in that year, but his "Modern Languages of the East Indies" in spite of all the industrious learning and acumen of its author, was confessedly a compilation of existing materials, and these materials were equally confessedly imperfect. It was a tentative work, and was primarily intended to stimulate enquiry, not to close the subject.

Cust.

Dr. Cust's work succeeded. It did stimulate enquiry. For the first time Government, as well as European scholars, were enabled to see what little had been done and how much remained to be done. People talked about it and wrote about it. It was finally discussed at the Oriental Congress held at Vienna in 1886, of which Dr. Cust was himself a member; and the assembled scholars passed a resolution urging upon the Government of India to undertake 'a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India.'[1] The proposal was favourably received, but the adoption of a detailed scheme was delayed at first on financial grounds. In the year 1894 the matter came within the region of practical politics, and the preliminary details came under discussion. The first question to be settled was the extent of the proposed survey. After consultation with the various local Governments, it was decided to exclude the Provinces of Madras and Burma and the States of Hyderabad and Mysore from its operations, so that these would cover, from the West to the East, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier, Kashmir, the Punjab, the Bombay Presidency, Rajputana and Central India, the Central Provinces and Berar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, and Assam,[2] then containing a population of about 224,000,000 out of the 294,000,000 of our Indian Empire.

Vienna Congress of 1886.

Linguistic Survey of India.

Then, as to the nature of the Survey. After some discussion it was decided that it was primarily to be a collection of specimens, a standard passage was to be selected for purposes of comparison, and this was to be translated into every known dialect and sub-dialect spoken in the area covered by the operations. As this specimen would necessarily be in every case a translation and would, therefore, run the risk of being unidiomatic, a second specimen was also to be called for in each case, not a translation, but a piece of folklore or some other passage in narrative prose or verse, selected on the spot and taken down from the mouth of the speaker. Subsequently a third specimen was added to the scheme a standard list of word and test sentences originally drawn up for the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1866[3] by Sir George Campbell and already widely used in India. It was obviously desirable that, for purposes of comparison, this list should be retained in its entirety, and so it was done, but a few extra words were added. The foundation of the Survey is thus these three specimens,—the standard translation, the passage locally selected, and the list of words and sentences. It was then determined that the first specimen should be a version

Basis of the Survey.

[1] The resolution was proposed by Dr. Bühler and seconded by Professor Weber. Among its supporters by word or by letter were Messrs. Barth, Bendall, Cowell, Cust, Grierson, Hoernle, Max Müller, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Messrs. Rost, Sayce, and Senart.

[2] I name the Provinces as they are divided nowadays. In 1894, Bihar and Orissa formed a part of Bengal. It may be added that, at the present time, a Linguistic Survey of Burma is in progress.

[3] J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXV, Pt. ii, special number, pp. 201ff.

of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, with slight verbal alteration to avoid Indian prejudices, a passage which has been previously used and is admirably suited for such purposes.[1]

This having been decided, I was entrusted with the task of collecting the specimens and of editing them for the press. With this object, the various local officers were instructed to render me the necessary assistance, and I should be ungrateful did I not cordially express my gratitude for the sympathetic and ungrudging help accorded by my brethren in the service of the Indian Governments and by many others, Europeans and Indians, missionaries and laymen.

Preliminary lists of Languages.

Before getting the specimens, we had to find out what it was that we wanted specimens of, and the first thing to be done was to compile a list of all the varieties of speech then known to exist in the area under survey. Forms were sent out to each district officer and political agent with a request that he would fill in the name of every language spoken in his charge, together with the estimated number of speakers of each. The forms came back by degrees, and their contents, I must confess, rather appalled me. The total number of languages reported from the survey area was 231 and of dialects 774. Examination fortunately showed that some few names were returned over and over again from different provinces, and also that it was probable that in many cases the same form of speech was reported under different names. I may say that, now that the process of elimination has been completed, the number of languages spoken in that portion of the Indian Empire subjected to the Survey amounts to 179, and the number of dialects to 544, all of which are described in these volumes. For the whole Indian Empire, the Census of 1921 gives 188 languages,[2] the total number of dialects being unknown.

Compilation of the Lists.

The preparation of these lists was no easy mechanical process,—the sort of thing that could be done by an intelligent clerk. I pass over the difficulties encountered in compiling the local lists into general lists, one for each province. Those who have had experience in putting together hundreds of returns from different sources will know its laborious character, and those who have not can imagine it. But great difficulty was often experienced in preparing the local returns that formed the materials on which I had to work. Each officer knew about the main language of his district, and, if he had been there some time, had probably a working acquaintance with it. But over and over again no one with any education knew anything about the little hole-in-the-corner forms of speech which were discovered as soon as search was instituted. Let me give one example. In one of the Himalayan districts, of which the main language was Aryan, a small colony was discovered which originally hailed from Tibet, and which retained its own language. No official knew it, and intercourse with them was conducted through the medium of a lingua franca. The district officer entered the name of this language in his return. This name was not one word, or two words. It was a solemn procession of weird monosyllables wandering right across a page. I could make nothing of it, nor could my Tibetan-knowing friends. It should be remembered that it was a foreign expression written

[1] It contains the three personal pronouns, most of the cases found in the declension of nouns, and the present, past, and future tenses of the verb.

[2] These figures will no doubt be increased when the Survey now in progress in Burma is completed.

down in English letters as it sounded to the untrained ear of a person entirely unacquainted with it. All my endeavours to identify the name failed. At last I wrote to the district officer and asked him to make further inquiries. In reply it was explained that investigation had shown that the monosyllabic procession was not the name of any language, but was the local method of expressing in broken Tibetan 'I don't understand what you are driving at.'

Local Language-nomenclature.

Another difficulty was the finding of the local name of a dialect. Just as M. Jourdain did not know that he had been speaking prose all his life, so the average Indian villager does not know that he has been speaking anything with a name attached to it. He can always put a name to the dialect spoken by somebody fifty miles off, but, — as for his own dialect,—'O, that has no name. It is simply correct language.' It thus happens that most dialect names are not those given by the speakers, but those given by their neighbours, and are not always complimentary. For instance, there is a well-known form of speech in the south of the Punjab called 'Jangali,' from its being spoken in the 'Jungle,' or unirrigated country bordering on Bikaner. But 'Jangali,' also means 'boorish' and local inquiries failed to find a single person who admitted that he spoke that language. 'O yes, we know Jangali very well,—you will find it a little further on, not here.' You go a little further on and get the same reply, and pursue your will-o'-the-wisp till he lands you in the Rajputana desert, where there is no one to speak any language at all. These illustrations show the difficulties encountered by local officers in identifying dialects and naming them.

From the local lists received, as described above, provincial lists were compiled and printed. These did not profess to be accurate catalogues of the tongues of India. They claimed only to represent the then existing knowledge of the state of affairs as reported by officers with local experience, who did not pretend to be philological experts. As such, they formed the basis of the Survey operations. When the lists were printed, the dialects were divided into two main classes, distinguished by a difference of type, *viz.*, (1) those which were vernaculars of the localities from which they were reported, and (2) those which were spoken by foreigners in each locality. The latter were once for all excluded, and attention was thenceforth devoted only to the former.

Collection of specimens.

Each district officer was now asked to provide a set of the three specimens of each language locally vernacular in his district. Careful instructions were given for the preparation of these specimens. It will be remembered that the first was to be a translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son. It was recognized that in many, nay, in most cases, the translators would not know English, and in order to assist them a volume of all the known versions of the parable in Indian languages was compiled with the help of the British and Foreign Bible Society, of local missionaries, and of one or two Government officers who were specially interested in the Survey. This collection, which was published in 1897, under the name of 'Specimen Translations in various Indian languages,' contained sixty-five versions, and, though primarily intended as a tool to aid the execution of the scheme, aroused some temporary interest among the scholars of Europe. For the Survey, it was anticipated that whoever might have to prepare a specimen, even if he did not know English, would find in this book at least one version from which he could make a translation; and this, in fact, was borne out by subsequent experience.

The second specimen, which was to be locally selected, presented no similar difficulties, but instructions were given that all specimens were to be written (*a*) in the vernacular character (if there was one) and (*b*) in the Roman character with a word for word interlinear translation. The second specimen was also to be furnished with a free translation into good English. As to the style of translation into the vernacular, local officers were told that the language of literature was always to be avoided. What was to be aimed at was the acquisition of specimens in the home language of each translator, whether it was looked upon as vulgar patois or not. For the third specimen, the standard list of words and sentences, blank books of forms were supplied, which needed only to be filled up.

As each provincial list of languages was completed, the circulars calling for specimens were issued. The latter began to arrive in 1897, and most of them were received by the end of 1900, though a few belated specimens continued to come at irregular intervals during the succeeding years. The editing and collating of the specimens began in 1898. The first rough work was done in India, but in 1899 I returned to England, where for some years I had the efficient aid of my Assistant Dr., now Professor, Konow of Christiania.

Editing of the specimens.

The editing of the specimens has been an interesting work, but it involved some unexpected difficulties. Before anything could be printed, a general scheme of classification had to be decided upon, and that on a very imperfect knowledge of the materials. As the work went on discoveries were made which rendered revisions of the classification necessary; and sometimes these were made too late, so that the materials have not always been arranged as, with further knowledge, I should like them to be arranged now. This was especially the case in regard to the Indo-Chinese languages, in which my Assistant and myself were often walking on ground which hitherto had been untrodden, and had to deal with languages for which no grammars or dictionaries existed. Here mistakes in classification were inevitable; but I am glad that I can think that none of first class importance were made, and that, on the whole, though I might now group a few individual languages differently from the manner in which they have been grouped in the published volumes of the Survey, my present knowledge would not lead me to make any substantial alteration.

I have never counted the total number of specimens received. They amount to several thousands, and it stands to reason that it was not possible to print them all. The surplusage was deliberately estimated for. It was calculated that the specimens would vary in value. Several would be received of each dialect. Some would be prepared carefully, others ignorantly, others carelessly Many of them would come from the mouths of uneducated people, hardly able to grasp the idea of what was required. A mass from which to select was therefore a desideratum, and this, in most cases, was secured. It is only in the case of a few less-known dialects of the Himalaya and of the Assam frontier that single specimens were obtained. These were, in all cases, forms of speech which had never been recorded in writing before, and mistakes in recording them were to be expected. Thanks to the constant sympathy and ungrudging aid given by our frontier officers, — the most enthusiastic among my helpers, — many doubtful points were cleared up by correspondence, and I hope that in after years it will be found that these specimens are not very wrong. Absolutely accurate we cannot expect them to be.

To give an example of the difficulties experienced, I may mention that the correction of one specimen was delayed for over six months by a fall of snow in the Hindūkush, which prevented the Political Agent at Chitral obtaining the services of the only getatable bilingual speaker of one of the Pāmīr dialects. Again, in the case of one of the Kāfir languages of the Hindūkush, no one who spoke it could at first be got hold of. At length, after a long search, a shepherd of the desired nationality was enticed from his native fastness to Chitral. He was exceptionally stupid, probably very much frightened, and knew only his native language. A Bashgal Shekh was found who knew a little of it, and who also knew Chitrālī, with his aid the translation of the Parable was made through Bashgalī and Chitrālī. Much accuracy could not be expected from the result; but, with care and the assistance of the local officers, a version was ultimately made, which, though it contained some passages that I have been unable to analyse completely, has very satisfactorily complied with the somewhat stringent philological tests to which it has been subjected.

This was by no means an isolated example. There were scores of languages for which no one could be found who knew any one of them and at the same time English. It might be thought, for instance, that our officials would be familiar with most of the languages spoken in the neighbourhood of the port of Chittagong. Yet there is an instance on record of a criminal case which was tried in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. One of the witnesses was a woman who knew only the Khami language. This was translated into Mrū, which was then translated into Arakanese, which was again translated into the local dialect of Bengali, from which version the Magistrate recorded the quadruply refracted evidence in English. This makes no reflection on the officer concerned. There are parts of India which seem to have had each a special Tower of Babel of its own. From the little Province of Assam, with its population of only about six and a half millions, or a million less than that of London, eighty-one Indian languages were returned at the Census of 1911, and it contained others that were not specifically returned. Mezzofanti himself, who spoke fifty-eight languages, would have been puzzled here.

As each dialect was examined, a specimen or specimens of it were selected for publication and made ready for the press. From the specimens a sketch of the grammatical and other peculiarities was prepared, and reference was made to any point worth noting about the speakers. Dialects were then grouped into languages, and for each language a somewhat elaborate introduction was provided, sketching the habitat and number of speakers; distinguishing the dialects and comparing their characteristics; giving, when known, the ancient history of the language, and defining its relationship to other members of the same family; describing briefly the salient points of the literature, when there was one; supplying a bibliography as full as we were able to make it; and concluding with a sketch of the grammar. The results are to be found in the volumes of the Survey, to which this is an Introduction.

The Survey a collection of facts not of theories.

Throughout the whole series of operations, one thing has been steadily borne in mind—that these results were not to be bundles of theories, but collections of facts. The languages had to be arranged in some order or other, and this necessitated grouping, and grouping necessitated the

adoption of theories as to relationship.[1] So much could not be helped; but beyond this every effort has been made to prevent the Survey becoming an encyclopædia of Indian philological science. That will, we may hope, follow when scholars more competent than the present writer have had time to digest the immense mass of ordered facts now placed at their disposal. Indeed, a beginning has already been made. Reference has already been made to Pater Schmidt's discoveries regarding the Austric languages, and it has been a legitimate source of gratification to me to observe the free use of the Survey which has been made by Monsieur Jules Bloch in his researches into Marāṭhī, by Professor Turner and Professor Sunīti Kumār Chatterji in their important studies in Gujarātī and Bengali, and by Dr. Paul Tedesco in his luminous essays on the history of Aryan languages. One interesting result of Pater Schmidt's inquiries may here be added, as it has a direct connexion with the Survey. The Muṇḍā languages, as we know, belong to Chota Nagpur and the centre of India. It is also a familiar fact that the languages spoken in the Himalaya, far to the north of these Muṇḍā languages, are Tibeto-Burman in character. But even here the Survey shows us that there is a line of peculiar forms of speech, extending from Darjiling to the Panjab, that show evident traces of a previously existing language of the Muṇḍā family, which has been overlaid, so to speak, by the Tibeto-Burman of the later immigrants. There is thus evidence to show the existence, at some very ancient time, of a common language of which traces are still visible from Kanawar in the Panjab down through Further India and across the Pacific Ocean as far as Easter Island and New Zealand. Philology is not to be confounded with Ethnology, and here we may leave these interesting facts in the hands of ethnologists for further examination.

'Language' and 'dialect'.

In the course of the Survey, it has sometimes been difficult to decide where a given form of speech is to be looked upon as an independent language, or as a dialect of some other definite form of speech. In practice it has been found that it is sometimes impossible to decide the question in a manner which will gain universal acceptance. The two words 'language' and 'dialect' are, in this respect, like 'mountain' and 'hill.' One has no hesitation in saying that, say, Everest is a mountain, and Holborn Hill, a hill, but between these two the dividing line cannot be accurately drawn. Moreover we often talk of the 'Darjiling Hills' which are over 7,500 feet high, while everyone calls Snowdon, with its poor 3,500 feet a mountain. 'Language' and 'dialect' are often used in the same loose way. In common use we may say that, as a general rule, different dialects of the same language are sufficiently alike to be reasonably well understood by all whose native tongue is that language, while different languages are so unlike that special study is needed to enable one to understand a language that is not his own. This is the explanation of the Century Dictionary,[2] but the writer adds that 'this is not an essential difference,' and nowhere is this proviso more needed than in considering the Aryan languages of Northern India. There, mutual intelligibility cannot always be the deciding factor, for the consideration is obscured by the fact that between Bengal and the Panjab every individual

[1] Before the pages of the Survey could be put in type, it was necessary to draw up a skeleton scheme of the volumes of which it was to consist. This was done when I had a very indefinite idea of the extent of the work that lay before me, or of the number of dialects that would come under notice, and accounts for the unwieldy size of some of the volumes and for the inconvenient method of dividing some of them into two or more parts. Once the general plan of the arrangement of the volumes was laid down, it was unadvisable to alter its main outlines.

[2] S. v. 'Language.'

who has received the very slightest education is bilingual. In his own home, and in his own immediate surroundings he speaks a local idiom, but in his intercourse with strangers he employs or understands some form of that great lingua franca, Hindī or Hindōstānī. Moreover, over the whole of this vast area,—including even Rajputana, Central India, and Gujarat,—the great mass of the vocabulary, including nearly all the words in common use, is, allowing for variations of pronunciation, the same. It is thus commonly said, and believed, that throughout the Gangetic Valley, between Bengal and the Panjab, there is one language, and one only, Hindī, with numerous local dialects. From one point of view this is correct, and cannot be denied. Hindī or Hindōstānī is everywhere the language of administration, and is the one medium of instruction in the rural schools. The people, as I have said, being bilingual, little or no inconvenience is caused in practice by the employment of the assumption, and no one in their senses would wish to complicate administration by the introduction of a confusion of tongues.

And yet, when these numerous so-called dialects of this 'Hindī' are examined by the philologist, and when he attempts to group and classify, he is at once confronted by radical differences of idiom and construction. Some of these dialects are as analytical as English,—others are as synthetic as German. Some have the simplest grammar, with every word-relationship indicated, not by declension or conjugation, but by the use of help-words, while others have grammars more complicated than that of Latin, with verbs that change their forms not only in agreement with the subject, but even with the object. To look upon all these as dialects of a single language is as philologically impossible, as it would be, say, to describe German as a dialect of English; and hence, in the Linguistic Survey, they have been sorted out, according to their grammatical systems, into three groups, each of which is given the dignity of a language, Bihārī, Eastern Hindī, and Western Hindī. This division has not escaped criticism. For instance the writer of the Report on the Census of the United Provinces for 1921 says[1] that 'the difference between speaking to a villager of Gorakhpur [where the language is Bihārī] and to a jungleman of Jhansi [where the language is Western Hindī] is precisely the difference between speaking to a peasant of Devon and to a crofter of Aberdeen. If you are intelligible to the one you can with patience make yourself intelligible to the other.' I myself have never had an opportunity of personally comparing the dialects of Devon and of Aberdeen, but I would suggest that the true point of difference has been here missed. The question is not whether an educated third person can master the two dialects, but whether a Devon peasant suddenly transported to Aberdeen would be able to communicate with the surrounding crofters. I fear that a considerable amount of patience would have to be exercised in such a case before intercommunication could be established, and even then it would be helped out by idioms borrowed from the language of Uncle Toby's Army in Flanders.

This brings us back to the proviso stated by the writer in the Century Dictionary, to which I have already drawn attention. The differentiation of a language does not necessarily depend on non-intercommunicability with another form of speech. There are also other powerful factors to be considered, if we are to look at the subject from a scientific point of view. First and foremost, there is what I have already referred to,—grammatical structure. Our peasant of Gorakhpur may or may not be intelligible

[1] Report, Chapter IX, § 3.

to the jungleman of Jhansi, but that does not do away with the fact that his language is highly synthetic, with a verb the conjugation of which is more complicated than that of Latin. The Jhansi jungleman, on the contrary uses a tongue with hardly any synthetic grammar at all. *His* verb has but one real tense, and two participles. All the other relations of time are indicated by the combination of these participles with help-words. The vocabulary of the two forms of speech may be very similar, but the whole grammatical structure of the one is radically different from that of the other. It is impossible, from the point of view of science, to group them together as dialects of a common language.

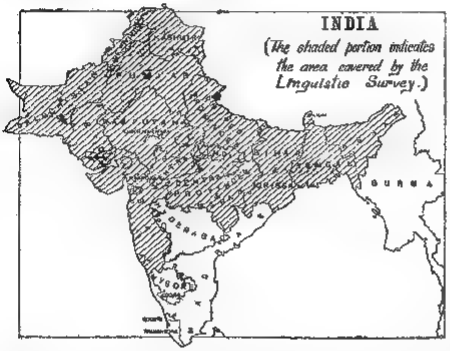
There is another factor which exercises influence in this differentiation. It is nationality. It is said that some English peasants would in Holland find little difficulty in making themselves understood, or in understanding what people say. Yet no one would deny that Dutch and English are distinct languages; and this factor is all the stronger when each nationality has developed an independent literature. There is an excellent illustration of this in Assamese. This form of speech is now admitted to be an independent language,—yet if merely its grammatical form and its vocabulary are considered, it would not be denied that it is a dialect of Bengali. It is certainly as closely related in these respects to the standard form of that language as is the dialect of Bengali spoken in Chittagong. Yet its claim to be considered as an independent language is incontestable. Not only is it the speech of an independent nation, with a history of its own, but it has a fine literature differing from that of Bengal both in its standard of speech, and in its nature and content. Here, therefore, we have an example of a language differentiated from its neighbours not by mutual unintelligibility but by nationality and literature.

GENERAL RESULTS OF THE SURVEY.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTORY.

As already stated, this Linguistic Survey does not cover the whole of India. The Provinces of Madras and Burma and the States of Hyderabad and Mysore were excluded from the sphere of its operations. The annexed map shows at a glance the areas included and excluded. The Survey gives estimates of the number of people speaking each language and dialect. It is to be regretted that these figures are ultimately based on the Census of 1891, but no other course was practicable. It will, however, be found that, allowing for the necessary adjustments and for the growth of population in the intervening thirty years, the totals for the various languages agree remarkably with those given in the Census of 1921. The reason for the adoption of the Census of 1891 as the basis of the Survey is that the latter began its operations in 1894. Generally speaking, except when special reasons suggest a contrary course, the linguistic tables of an Indian Census deal with languages only. They are not concerned with dialects. On the other hand, for the purposes of a Linguistic Survey, an exhaustive conspectus of all the dialects of each language examined forms a necessary part of its operations. As explained in the preceding chapter, the first thing done in this Survey was to obtain lists of dialects from each of the local areas with which it was concerned. They were furnished by the officers in charge of these areas in 1896 and the following years. Each local official had at hand the language totals of his District or State according to the Census of 1891. With the aid of his local knowledge, and as the result of local inquiries, he was able to state what dialects of each language were spoken in his charge, and how many speakers there were of each. The total for the dialects of each language had, of course, to agree with the then existing figures for the language under which they were grouped, and the figures for the dialects were in this way indirectly based upon the Census of 1891. It took nearly three years to correct and arrange the figures so obtained, and it would be a work of too great labour to do it all over again on the basis of a later Census. Only in the case of a few languages, principally those of the North-West Frontier, was it possible, for special reasons, to utilize the figures of the later Census of 1911.

Extent of Survey.



Survey based on Census of 1891.

Survey Statistics.

The figures of the Census of 1921 deal with a population of 316 millions. The Survey figures deal only with 290 millions. The difference is mainly due to the large areas excluded from the Survey, but the growth of the population is also to be taken into account. In 1891 that population was 287[1] millions as against the 316 millions of 1921.

Number of Languages and Dialects.

If we take the figures of the Survey as they stand, we find that 872 different languages and dialects are recorded. This is the number found in the list given in Appendix I, in which the figures for each are compared with those of the Census of 1921. But in this enumeration there is a good deal of double counting, as each language and each dialect is there given a separate number. A better idea of the results will be gained from the consideration that the Census of 1921 records 190, and the Survey records 179 languages, as distinct from dialects. When counting dialects, it must be borne in mind that, in order to make the total for the dialects tally with the number of the speakers of the language of which they form the members, it has been necessary to count the standard form of the language as one of the dialects. There are also, inevitably, cases in which a language has been returned, but its dialects not mentioned. For instance, the Khāsī language (No. 8 in the list) and its dialects are arranged as follows:—Khāsī, *Standard*, *Lyng-ngam*, *Synteng*, *Wār*, *Unspecified*. Here, if we count Khāsī in the list of languages, we must omit 'Standard' and 'Unspecified' in counting our list of dialects and languages, or we shall be recording the same form of speech twice, or perhaps three times, over. Hence, in the above example, we can count only three dialects as additional to the standard Khāsī language. On this principle, the 1921 Census has recorded 49 dialects in addition to the general language-names. The Survey, on the other hand, has recorded no less than 544 dialect-names in addition to the standard and unspecified forms of the 179 languages. The various forms of speech noted are therefore 237 (188+49) in the Census, and 723 (179+544) in the Survey. Each of these 723 is described in the Survey, in most cases with more or less complete grammatical accounts. A summary of the details[2] of these figures is as follows:—

	Survey Figures.		Census Figures.	
	Languages.	Dialects.	Languages.	Dialects.
Indo-Nesian Languages	...	...	2	..
Austro-Asiatic Languages	7	14	16	11
Môn-Khmêr Branch	*1*	*3*	*10*	..
Munḍā Branch	*6*	*11*	*6*	*11*
Karen Languages	...	..	1	14
Man Languages	...	...	2	...
Siamese-Chinese Languages	8	4	7	...

[1] The Survey figures therefore exceed the Census figures of 1891 by three millions. The excess is due to the fact that, although a large part of India was excluded from the operations of the Survey, the latter also covered large tracts, especially on the North-West Frontier, to which that Census did not extend. For the excess areas, the figures of the 1911 Census have, so far as was possible, been adopted.

[2] The full details will be found in Appendix IA. pp. 411 ff.

	Survey Figures.		Census Figures.	
	Languages.	Dialects.	Languages.	Dialects.
Tibeto-Burman Languages	113	82	117	15
Tibeto-Himalayan Branch	32	21	30	6
North Assam Branch	5	...	5	...
Assam-Burmese Branch	76	51	92	9
Dravidian Languages	16	23	15	...
Aryan Languages	38	402	26	9
Eranian Branch	8	35	3	1
Dardic Branch	13	22	4	...
Indo-Aryan Branch	17	345	19	8
Sanskrit	...	...	1	...
Outer Sub-Branch	7	110	8	3
Mediate Sub-Branch	1	18	1	...
Inner Sub-Branch	9	217	9	5
Unclassed Languages	2	19	2	...
Total	179	544	188	49

Tibeto-Burman Dialects.

It will be noticed that the Sub-Family that contains the greatest number of languages is the Tibeto-Burman. The words in these languages are all either monosyllables, or are built up on a monosyllabic basis, and are hence peculiarly liable to change. Moreover, so far as the area covered by the Survey is concerned, the speakers of the languages of this Sub-Family all live in mountainous districts. As a rule each tribe is separated from its neighbours, and languages thus quickly split up into dialects, and each dialect easily develops into a distinct language. In this way, while the number of languages is great, the number of speakers of each, averaging about 17,000, is small.

Indo-European Dialects.

On the other hand, while there are only 17 Indo-Aryan languages, the number of their speakers is 226 millions, spread over the plains and hills of Northern India. Here numbers, nationality, and habitat have combined to produce no less than 345 dialects in addition to the 17 standard languages. In this respect, the contrast between the Tibeto-Burman and the Aryan languages is marked. The monosyllabic Tibeto-Burman speech easily divides and sub-divides into numerous distinct and mutually unintelligible languages. If, as an example of similarly circumstanced Aryan forms, we take the Eranian languages spoken in and near India and the Dardic languages, we find that the two branches, like the Tibeto-Burman languages, are spoken in inhospitable mountain tracts, but that they persist. If they do sub-divide, the division is not into mutually unintelligible languages, but into mutually intelligible dialects, held together by a common grammatical basis. Their

synthetic character preserves each as a constant whole, and even in their rugged habitats they are only 21 in number spread over a tract extending from Kashmīr to the Persian frontier and from the Pāmīrs to the Arabian Sea. In northern India, where there are fewer hilly tracts to isolate the speakers, the Indo-Aryan languages are still less in number; and, though the dialects are many, the relationship of each to one or other of the great parent languages is apparent to the most casual observer.

Statistics by family.

It has been already stated that the Survey deals with the languages spoken by about 290 millions of people. The following is a summary of the number of speakers for each linguistic family :—

	Number of Speakers.	
	According to the Linguistic Survey.	According to the Census of 1921.
Austric Family	3,052,046	4,529,351
Man Family	...	591
Karen Family	...	1,114,026
Tibeto-Chinese Family	1,984,512	12,885,346
Dravidian Family	53,073,261	64,128,052
Indo-European Family	231,874,403	232,852,817
Unclassed	101,671	15,598
Total	290,085,893	315,525,781

As previously explained, the difference between the two totals is mainly due to the fact that the area covered by the Survey was not the same as that covered by the Census. A more detailed summary will be found in Appendix IB (pp. 418 ff.), and the complete figures for each language are given in Appendix I (pp. 389 ff.).[1] Roughly speaking, the total number of speakers whose languages were surveyed corresponded to three-quarters of the entire population of Europe. Of these, the speakers of the Austric languages were about equal to the population of Denmark, those of the Tibeto-Burman languages to half that of Switzerland, those of the Dravidian languages to more than the combined populations of the United Kingdom and Canada, while the speakers of the Indo-European languages about equalled the combined populations of the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Austria, France, Spain, Italy and Greece.

Philology and Ethnology.

Nowhere are there presented stronger warnings against basing ethnological theories on linguistic facts than in India. There are many instances of tribes which have in historic times abandoned one language and taken to another. A striking example is afforded by the tribe of Nahals in the Central Provinces. These people appear to have originally spoken a Muṇḍā language

[1] In Appendix I it will be noticed that many of the figures are given in round numbers. In such cases it is to be understood that the figures are estimates, and are not based on actual counting. These estimates were in every case made by officials with local experience, and, except where the reverse is stated, may be received as trustworthy.

akin to Kūrkū. It came under Dravidian influence, and has become a mixed form of speech, half Muṇḍā and half Dravidian. This, in its turn, has fallen under the spell of Aryan tongues, and is now in a fair way to becoming an Aryan language.[1] If we were to judge by language, a hundred years ago we should have called the tribe Muṇḍā. Ten years ago it was quite possible to claim it as Dravidian, and fifty years hence it would probably be described as an Aryan caste. The 'unholy alliance' between the two sciences has long been condemned, and has now fallen into disrepute, and I have hence, in the following pages, refrained so far as was possible from discussing questions of racial origin. When I have done so, it has only been to bring forward theories regarding the origin of nationalities which have been previously suggested by professed ethnologists, and to attempt to throw light on them when they are confirmed by philology. In one case only is it sometimes permissible to draw inferences as to race from the facts presented by language. When we find a small tribe clinging to a dying language, surrounded by a dominant language which has superseded the neighbouring forms of speech, and which is superseding its tongue too, we are generally entitled to assume that the dying language is the original tribal one, and that it gives a clue to the latter's racial affinities. Take as an example the Malto spoken by the hillmen of Rajmahal. This language is decadent, and is surrounded by others which are superseding it. Even if we did not know it on other grounds, we should be justified in asserting that its speakers are Dravidian, because their tongue falls within that family. But even this relaxation of the general rule, which was first suggested to me by Sir Herbert Risley, must, as the case of the Nahāls shows, be exercised with caution. The Nahāls are probably Muṇḍā by race, but their present speech is almost Dravidian. Their decadent language is a twofold palimpsest. It first began to be superseded by Dravidian, and now it is being superseded by Aryan. A careless application of Sir Herbert's theory would compel us at the present day to assume that the tribe was of mixed Muṇḍā and Dravidian origin. With a dominant language we can make no such relaxation. In India, the Indo-Aryan languages,—the tongues of civilization and of the caste system with all the power and superiority which that system confers upon those who live under its sway, are continually superseding what may, for shortness, be called the aboriginal languages such as those belonging to the Dravidian, the Muṇḍā, and the Tibeto-Burman families. We cannot say that a Tibeto-Burman Kōch or a Dravidian Gōṇḍ is an Indo-Aryan, because he speaks, as he often does, an Indo-Aryan language. The language of the Brāhūīs of Baluchistan is Dravidian, but many of the tribe speak the Eranian Balōchi in their own homes, and, on the other side of India, some of the tribe of Khariās speak a Muṇḍā, others a Dravidian language, and others, again, the Indo-Aryan Bengali. It may be added that nowhere do we see the reverse process of a non-Aryan language superseding an Aryan. It is even rare for one Aryan-speaking nationality to abandon its language in favour of another Aryan tongue. We continually find tracts of country on the borderland between two languages, which are inhabited by both communities, living side by side and each speaking its own language. In some localities, such as the District of Malda in Bengal, the Survey actually found villages in which three languages were spoken, and in which the various tribes had evolved a kind of lingua franca to facilitate intercommunication, while each adhered to its own tongue for conversation amongst its fellows. The only exception to this general rule about the non-interchangeability of Indo-Aryan languages

[1] See Vol. IV, pp. 9, 195.

is caused by religion. Islām has carried Urdū far and wide, and even in Bengal and Orissa we find Musalmān natives of the country whose vernacular is not that of their compatriots but is an attempt (often a bad one) to reproduce the idiom of Delhi and Lucknow

Tribal dialects.

This brings us to the question of tribal dialects, a subject that has not hitherto received the attention which it deserves. The matter is complicated by the fact that very frequently a tribe gives its name to a language, not because it is specially the language of the tribe, but because the tribe is an important one in the area in which it is spoken. Take, for example, the language which in the Census of 1891 was called 'Jaṭkī,' *i.e.* 'the language of the Jaṭṭ tribe.' But Jaṭkī is not by any means the language of the Jaṭṭ tribe alone. It is the language of the whole Western Panjab, in parts of which, it is true, Jaṭṭs preponderate. The name Jaṭkī is hence misleading (the more so, because the Jaṭṭs of the Eastern Panjab do not speak 'Jaṭkī') and has been abandoned in the Survey for the more tenable 'Western Pañjābī' or 'Lahndā'. So again, in the hills north and east of Murree there are a number of dialects varying according to locality. One of the important tribes living in these hills is the Chibh, and these Chibhs everywhere speak the dialect of the different places where they live. But the question-begging name of 'Chibhālī' or 'the language of the Chibhs' was invented, and employed to mean 'the dialect of the hills north and east of Murree,' whereas, there are several dialects spoken by Chibhs, and, moreover, the Chibhs are by no means the only people who speak them.

Gipsy languages.

Another group of tribal tongues are those which are classed in the Survey as Gipsy languages. They are the speeches of wandering clans who employ, mainly for professional purposes, dialects different from that of the tract over which they may possibly have wandered for generations. These tribal tongues may be real languages, or they may be argots in which local words are distorted into a slang like what we find in the 'Latin' patter of London thieves

Influence of migration on dialect.

Finally, there is another class of tribal dialects in which we find the tongue of a clan which has migrated to some new seat and has gradually developed a new language, based on that of its former home, but corrupted and mixed with that of the people amongst whom its new lot is cast. It is evident that if part of a Rajputana tribe migrates to a country of which Bundēli is the vernacular, while another wends its way to a district in which Marāṭhī is spoken, the resultant languages spoken by the two groups of the same tribe will be very different, although both are based on Rājasthānī. Such has actually occurred in several instances in the Central Provinces, and there are also in other parts of India many cases of immigrant tribes which have preserved their original languages in more or less corrupted forms. Perhaps the most striking example is a colony of speakers of corrupt Sindhī, who live in the upper Gangetic Doab.

Language boundaries.

The identification of the boundaries of a language, or even of a language itself, is not always an easy matter. As a rule, unless they are separated by great ethnic differences, or by some natural obstacle, such as a range of mountains or a large river,[1] Indian languages gradually

[1] As Sir Aurel Stein has pointed out, defiles in valleys often form more important ethnic and political boundaries than watersheds, when these are crossed by relatively easy passes and routes. This is true also of languages. A mountain range is by no means so impassable to a language, as a difficult river gorge. It is the defiles, not the mountain ranges, that are responsible for the variety of languages in the Pāmirs. See my *Ishkāshmi, Zēbaki, and Yazghulāmi*, p. 4.

merge into each other and are not separated by hard and fast boundary lines. When such boundaries are spoken of, or are shown on a map, they must always be understood as conventional methods of showing definitely a state of things which is in its essence indefinite. It must be remembered that on each side of the conventional line there is a border tract of greater or less extent, the language of which may be classed at will with one or other. Here we often find that two different observers report different conditions as existing in one and the same area, and both may be right. For instance, in 1911, the then Census placed the north-western frontier of Bengali some twenty or thirty miles to the east of that fixed by the Linguistic Survey and I no more maintain that the Survey figures are right than that the Census figures are wrong. From one point of view both are right, and from another both are wrong. It is a mere question of personal equation. When there is such a debatable ground between two languages, I find from experience that as a rule a speaker of one of these languages classes the speech of the debatable ground as belonging to the other. He naturally seizes on the points strange to him, and neglects forms with which he is familiar. For instance, near Bhaṭnēr there is spoken a mixture of Pañjabī and Rājasthānī. The Pañjābis say that it is Rājasthānī, but the Rajputs say that it is Pañjābī. Another example turned up in the preparation of the Survey itself. While I was working at Eastern Hindī Dr. (now Professor) Sten Konow was simultaneously working at Marāṭhī. Each working independently, we finally met at the junction point where the curious mixed dialect called Hal'bī is spoken. From the point of view of Eastern Hindī, I considered that it was a form of Marāṭhī. On the other hand, Dr. Konow, looking at it through Marāṭhī spectacles, maintained that it was a form of Eastern Hindī. As the last word remained with me, the dialect appeared in the Marāṭhī volume of the Survey, but if it had been put into the volume for Eastern Hindī, I could not have said that it was wrongly placed.

Area to which the following remarks apply.

In the following account of the results of the Survey, I shall, for the sake of completeness, refer also briefly to languages of India that have not fallen within its scope. These are mainly the languages of Burma and of the Deccan. Of the former, a separate Survey is now in progress, and it is far from my purpose to attempt to indicate its results. But the languages of Burma are intimately linked with those of Tibet and North-Eastern India, and it would be manifestly improper to leave them altogether out of consideration. The speeches of the Deccan are Dravidian and, similarly, they have congeners in northern India, and demand more than a passing reference. I shall deal first with the languages of the Austric family, as they are probably the earliest forms of speech that have survived to the present day. Then I shall deal with those that came probably later into the country,—the Dravidian and the Indo-Chinese,—and finally with the tongues of Aryan origin, concerning the entry of which into India we can speak with some certainty.

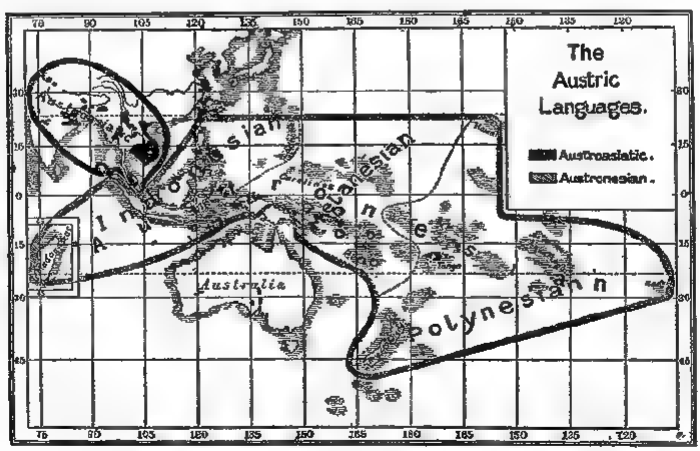
CHAPTER II.—THE AUSTRIC FAMILY.

In the year 1906 there appeared in Brunswick a little book by Pater W. Schmidt entitled 'Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens' which at once attracted the attention of students of language and of ethnology. The author's researches into the languages known as Mōn, Khmēr, and Khāsī had already established his reputation as a skilled and, at the same time, as a sober philologist, and in this work new and far-reaching views, based on solid and wide learning, were enunciated. These views up to the present time have not been seriously challenged.

The Austric Family.

Pater Schmidt here proved the existence of a great family of languages hitherto not recognized, which, although the languages composing it are spoken by a comparatively small number of people, is spread over an area wider than that occupied by any other group of tongues. Its speakers are found scattered over Nearer and Further India, and form the native population of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, including Madagascar and New Zealand. It extends from Madagascar, off the coast of Africa, to Easter Island which is less than forty degrees from the coast of South America. In the North, traces of it were discovered in Kanâwar in the Panjāb, and its southern limit included New Zealand. West of Easter Island it covers the whole Pacific Ocean, except Australia (including Tasmania) and a part of New Guinea.

This 'Austric Family,' as he named it, he divided into two sub-families, the 'Austro-Nesian' and the 'Austro-Asiatic.' The former included the languages of Madagascar, Indonesia, and the islands of the Pacific, while the latter included languages scattered over Nearer and Further India. The annexed map, based on that in Pater Schmidt's work, shows their respective localities.



Austro-Nesian. Salôn.

The only Austro-Nesian languages politically connected with India are Salôn, spoken by a tribe of sea-gipsies inhabiting the islands of the Mergui Archipelago and the adjacent parts of the Malay Peninsula and Malay spoken in the same locality. These languages consequently did not fall within the sphere of operations of the Survey, but on the margin will be found the number of speakers recorded in the Census of 1921.

Number of speakers in 1921.	
Salôn	1,951
Malay	3,610
TOTAL	5,561

Austro-Asiatic.

The Austro-Asiatic sub-family is much more strongly represented in India. There is first the great Môn-Khmēr Branch spoken in Further India, of which we have three representatives in Burma, in the shape of Môn, an ancient literary language now spoken in Thaton and Amherst, and Palaung and Wa, less civilized languages spoken in Upper Burma. Khmēr and a number of other minor forms of speech belong to Indo-China, beyond the Burma frontier. Among the latter, mention may be made of two languages spoken by wild tribes of Malacca, the Sakei and the Semang. Like Khmēr these are spoken outside the limits of British India. Nicobarese also belongs to this branch, and seems to form a connecting link between the Muṇḍā languages and Môn.

Austro-Asiatic languages.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Môn	...	189,268
Palaung-Wa	...	147,839
Nicobarese	...	8,652
Khāsi	177,293	204,103
Muṇḍā Branch	2,874,753	3,973,878
TOTAL	3,052,046	4,523,790

Khāsi.

None of the above languages fell within the operations of the Survey, but going north we come to Khāsī, a Môn-Khmēr language spoken in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills of Assam. This was fully dealt with in the Survey. Its standard dialect has been often described, and moreover possesses a small literature with which it has been endowed by the local missionaries. Khāsī is more or less isolated alike from its cousins of Burma and from those of India, and has struck out on somewhat independent lines apart from Môn, Nicobarese, and Muṇḍā, which are mutually more closely connected than any of them is with Khāsī. With its three dialects of Lyng-ngam, Synteng, and Wār, in addition to the standard form of speech, Khāsī forms an island of Mon-Khmēr speech, left untouched in the midst of an ocean of Tibeto-Burman languages. Logan was the first to suggest, and Kuhn subsequently showed conclusively, that it and the Môn languages belong to a common stock. The resemblances in the vocabularies of Khāsī and of the dialects of the Palaung-Wa group settle the question. But the resemblance is not only one of vocabulary. The construction of the Môn and of the Khāsī sentence is the same. The various component parts are put in the same order, and the order of thought of the speakers is thus shown to be the same. Like Môn and other members of the branch, and unlike the other Indo-Chinese languages by which it is surrounded, Khāsī has no tones.[1] On the other

Khāsi.

	Survey figures.
Standard	113,190
Lyng-ngam	1,850
Synteng	51,740
Wār	7,000
Unspecified	3,513
TOTAL	177,293

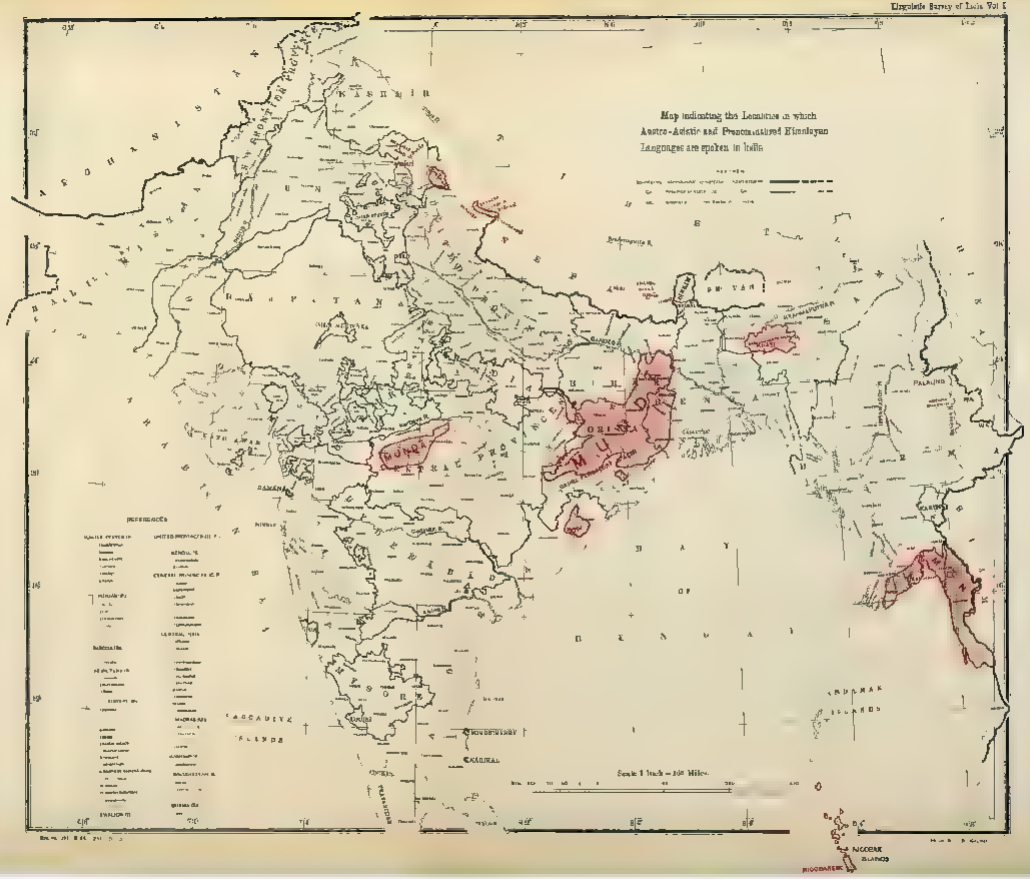
[1] In Volume II, page 7 of the Survey, I have stated that Khāsī, there spelt 'Khassi' possesses tones, but this was a mistake due to the fact that at the time we possessed no satisfactory definition of what a tone is. Many words in Khāsī do end in a glottal check, and such a glottal check is called 'the abrupt tone' or 'the entering tone' in other Indo-Chinese languages. But this glottal check is, properly, not a tone at all. The word 'tone' should be confined to indicating the pitch or the change of pitch of the voice, and has no reference to the abruptness or otherwise with which a word is uttered. All the Austro-Asiatic languages, including Khāsī, employ this glottal check, but it is a distinguishing characteristic of all of them that none employs the true tones which indicate the meaning of a word by pitch or change of pitch. See J. R. A. S. 1920, page 458.

hand, it differs from the other Mōn-Khmēr languages in possessing the so-called articles, which are wanting in other members of the branch, and in having grammatical gender. Here we must leave the matter in the hands of the ethnologists. It will be interesting to see if any connexion of tribal customs can be traced, and if the Mōns or Palaungs still retain survivals of the matriarchal state of society which is so characteristic of the Khāsis. The Palaungs, at any rate, trace their origin to a princess, and not to a prince.

Leaving Assam we pass to Central India, where we find the Muṇḍā languages occupying a strong position. The principal of these, Khērwārī, with numerous dialects, has its head-quarters at the north-eastern end of the plateau of Central India, but has spread into, or left survivors in, the plains at its foot. It has many dialects, of which the best known are Santālī and Muṇḍārī. At the other, the north-west, end of the plateau, in the western Districts of the Central Provinces and in Mewar, we find another Muṇḍā language, Kūrkū,[1] which is said to have two dialects,—Muwasī and Nahalī, but, as stated above (p. 28), the latter is much mixed with other forms of speech and is on the verge of disappearing altogether. The other Muṇḍā languages are less important. They are spoken in the neighbourhood of Khērwārī or to its South. The principal are Khaṛia, Juāng, Savara, and Gadabā, and they are all more or less mixed forms of speech. Khaṛiā is mostly spoken in the Ranchi District of Chota Nagpur, and has all the characteristics of a language that is dying out and is being superseded by an Aryan form of speech. Aryan principles pervade its grammatical structure and its vocabulary, and it is no longer a typical Muṇḍā language. It has been compared to a palimpsest, the original writing on which can only with difficulty be recognized. Juāng is very similar. It is spoken by the Juāngs or Patuās of the States of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal in Orissa. These people are probably the lowest in the scale of civilization of all the Muṇḍā tribes. Till quite recently the women of the tribe did not even sew fig-leaves together to make themselves aprons. A bunch of leaves tied on in front and another behind was all that was claimed by the most exacting demands of fashion, and this costume was 'renewed as occasion required, when the fair wearer went to fetch cattle from the wood which provided her millinery.' Attempts have been made to introduce the wearing of loin-cloths, but I know not with what success. The most southern forms of Muṇḍā speech are those spoken by the Savaras and the Gadabās of North-East Madras. The former have been identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy. A wild tribe of the same name is mentioned in Sanskrit literature, even so far back as late Vedic times, as inhabiting the Deccan, so that the name, at least, can boast of great antiquity. Their language is of considerable interest, and since it was discussed in Volume IV of the Survey a series of excellent Readers in it have been prepared by Mr. Ramamurti for the Madras

Muṇḍā Languages.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Khērwārī	2,537,328	3,503,215
Santālī	*1,614,993*	*2,233,573*
Muṇḍārī	*406,524*	*624,506*
Hō	*383,125*	*427,862*
Bhumij	*79,679*	*137,309*
Korwā	*20,227*	*21,655*
Others	*33,551*	*38,210*
Kūrkū	111,684	120,698
Khaṛia	72,172	137,476
Juāng	15,697	10,531
Savara	102,039	158,441
Gadabā	35,853	33,066
Unspecified	...	251
TOTAL	2,674,753	3,973,873

[1] The home of its speakers is in the west of the Pachmarhi Hills and in the Betul District of the Central Provinces. The Berar Kūrkūs are mostly found in the Melghat Taluk of Ellichpur, which is geographically a part of Betul.


Map indicating the Localities in which
Austro-Asiatic and Proto-Malayan
Languages are spoken in India
KASHMIR
BHUTAN
ORISSA
BURMA
BAY
OF
BENGAL
LACCADIVE
ISLANDS
ANDAMAN
ISLANDS
NICOBAR
ISLANDS
Scale 1 Inch = 300 Miles.

Government. Unfortunately, as the explanations are all in Telugu, they are of little use to European students.

Traces of Muṇḍā languages outside their present area.

The languages of the Muṇḍā Branch must once have been spoken over a much greater area of India than their present habitat. In the South, and to a certain extent in Chota Nagpur, they have been superseded by Dravidian forms of speech, and in the North by Aryan or Tibeto-Burman tongues. In each case, however, they have left their mark As for the Dravidian languages, it is very probable that the rules for the harmonic sequence of vowels, which form so prominent a feature of Telugu are due to their influence,[1] and, to the North of Chota Nagpur, the extraordinary complexity of the verbal conjugation of the Aryan Bihārī is equally probably due to the same cause.[2] Another interesting point is that Muṇḍā numeration is vigesimal. The speakers count by twenties, not by tens as we and other Europeans do. But among the peasantry of Northern India vigesimal counting is quite usual. Instead of saying 'fifty,' they say 'two score and ten,' instead of 'sixty' they say 'three score,' and so on. This might be a case of mere coincidence, but that it is really an old Muṇḍā survival is shown by the fact that *kuṛī*, the word used all over Northern India for 'a score', is almost certainly a word of Muṇḍā origin. But it is in the Himalaya that these Muṇḍā survivals are most apparent. At the present day, the Muṇḍās have themselves survived as a recognized people only in the wild hill-country of Central India, and it is in accordance with this that they should also have survived for a longer time in the forests of the Himalaya than on the Aryanized plains of Northern India. In the Himalaya, from North East Assam to the North-East Panjab, the great mass of the inhabitants speaks various forms of Tibeto-Burman tongues. Most of these are quite pure of their kind and possess all the peculiarities proper to that form of speech. But between Darjiling, north of Bengal, and Kanāwar, north of Simla in the Panjab, there is a series of scattered tribes speaking languages called in the Survey 'Complex Pronominalized.' Most of them belong to the group called by Hodgson 'Kirānti', but there are also others not mentioned by him. These languages are all Tibeto-Burman, or belong to some group closely allied to the Tibeto-Burman, but through them all there runs a peculiar strain which it is impossible not to recognize as Muṇḍā, once attention is drawn to it.[3] These Complex Pronominalized languages are many in number, and will be further dealt with when we come to the consideration of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Suffice it here to say that the most western is probably Kanāw'ri, spoken in the Simla Hills, though there are doubtful cases even further west.

The name 'Muṇḍā.'

The Muṇḍā languages were first recognized as a separate group, distinct from the Dravidian, in the year 1854 by the late Professor Max Müller in his famous 'Letter to Chevalier Bunsen on the Classification of the Turanian Languages,' and received its name 'Muṇḍā' from him[4]. As stated on page 14, in the comity of scholarship it has ever been an established rule that the first discoverer of any fact, whether it be a newly described flower, a newly

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 288.

[2] Ib., p. 10.

[3] See Vol. III, Pt. i, pp. 273ff., 437ff.

[4] This name is justified by its use in Sanskrit literature. The name 'Muṇḍa' is found used for the people not only in the Mahābhārata (vi. 2410) but also in the Vāyu Purāṇa (xlv. 128). See Professor Sylvain Lévi's article 'Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien' in *Journal Asiatique*, ccii, 226ff. See also p. 14, note [1].

described mineral, or a newly described group of languages, should have the right to give it its name, and that that name should be employed by other students unless and until it has been proved to be entirely false and misleading. Unfortunately this comity was not observed in the present case. Twelve years later, Sir George Campbell, no doubt unwittingly, ignored the name already given by Max Müller, and proposed to call these languages 'Kolarian'[1] because, as he imagined, the word 'Kōl,'— a common tribal name of the Muṇḍā people,—was derived from an older form 'Kolar,' which he apparently connected with the Kolar District of Mysore in Southern India, and looked upon as identical with the Kanarese word *kallar* meaning 'thief.' There is absolutely no foundation for this supposition, and this name 'Kolarian' is not only based upon a fantastic error, but is, in itself, objectionable as seeming to suggest a connexion with the word 'Aryan' which does not exist.

It is admitted that, with our present knowledge, it might be possible to suggest a better name than that given by Max Müller, and more than one such have been suggested; but, so far as India was concerned, only two names were possible. Sir George Campbell's authority brought 'Kolarian' into a certain vogue during the latter half of the last century; but the word was so manifestly incorrect and misleading that I have had no hesitation in refusing to employ it, and in using the only name which students, in the ordinary comity of scholarship, should follow, by reverting to the name originally given by the discoverer of the group.

General character of the Muṇḍā languages.

The Muṇḍā languages belong to the class known as 'agglutinative,' and exhibit the typical peculiarities of such forms of speech to an extraordinary degree. The only tongue with which I can compare them is Turkī. I have already referred to Max Müller as the first identifier of this group of tongues. Let me here quote what he says about the Turkī language of Central Asia :—

> It is a real pleasure to read a Turkish grammar, even though one may have no use to acquire it practically The ingenious ways in which the numerous grammatical forms are brought out, the regularity which pervades the system of declension and conjugation, the transparency and intelligibility of the whole structure, must strike all who have a sense of that wonderful power of the human mind which has displayed itself in language ..... We have before us a language of perfectly transparent structure, and a grammar the inner workings of which we can study as if watching the building of cells in a crystal beehive. An eminent orientalist remarked, 'We might imagine Turkish to be the result of the deliberations of some eminent society of learned men'; but no such society could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws, or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realms of nature..... The most ingenious part of Turkish is undoubtedly the verb. Like Greek and Sanskrit, it exhibits a variety of moods and tenses, sufficient to express the nicest shades of doubt, of surmise, of hope, and of supposition. In all these forms the root remains intact, and sounds like the keynote through all the modulations produced by the changes of person, number, mood, and time. But there is one feature so peculiar to the Turkish verb that no analogy can be found in any of the Aryan languages, the power of providing new verbal bases by the mere addition of certain letters, which give to every verb a negative, or causative, or reflexive, or reciprocal meaning..... In their system of conjugation, the Turkish dialects can hardly be surpassed. Their verbs are like branches which break down under the heavy burden of fruits and blossoms.[2]

Agglutination in the Muṇḍā languages.

Nearly every word of the above applies with equal force to the Muṇḍā languages. Suffix is piled on suffix, till we obtain words which, to European eyes, seem monstrous in their length, yet which

[1] *The Ethnology of India*, J. A. S. B., vol. xxxv (1866), Pt. ii, Supplementary Number, p. 28.

[2] 'Lectures on the Science of Language', I, 354ff.

are complete in themselves, and every syllable of which contributes its fixed quota to the general signification of the whole. One example of the use of these suffixes, taken from Santālī, must suffice. The word *dal* means 'strike,' and from it we get *dal-ocho-akan-taken-tae-tiñ-a-e*, which signifies 'he, who belongs to him who belongs to me, will continue letting himself be struck' If we insert the syllable *pa* in the middle of the root, so that we get *dapal*, the beating becomes reciprocal, and we have a fight, so that *dapal-ocho-akan-taken-tae-tiñ-a-e* means 'he, who belongs to him who belongs to me, will continue letting himself be caused to fight.' Again, if we substitute *akao-an* for *akan*, the same pugnacious individual with a string of owners will, with less disinterestedness, continue causing to fight only for himself. Not only may we, but we must employ this posy of speech, if, for instance, my slave's son was too often getting himself entangled in affrays. The best idea of the enormous number of complex ideas which can thus be formed according to the simplest rules may be gained from the fact that the conjugation of the verb 'to strike,' in the third person singular alone, occupies nearly a hundred pages in Mr. Skrefsrud's Santālī Grammar.

Among other characteristics of the Muṇḍā languages we may mention the following. As in the Indo-Chinese languages, final consonants are often checked, or pronounced without the offglide, thus forming what is often called by Chinese scholars the 'abrupt' or 'entering tone.' Such consonants are as characteristic of Cantonese as they are of Muṇḍā, and are common, so far as I am aware in all the languages of the Mōn-Khmēr branch of Austro-Asiatic speech.[1] Although masculine and feminine nouns are distinguished, there are only two real genders, one for all animate and the other for all inanimate objects. Nouns have three numbers, a singular, a dual, and a plural, the dual and plural numbers being indicated by suffixing the dual or plural, respectively, of the third personal pronoun to the noun. Short forms of all the personal pronouns are freely used, in each case as verbal suffixes. The dual and plural of the first personal pronoun have each two forms, one including the person addressed, and the other excluding him If, when giving orders to your cook, you say, 'we shall dine at half past seven', you must be careful to use *ale* for 'we,' not *abon;* or else you will invite your servant also to the meal, which might give rise to awkwardness. As in many other eastern languages, participial formations are used instead of relative pronouns. 'The deer which you bought yesterday' would be rendered 'the yesterday deer bought by you.' Roots are modified in meaning not only by suffixes, but also by infixes, as in *da-pa-l* mentioned above. The logical form of a Muṇḍā sentence is altogether different from that of Aryan languages, and hence it is impossible to divide it into the parts of speech with which we are familiar, say, in English. The nearest thing that it has to what we call a verb merely calls up an idea, but is unable to make any assertion. The final assertion is made by one of the most characteristic features of Muṇḍā grammar, a particle known as 'the categorical *a*' By its form, the sentence first unites the represented ideas into a mental picture, and then, by a further effort, affirms its reality. In English we say "John came." A Santālī would first call up a picture of John having come, and then, by adding the categorical *a*, would assert that this picture was a fact Hence this *a* is not used in sentences that do not contain a categorical assertion, *e.g.* those which in English

[1] See Dyer Ball, 'Cantonese Made Easy Vocabulary', 3rd Edition, Preface. As stated above (p. 33, Note [1]) although called the 'entering tone' is, pro Ṣrly speaking, not a tone at all.

would contain a verb in the subjunctive or optative mood. Muṇḍā, with what is really better logic, relegates subjunctive and relative to what may be called the incomplete verb in company with what are with us participles, gerunds, and infinitives, and forms the only complete and real verb by the addition of the categorical *a*.

Names of Muṇḍā languages.

As in the case of several other uncivilized or semi-civilized tribes, the names which we give to many Muṇḍā tribes are not those by which their members call themselves, but those which we have adopted from their Aryan-speaking neighbours. Most of the tribes simply call themselves 'men', the same word with dialectic variations, Kōl, Kōṛā, Kūr-kū (merely the plural of Kūr), Hāṛ, Hāṛā-kū (another plural), or Hō, being used nearly universally. The Indian Aryans have adopted in one case the word 'Kōl' as a sort of generic term for any of these non-Aryan tribes, and have identified the word with a similarly spelt Sanskrit term signifying 'pig,' a piece of etymology which, though hardly in accordance with the ideas of European science, is infinitely comforting to those that apply it. The Rāj of these Kōls is a subject of legend over large tracts of the south side of the Gangetic valley, where not one sentence of Muṇḍā origin has been heard for generations. The name is perhaps at the bottom of our word 'coolie,' and of the names of one or more important castes which would indignantly deny their Muṇḍā origin.

CHAPTER III.—KAREN AND MAN.

Before describing the languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese languages, we must refer briefly to two other groups of languages the affiliation of which is doubtful, and which, pending the completion of the Linguistic Survey of Burma have been provisionally put down as independent families. These are the Karen Family and the Man Family. Neither is described in the pages of the present Survey.

The Karen Family.

Karen.

Karen is a group of dialects spoken by members of the Karen tribe scattered over South Burma and the neighbouring parts of Siam.[1] According to the late Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, they are pre-Chinese, and in that case may be connected with the 'Man' languages to be presently described, with which I have myself noted more than one resemblance. It is possible also that they may be distant relations of the Kirānti languages spoken in the Himalaya, but here the case must be left for further investigation by the Linguistic Survey of Burma. Where so much doubt exists, it is hardly necessary to state that the Karens have been identified by some with the lost Ten Tribes, and it is not actually impossible that they may have gathered some of their traditions from early Jewish colonists in Northern China. From Northern China they appear to have migrated to the neighbourhood of Ava, whence, about the fifth or sixth century of our era, they came down southward and spread over the hills between the Irrawaddy, the Salwin, and the Mè-nàm as far as the seaboard. I must leave to the Linguistic Survey of Burma the task of describing the various forms of Karen. They are many in number. Here it must be sufficient to state that the most important forms are Karenni, or Red Karen, of the north, Pwo and Sgaw of the south, and Taungthu.

Karen.

	Census of 1921.
Sgaw	368,282
Pwo	352,466
Taungthu	210,535
Karenni	34,488
Others	148,255
TOTAL	1,114,026

The Man Family.

The languages which have been provisionally classed under the name of 'Man' are mainly spoken in China and Indo-China, although a few speakers are found in British Burma. The name 'Man' is Chinese and means a 'Southern Barbarian.' It is applied by the Chinese to certain wild tribes inhabiting the mountainous tracts of Indo-China and that part of China bordering on it. Representatives of two of these tribes,—the Miao and the Yao have turned up in the Southern Shan States and their languages have been recorded in the Census of 1921. These languages hardly concern India, but will no doubt be dealt with in the Linguistic Survey of Burma. Fuller information regarding them will be found in the Introduction to the Comparative Vocabulary forming Part II of this Volume.

Man.

	Census of 1921.
Miao	394
Yao	197
TOTAL	591

[1] The locality in which Karen is spoken is shown in the map facing page 50.

CHAPTER IV.—THE TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY.

The Tibeto-Chinese Family.

Excepting the Austric, no great family of speeches is spoken over so wide an extent of the Eastern Hemisphere from Central Asia to Southern Burma, and from Baltistan to Pekin—as that formless, ever moving, ant-horde of dialects, the Tibeto-Chinese. The number of its speakers far exceeds those of the Austric, and even of the Indo-European family. So vast is the area covered by it, and so apparently infinite is the number of its members, that no single scholar can hope to master the latter in their entirety. A few of them, such as Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese, or Chinese, have been more or less thoroughly investigated by specialists; of others we have only a few words, single bricks, each of which we have to take as specimens of an entire house; while of others, again, we know only the names, or not even that.

Their Classification.

The first attempts at classifying this mass of languages were made by Brian Houghton Hodgson, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, and his works still form the foundation of all similar undertakings. Closely following Hodgson came the enthusiastic and indefatigable Logan, to whom we are indebted for much that relates to Burma and Assam. After him we find several writers, some like Mason, Cushing, Forbes, or Edkins, armed with a practical mastery of a portion of the field, and adding new facts to our knowledge, and others, trained philologists like Max Müller, Friedrich Müller, or Terrien de Lacouperie, who examined the materials collected by the former, and did something towards reducing chaos into order. Since then considerable progress has been made, and, if we confine ourselves to our immediate subject, the languages of India and the countries of the immediate neighbourhood, it will be sufficient to record the work done by the late Professor Kuhn of Munich, Professor Conrady, formerly of Leipzig, Dr. Laufer and Professor Bradley in America, and, above all, the brilliant band of scholars which adorns L'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi under the leadership of Monsieur Finot. Through their labours a framework of classification has been put together which is generally accepted by scholars who are in a position to judge its value They have even succeeded in formulating phonetic rules that bridge over the differences between what are apparently the most widely separated languages, and in suggesting theories to account for the origin of the tones which are so characteristic of these forms of speech. In this way the ground has been prepared for the Linguistic Survey of Burma, which will, I hope, be well advanced before these words are in type.

Principles of Classification.

If there is one principle that is universally accepted in comparative philology, it is that languages must be classed according to their grammars. Vocabulary alone is but an untrustworthy guide. If we judge by vocabulary, the Latinized English of Dr. Johnson would have to be recorded as a Romance language, and Urdū as Semitic or Eranian, whereas every one knows that English is really Teutonic and Urdū Indo-Aryan. The rule applies admirably to languages like Sanskrit or Latin or English, which *have* grammars, but what are we to do when we come to languages which to our Aryan ideas have no grammar at all—forms of speech which make no distinction between noun, adjective, and verb, which have no inflexions, or hardly any, and which are entirely composed of monosyllables that never change their forms? According to the 'Century Dictionary', grammar is 'a systematic

account of the usages of a language, as regards especially the parts of speech it distinguishes, the forms and uses of inflected words, and the combinations of words into sentences.[1] Hence, to answer the above question, we must either abandon our principle or enlarge our conception of grammar by omitting the word 'inflected' from the definition. We are thus thrown back on the forms and uses of words generally; that is to say, we are compelled to lay more stress upon a comparison of vocabularies, and, as will be seen subsequently, this will really bring us back to our principle. Tibeto-Chinese languages, like the Buddhists who speak most of them, have passed through many births. They, too, are under the sway of *karma*. The latest investigations have shown that in former existences they were inflected, with all the familiar panoply of prefix and suffix, and that these long dead accretions are still influencing each word in their vocabularies in its form, its pronunciation, and even the position which it now occupies in a sentence. The history of a Tibeto-Chinese word may be compared to the fate of a number of exactly similar stones which a man threw into the sea at various places along the shore. One fell into a calm pool, and remained unchanged; another received a coating of mud, which, in the course of centuries, itself became a hard outer covering entirely concealing what was within; another fell among rocks in a stormy channel, and was knocked about and chipped and worn away by continual attrition till only a geologist could identify it; another was burrowed into by the pholas till it became a caricature of its former self; another was overgrown by limpets, and then was so worn away and ill-treated by the rude waves that, like the grin of Alice's Cheshire cat, all that remained was the merest trace clinging to the shell of its whilom guest. Laborious and patient analysis has enabled scholars to trace the fate of some vocables through all their different vicissitudes. For instance, no two words can apparently be so different as *rang* and *-ma*, both of which mean 'horse,' and yet Professor Conrady has traced the derivation of the latter from the former, although all that has remained of the original *rang* in the Chinese *-ma* is the tone of voice in which the latter is pronounced!

Original home.

Tradition and comparative philology agree in pointing to North-Western China between the upper courses of the Yang-tse and of the Hoang-ho as the original home of the Tibeto-Chinese race.[1] Further India and Assam have been populated by successive waves of Tibeto-Chinese invaders, each advancing in turn down the courses of one or more of the principal streams, the Brahmaputra, the Chindwin, the Irrawaddy, the Salwin, the Mé-nām, and the Mé-khong, and driving its predecessors nearer to the sea-coast, or into the mountain fastnesses which overlook the valleys. Philology, moreover, teaches us that the earliest Tibeto-Chinese immigrants must have found other races settled there. Amongst these were certainly the Mon-Khmērs, and possibly also the ancestors of the Karens and of those wild tribes of Indo-China, whose languages are grouped together in these pages under the title of 'Man.' The Mōn-Khmērs have already been dealt with. The Karens and the Mans do not fall within the limits of this Survey, but will certainly be discussed at length in the Linguistic Survey of Burma now under consideration. They have, however, been briefly alluded to, for the sake of completeness in the preceding pages.

Two sub-families.

The Tibeto-Chinese family of languages is conveniently divided into two sub-families,—the Tibeto-Burman and the Siamese-Chinese. Neither of these is fully represented in this Survey. Nearly

[1] See E. Kuhn, 'Ueber Herkunft und Sprache der transgangetischen Völker', pp. 4 and 8.

Tibeto-Chinese Family.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Tibeto-Burman . .	1,930,307	11,959,011
Siamese Chinese . .	4,205	926,335
TOTAL .	1,934,512	12,885,346

all the speakers of the latter, so far as they are included in the Indian census returns, belong to Further India, only a few minor dialects being found in Assam, where they fell into the Survey net. As for the Tibeto-Burman languages, this Survey accounts for only about a fifth of the whole, the great majority of the speakers of these languages being inhabitants of Burma.

The Tibeto-Burmans.

Two main Branches.

Tibeto-Himalayan Branch.

Assam-Burmese Branch.

The Tibeto-Burmans appear to have first migrated from their original seat on the upper courses of the Yang-tse and Hoang-ho towards the head-waters of the Irrawaddy and of the Chindwin. Thence, it is believed that some followed the upper course of the Brahmaputra, the Sanpo, north of the Himalaya, and peopled Tibet. A few of these crossed the watershed and occupied the hills on the southern side of the Himalayan range right along from Assam, in the East, to the Panjab in the West. At the Assam end, they met and mingled with others of the same family who had wandered along the lower Brahmaputra through the Assam Valley. At the great bend of the river, near the present town of Dhubri, these last followed it to the South, and occupied first the Garo Hills, and then what is now the State of Hill Tippera. Others of them appear to have ascended the valley of the Kapili and the neighbouring streams into the hill-country of North Cachar, but the mountainous tract between it and the Garo Hills, now known as the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, they failed to occupy, and it still remains a home of the ancient Mon-Khmēr speech. Other members of this Tibeto-Burman horde halted at the head of the Assam Valley and turned south. They took possession of the Naga Hills, and became the ancestors of that confused sample-bag of tribes, whose speeches we call for convenience the Naga group. Some of these probably entered the eastern Naga country directly, but others entered the western Naga country from the South, *viâ* Manipur, and there are signs of this northern movement going on even at the present day. Other members remained round the upper waters of the Irrawaddy and the Chindwin, where Kachin is now spoken, and there formed the nursery for further emigrations. We have apparently traces of the earlier movements in dialects of servile tribes,—the so-called 'Lūi' languages—of Manipur, and in stray dialects, such as Kadu, Szi, Lashi, Maingtha, Phón (Hpón), or Maru, scattered over northern Burma. Later, but still early, settlers in Manipur must have been the Manipuris, for their language, Meithei, shows not only points of agreement with that spoken at the present day in its original home in what is now the Kachin country, but also with those of all the other emigrants from that tract. Another of these swarms settled in the upper basins of the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy, and gradually advanced down the courses of those streams, driving before themselves, or absorbing, or leaving untouched in the highlands, their predecessors, the Mon-Khmērs. Before their language had time to change materially from the form of speech spoken in the home they had left, branches of these turned westwards and settled in the Chin Hills, south of Manipur.[1] There they increased and multiplied, till, driven by the pressure of population, they retraced their

[1] Another possible view is that these Chin tribes branched off, not from the Burmese invaders, but from the Meitheis who had settled in the Manipur Valley. Linguistic evidence, however, points to the account given above as the most probable statement of facts.

steps northward in wave after wave along the hills, leaving colonies in Lushai-land, Cachar, and even amongst their cousins of Manipur and their more distant relations of the Naga Hills. Their descendants speak some thirty languages, all different, yet all closely connected, and classed together with Meithei as forming the Kuki-Chin group. Another of these waves entered Yün-nan. They do not immediately concern us, but they are of more than ordinary interest, in that a very ancient form of this speech, known as Si-hia, now many centuries dead, has been preserved for us by a Chinese philologist. The particulars given by him have been made available to European students by Dr. Laufer in 'T'oung-pao.'[1] Si-hia was spoken on the North-West frontier of China, and is the only ancient Tibeto-Burman language with which we are acquainted. The modern representatives of this swarm are the Lolos, most of whom are found in Yün-nan, though a few stray tribes speaking Lolo dialects can be found in eastern Burma. The main branch of the Chindwin-Irrawaddy swarm, the ancestors of the modern Burmese, continued to follow its line of march along the rivers, till it ultimately occupied the whole of the lower country, and founded the capitals of Pagan and Prome. Finally, in quite modern times, another migration of the Kachins has pressed towards the south, and their progress has been stopped only by our occupation of Upper Burma. That there is complete historical evidence for all that precedes cannot be pretended. Much of it deals with prehistoric times. All that I have endeavoured to present has been the opinions which I have based on a comparison of local traditions with the facts ascertained by ethnology and philology. It must be confessed that some of the steps have been taken with hesitation and upon doubtful ground.

The Siamese-Chinese.

We are treading on firmer soil when we approach the next great invasion,—that of the speakers of the Siamese-Chinese languages. These are represented in British India by one group,—the Tai. Chinese also belongs to the same sub-family, but does not concern us. Some authorities include Karen in this sub-family, but the affiliation is at present very doubtful, and as explained above,[2] pending the completion of the Linguistic Survey of Burma, I followed the Census of 1921 in classing Karen provisionally as belonging to a separate family.

The Tais first appeared in history in Yün-nan, and from thence they migrated into Upper Burma. The earliest swarms appear to have entered that tract about two thousand years ago, and were small in number. Later and more important invasions were undoubtedly due to the pressure of the Chinese. A great wave of Tai migration descended in the sixth century of our era from the mountains of southern Yün-nan into the valley of the Shweli and the adjacent regions, and through it that valley became the centre of their political power. Early in the thirteenth century their capital was fixed at the present Müng Mau. From the Shweli the Tai or Shăm, or (as the Burmese call them) Shàn, spread south-east over the present Shan States, north into the present Khāmtī region, and, west of the Irrawaddy, into all the country lying between it, the Chindwin, and Assam. In the thirteenth century one of their tribes, the Āhoms, overran and conquered Assam itself, giving their name to the country. Not only does tradition assert that these Shàns of Upper Burma are the oldest members of the Tai

[1] 2nd Series, Vol. xvii, No. 1, March, 1915.
[2] P. 39.

family, but they are always spoken of by the other branches as the *Tai Long*, or Great Tai, while these others call themselves *Tai Noi*, or Little Tai.

These earliest settlers and other parties from Yūn-nan gradually pressed southwards, driving before them, as we shall see was also done by the Tibeto-Burmans in the valley of the Irrawaddy, the Mōn-Khmērs, but the process was a slow one. It was not until the fourteenth century of our era that the Siamese, or, as they call themselves, Thai, established themselves in the great delta of the Mé-nām, and formed a wedge of Tai-speaking people between the Mōn-Khmērs of Tenasserim and those of Cambodia. The word 'Siam,' like 'Assam,' is but a corruption of 'Shām.'

The Shàns of Burma were not so fortunate. Their power reached its zenith in the closing years of the thirteenth century, and thereafter gradually declined. The Siamese and Lao dependencies became a separate kingdom under the suzerainty of Ayuthia, the old capital of Siam. Wars with the Burmese kings and with the Chinese were frequent, and the invasions of the latter caused great loss. The last of the Shàn States, Mogaung, was conquered by the Burmese king Alomphra in the middle of the eighteenth century, but by the commencement of the seventeenth century Shàn history had already merged into that of Burma, and the Shàn principalities, though they were always restive and given to frequent rebellions and to intestine wars, never succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Burmans.

Summary of the history of the Indo-Chinese languages.

To sum up the history of the Indo-Chinese languages, so far as it relates to British India. The earliest inhabitants of whom we have any trace seem to have been the pre-Chinese ancestors of the wild 'Man' tribes now found in French Indo-China and in China proper, with whom it is possible that the Karens of Burma may claim a distant relationship. From Indo-Nesia, in the South, came the Mon-Khmērs, who occupied a large part of Further India, including Assam. Subsequent invasions of Tibeto-Burmans have thrust them back, down to the seaboard, leaving a few waifs and strays in the highlands of their old homes. Of the Tibeto-Burman stock, one branch entered Tibet, some of whose descendants crossed the Himalaya, and settled on the southern slopes of that range. Others followed the course of the Brahmaputra, and even occupied the Garo Hills and Tippera. Others found homes in the Naga Hills, in the valley of Manipur, and the upper waters of the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy. From the last-named region swarm after swarm took a southern course. *En route* colonies were dropped in the Chin Hills, whence again a backwash has appeared in modern times in Lushai-land, Cachar and the neighbourhood. The rest of the swarms gradually forced their way down the valley of the Irrawaddy, where they settled and founded a comparatively stable kingdom. Finally another group of Tibeto-Chinese peoples, the Tai, conquered the mountainous country to the East of Upper Burma, and spread north and west among, but not conquering, the Tibeto-Burman Kachins of the upper country. They also spread south and occupied the Mōn-Khmēr country between them and the sea, and their most important members now occupy a strip of territory running north and south, with Burmese and, lower down, Mōn speakers on their west, and Chinese and Annamese on their east. Annamese itself appears to have been originally a Tai language, but it is now so mixed with Mōn-Khmēr and Chinese that its correct affiliation is a matter of some doubt.

General characteristics of the Tibeto-Chinese languages.

Tibeto-Chinese languages exhibit two of the three well-known divisions of human speech, the isolating, the agglutinating, and the inflecting. From this list it is not to be assumed that an isolating language is necessarily in the earliest stage of its development. All Tibeto-Chinese languages were once agglutinative, but some of them, Chinese for instance, are now isolating; that is to say, the old prefixes and suffixes have been worn away and have lost their significance; every word, whether it once had prefix or suffix, or both, or not, is now a monosyllable; and, if it is desired to modify it in respect to time, place, or other relation, this is not done by again adding a new prefix or a new suffix, but by compounding with it, *i.e.*, simply adding to it, some new word which has a meaning of its own, and is not incorporated with the main word in any way. For example, the Chinese word indicating the idea of 'going' is *\k'ü*, and that indicating the idea of completion is *ʌlyao*, and if a Chinaman wishes to convey the idea of 'he went,' he says 'he going completion,' *¯t'ā \k'ü ʌlyao*. Even in Chinese, some of these subsidiary words which modify the meaning of the principal one have lost their significance as separate vocables, and only continue in existence as prefixes or suffixes. This brings us to the agglutinating stage of language, in which sentences are built up of words united to formal parts, prefixes, suffixes, or infixes, which denote the relationship of each to the other members of the phrase. The differences, in kind and degree, between the various agglutinating languages are very great; the variety ranges from a scantiness hardly superior to Chinese isolation, up to an intricacy which is almost incredible.

Isolating languages.

Agglutinating languages.

We may take the Tai languages as examples of forms of speech in which the agglutinative principle is showing signs of superseding the isolating, while in the Tibeto-Burman family it has practically done so, and but few of the affixes are capable of being used as words with independent meanings. They are agglutinative languages almost in the full sense of the term. There is one more stage which we meet but rarely, and even then in sporadic instances, in Tibeto-Chinese languages. In it the words used as affixes have not only lost their original meaning, but have become so incorporated with the main word which they serve to modify, that they have become one word with it, and the two are no longer capable of identification as separate words except by a process of analysis. Moreover, the root word itself becomes liable to alteration. This stage is known as the inflexional, and Sanskrit and the other Indo-European languages offer familiar examples of it.

Inflecting languages.

Before proceeding further, it will be useful to quote the following general observations which were made by the late Professor Friedrich Müller of Vienna in his great work on comparative philology:—

Expression of abstract and concrete ideas.

> The manner in which primitive conceptions are formed is of the greatest importance in influencing the further development of a language as a medium for expressing human thought. Things may be conceived in their concrete entirety, or they may be sub-divided into their different components, which are then classified according to certain characteristics, and conceived as more abstract ideas. In the former case the language does not proceed further than to intuition; in the latter it develops abstract conceptions and ideas.
>
> The languages belonging to the former class are, it is true, very picturesque and poetical, possessing an extraordinarily large stock of concrete and characteristic terms for individual things; but they are quite unfitted for acting as mediums of higher thought, not being able to denote abstract ideas free from all accidental

properties. This linguistic tendency, in its turn, influences the mind, so that it becomes unable to perform the higher acts of thinking by means of abstract ideas.

There are many languages which possess words to denote the varieties of different animals, but have got no word for animal. They are able to distinguish the various modes of sitting by means of distinct picturesque terms, but the simple idea 'to sit' cannot find expression. Such languages have no proper comprehension of form, and are quite unfit for the classification and combination of ideas. The principal reason is that they do not possess particles, that is, words with a wider meaning, which support the act of thinking like algebraic formulas. When such languages are forced into modern conceptions, as, for instance, in translating the Bible they are at once overcome by the substance; they conceive as substance what we conceive as form.

The deficiency of such languages is, to no small extent, due to the fact that they do not possess a real verb, the whole expression starting from substantival conceptions.[1]

All the Tibeto-Chinese languages once belonged to the class just described, although some of those which have developed a literature, like Chinese, Siamese, and Tibetan, have overcome the difficulty of not possessing a real verb, and are now able to express abstract ideas. But most of those with which we are now concerned, and especially the Tibeto-Burman, are still in the stage of being able easily to express only concrete ideas. Many of them, for instance, do not possess a general term for so simple an idea as 'man,' but have to use their own tribal name instead. They can speak of an Englishman, a Singpho, a Māndē or Gārō, and an Arleng or Mikir, but they have no word for 'man' in the abstract. Again, Lushēi has nine or ten words, at least, for different kinds of ants, but no word for 'ant' generally.

The words denoting relationship and parts of the body are the results of an abstraction. A father in the abstract, who is not the father of any particular individual, is an idea which requires a certain amount of reflection; and such words are, accordingly, hardly ever used alone in the Tibeto-Burman languages, but are (with few exceptions) always preceded by a possessive pronoun, or a noun in the genitive case. We find 'my father,' 'thy mother,' 'his hand'; but 'father,' 'mother,' and 'hand' are not used by themselves. Most Tibeto-Burmans would be sadly put to it to translate literally such a sentence as 'the hand possesses five fingers.' The possessive pronoun of the third person occurs, of course, much more frequently than those of the first and second persons, and it has in several languages lost its proper meaning, and has become a bare meaningless prefix, used with all nouns when they are employed in an abstract sense. I have referred to this process in some detail, as it well illustrates how, as the need for the use of abstract nouns grew with the progress of civilization, it has been supplied in a very simple way in a large class of languages. We have evidence of every stage of the process, and we meet instances of it in tracts so wide apart as the Hindūkush and the Chin Hills.[2]

Similarly, the Indo-Chinese verb has grown out of a noun,—another example of the development of the abstract from the concrete. The simplest Tibeto-Burman form of 'I go' is the concrete idea of 'my going.' 'I went' is 'my-going completion,' and on this system has grown the entire conjugation of the neuter verb which we find in Tibeto-

[1] It would be more correct to say that these languages possess neither noun nor verb, but a 'something' which is neither noun nor verb, and which can be used for both. There is no word in English capable of denoting exactly what this indefinite 'something' is, and the use by Müller of terms borrowed from European grammatical terminology has misled more than one scholar.

[2] All agglutinative languages do not form abstract nouns in this way. For instance, in some Melanesian speeches, in which a similar state of affairs exists, a special termination is employed which gives a purely abstract meaning.

Burman grammars. On the other hand 'I beat him' is 'by-me his beating,' which we at once see can represent either an active (I beat him), or a passive (he is beaten by me) expression. This explains the statement we so often see that these languages possess no passive. They have no voice at all, either active or passive, because they have no real verbs.

Tones.

A prominent characteristic of most Tibeto-Chinese languages is that they possess significant tones. In this they differ from the Môn-Khmēr languages which have none. So characteristic are they of Tibeto-Chinese that some writers have proposed to group the whole family under the title of 'Polytonic,' a classification which is false, for some Tibeto-Chinese languages (such as Western Tibetan) do not possess any significant tones at all. The number of tones varies from language to language, *e.g.*, Siamese and Cantonese have each six, while Burmese has but two; but, wherever they occur, they are of the utmost importance for intelligibility. The essential element of a tone is that it must be significant, that is to say that, without it, the word with which it should be used, has some other meaning or has no meaning at all. If we write such a word, a sign to indicate the tone with which it is pronounced is just as important as the letters with which it is written. If we do not indicate the tone in writing, we might just as well in English write 'ca' and leave the reader to discover whether we mean 'cab' or 'cad' or 'call' or 'cam' or 'can' or 'cap' or 'car' or 'cat.' Unfortunately, in writing such Tibeto-Chinese words, not only does the method of indicating tones differ from language to language, but for many languages no attempt is made to indicate them at all. In the latter case writing without tone-marks shows only a portion of the language. We know a part of each word, but not a single complete word. If we take another example, this time from Siamese, we may take the word often written *mā*, but this means nothing unless we give it a tone. We then learn that —*mā* means 'come,' while _*mā* means 'soak,' ˥˥*mā* means 'a horse,' ˧˩˧*mā* means 'beautiful,' and ˧˥*mā* means 'a dog.' In this way ˥˥*mā* ˧˩˧*mā* —*mā* is 'the beautiful horse comes,' but without the tone-marks it might signify half-a-dozen altogether different ideas. We could not tell if it was a horse or a dog that was beautiful or was coming, or if it was coming or soaking, or if it was a horse belonging to a dog, or a dog belonging to a horse, or if the dog was soaking the horse, or the horse was soaking the dog. A tone is essentially an acoustic pitch or change of pitch. A word pronounced on a high pitch means one thing, on a low pitch means another, on a rising pitch another, and so on. Annamese is one of these languages, and we need not be astonished that the first missionaries who heard it compared it to the twittering of birds. All the same, a tone has nothing to do with stress or length or abruptness, with which we are more familiar in European languages. It is a matter of pitch and pitch only, and affects every word in a language, and (with certain exceptions) each particular word always in the same way. The word for 'come,' for instance, is in Siamese always —*mā*, with a mid level tone, and never with any other tone, whatever be its collocation in the sentence.[1] This is not the place to discuss the question of the origin of tones, nor, indeed, has it yet been finally decided. Suffice it to say that in old days, the particular tone taken by a word largely depended on its initial consonant, and that Lepsius long

[1] The question of the best method for indicating tones is discussed more fully in the Introduction to the Comparative Vocabulary forming Part II of this Volume.

ago suggested, and his arguments have been powerfully supported by Professor Conrady, that tones are often due to the disappearance of prefixes. In a dissyllabic word composed of a prefix plus a root, the accent was strongly on the root. The natural tendency was for the unaccented prefix gradually to wear away, and, instead of the accent, which, as the word was now again a monosyllable, could no longer exist, the tone was given to the word as a kind of compensation, indicating the former existence of the disappeared prefix. It follows that where prefixes are still used there is the less necessity for tones. Thus, Chinese and Siamese, which have no prefixes, have many, while Burmese, which uses prefixes more freely, has only two, and these are not used with every word, many words having no significant tone. In the Tibeto-Chinese languages of Assam and Upper Burma, which, like Burmese, are purely agglutinative languages, we notice a similar paucity of tones. We rarely hear of more than one or two, although it must be confessed that, owing to the lack of trained observers on the spot, our information on the subject is scanty.

The Glottal Check and Checked Consonants.

Tibeto-Chinese languages, and also Mōn-Khmēr and Muṇḍā, have another peculiarity called by Chinese scholars 'the entering tone,' though, properly speaking, it is not a tone of any kind.[1] It consists in the abrupt conclusion of a word by a sudden check, and we may get an approximate idea of its effect from the staccato sound of the English 'no' of peremptory refusal. It is difficult to describe its nature without the use of the technical terms of phonetics, and I therefore content myself with explaining that if a word so affected ends in a vowel, it is said to be distinguished by a 'glottal check,' while, if it ends in a consonant, that consonant is said to be deprived of its off-glide. Comparing one language with another, we see that the latter often leads to the former. Thus the Lushēi *mi*ˢ, an eye, with a final consonant wanting the off-glide, becomes *mhi*ˢ° in Angāmi Nāgā and *mi*ˢ° in Kachin, both of which are sounded with a glottal check.

Order of Words.

The order of words is not a distinguishing feature of the Tibeto-Chinese languages as a whole. There must have once been a time when this order was not fixed as it is at present. With the disappearance of prefixes and suffixes the want was felt of some method for defining the relation which each word bore to its neighbour in the sentence. This was partly done by fixing its position, but the different groups did not all adopt the same system Each naturally arranged its words in the order of thought followed by its members, and this order of thought differed from group to group We can note the same differences in more western languages. A Semitic speaker thinks first of what is done, and then of who does it, so that, say, an Arab says 'beats John,' where an Indo-European speaker, thinking first of the actor and then of the action, says 'John beats.' In this way the order of thought in a sentence throws considerable light on the mentality of the nation to which the speaker belongs. The Arab thinks first of what has to be done, and less urgently of the agent, while the Indo-European first selects his agent, and then decides what he is to do. The Siamese-Chinese languages, like the Mōn-Khmēr, adopted the order of subject, verb, object, with the adjective following the noun qualified; while in the Tibeto-Burman languages we have subject, object, verb, and the adjective usually, but not always,

[1] See Footnote to p. 33.

following the noun. Again in the Tai group, as in Mōn-Khmēr and Nicobarese, the genitive case follows the noun by which it is governed, while in Tibeto-Burman and Chinese, it precedes it.

In the preceding pages I have discussed the general question of the Tibeto-Burman and the Siamese-Chinese peoples and languages in the order, so far as it is known to us, of their appearance in history. I now proceed to describe in detail the languages of each of these two sub-families, and for this it will be most convenient to begin, not with Tibeto-Burman, but with the, for India, less important Siamese-Chinese. The way will then be left clear for the consideration at length of the more intricate grouping of Tibeto-Burman.

CHAPTER V.—THE SIAMESE-CHINESE SUB-FAMILY.

The Siamese-Chinese sub-family consists of two groups,—the Sinitic and the Tai.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Sinitic Group	...	127,627
Tai Group	4,205	926,235
TOTAL	4,205	1,053,862

The former includes Chinese, and, as explained above,[1] perhaps Karen, neither of which is dealt with in the Survey. Chinese is nowhere a vernacular of British India, although natives of the Flowery Land are found in nearly every large city as merchants, leather-workers, carpenters, cane workers and the like. In Rangoon and Upper Burma there are considerable communities, but all are temporary immigrants, who are either merchants that have come by sea, or else people from Yün-nan.

Chinese.

Sinitic Group.

	Census of 1921.
Chinese	127,527

The Tai race, in its different branches, is beyond all question the most widely spread of any in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and it is certainly the most numerous. Its members are to be found from Assam to far into the Chinese Province of Kwang-si, and from Bangkok to the interior of Yün-nan. The history of its migration from Yün-nan into southern Indo-China has been already briefly described.[2] It remains to consider the various forms of speech used by the nations of which it is composed.

Tai Group.

Seven languages of the Tai group were recorded in the Census,—Siamese, Lao, Lü, Khün, Daÿe, Shän, and Khämti. Of these, only Khämti and a stray dialect of Shän are found in the area subjected to the operations of this Survey. So far as the Census figures enumerate them, the others (except Ahom, which is a dead language) were all found in British Burma. Excluding Khämti, these six languages have no less than seven different written characters, and there are numerous dialects. The Siamese character, which was invented in the year 1125, is altogether different from the others. The language, so far as British India is concerned, is spoken principally in the Amherst and Mergui Districts of Burma. Lao, a dialect of Siamese, is widely spoken in Siam, and in Burma is found in the Amherst District, bordering on that country. It has an alphabet of its own, borrowed from that of Mön. Lü and Khün have alphabets closely related to that of Lao. They are spoken in the Kengtung Shan State, just north of the Siamese frontier. They are forms of speech intermediate between Siamese and Shan. Daye is spoken by a few people in the Southern Shan States. I know nothing about it.

Tai Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Siamese	...	8,744
Lao	...	3,851
Lü	...	26,108
Khün	...	33,210
Daye	...	746
Shän	200	843,810
Ahom	...	...
Khämti	4,005	9,866
TOTAL	4,205	926,335

Siamese.

Lao.

Lü and Khün.

[1] See p. 29.

[2] See p. 42.

Map indicating the localities in India in which Siamese-Chinese languages are spoken.

Scale 1 Inch 120 Miles or

Shân.

Shân proper is spoken all over the Shan States, both British and Chinese, as far north as Mogaung, and also in the country to their north-west. It has a northern, a southern, and a Chinese dialect, the last having a slightly different written character, which, like all the other Shân alphabets, is borrowed from Burmese. The word "Shân," or, as sounded, "Shàn," is the Burmese pronunciation of "Shâm," which is the correct form, and which reappears in the final syllable of "Assam." As this Survey did not cover the Shan States, the only example of the language across which it came, was the Aiton dialect spoken by some 200 immigrants to Assam. These will be mentioned again lower down.

Âhom.

In the year 1228 A.D., just about the time when Kublai Khan was establishing himself in China, a Shan tribe, the Âhoms, entered the country now called Assam, where they settled and to which they ultimately gave their name, 'Âhom' being but a variant pronunciation of 'Âsâm.' They gradually established their power, which reached its culminating point in their victory over the Kachâris of Dimâpur in 1540. This made them masters of the whole of the Assam Valley, and they continued to rule their territories with vigour and success up to the end of the seventeenth century, when they became infected with Hinduism. They lost their pride of race, their habits changed, and 'instead of being like barbarians, but mighty Kshatriyas, they became, like Brâhmans, powerful in talk alone.' They gradually declined in strength, and Assam, after being first conquered by the Burmese, was finally annexed by the British in 1824. So completely Hinduized did they become before their final fall, that their language has been dead for centuries, and is now known only by a few priests who have remained faithful to their old traditions. Âhom is an old form of the language which ultimately became Shân, and it is of great importance for the study of the mutual relationship of the various Tai languages.

It is curious that, in spite of their long domination, the Âhoms have left so few traces of their influence on the languages of the Assam Valley. They appear to have been throughout few in number, and, as their rule extended over various tribes speaking different forms of speech, the necessity of a lingua franca soon became apparent. This could only have been either Âhom or Assamese. The latter, being an Aryan language, possessed the greater vitality, and its use was no doubt encouraged by the Hindû priests who acquired influence over the ruling race. That influence alone would not have been sufficient, for we shall see how in Manipur, where Hinduism was enthusiastically accepted, the people have still retained their language, although the Brâhmans have had to invent a written character in which to record it. Although the Âhoms have left so few traces on the language of Assam, they have nevertheless laid their mark upon its literature. One of the few Âhom words used at the present day is *buranji*, 'the store of instruction for the ignorant,' as they called history, and it is to them that Assam owes the historical sense which created the series of chronicles, still called by their old foreign name, that are the pride of its literature.[1]

When Mogaung was conquered by Alomphra, a number of Shans migrated north, and settled here and there in the country round the upper courses of the Chindwin and

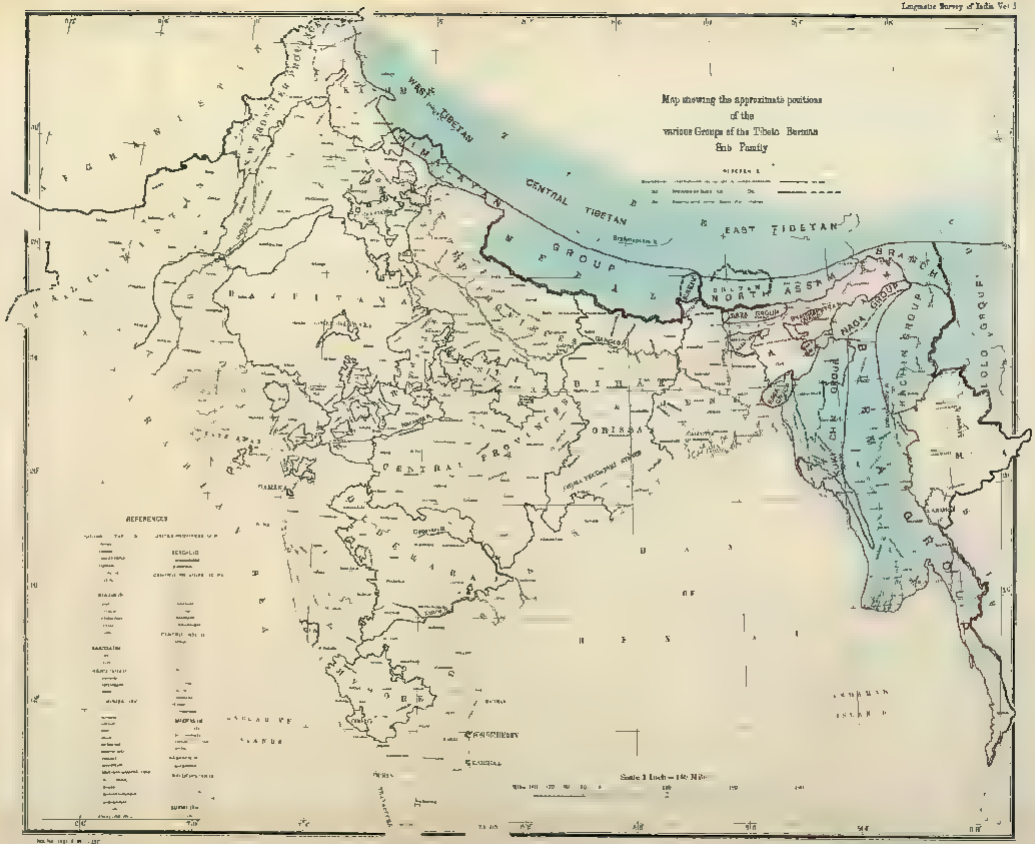
[1] Regarding the Âhom *Buranji*, see Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam*, pp. xii. (2nd Edition).

the Irrawaddy. Their principal settlement was high up on the latter river in the country known as Khām-tī Long or "Great Khāmtī-land." Thence some of them were invited by their kinsmen, the Āhoms, and settled in Eastern Assam, where they ultimately ousted their former hosts. They have developed a slightly varying dialect of Shān, and have an alphabet of their own. Since then small numbers of other Shān tribes have migrated into Assam, who are known as Phākials, Tai-rongs (locally called Turungs), Norās, and Aitons. The last-named still speak Burmese Shān, and use that alphabet. Two hundred of them were counted in the operations of this Survey. The Tai-rongs were enslaved by the Kachins *en route*, and all, or nearly all, now speak Singphō, the language of their masters. A few of them, together with the Phākials and the Norās, speak a Shān dialect, differing little, if at all, from Khāmtī.

Khāmtī.

	Survey.
Khāmtī . . .	2,930
Phākial . . .	625
Tai-rong . . .	150
Norā . .	300
TOTAL .	4,005

Aiton Shān.


Map showing the approximate positions
of the
various Groups of the Tibeto Burman
Sub Family
WESTERN TIBETAN
CENTRAL TIBETAN
EAST TIBETAN
NORTH ASSAM
NAGA GROUP
KUKI GROUP
BODO GROUP
ORISSA
REFERENCES
Scale 1 Inch = 160 Miles

CHAPTER VI.—THE TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY.

Branches of the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family.

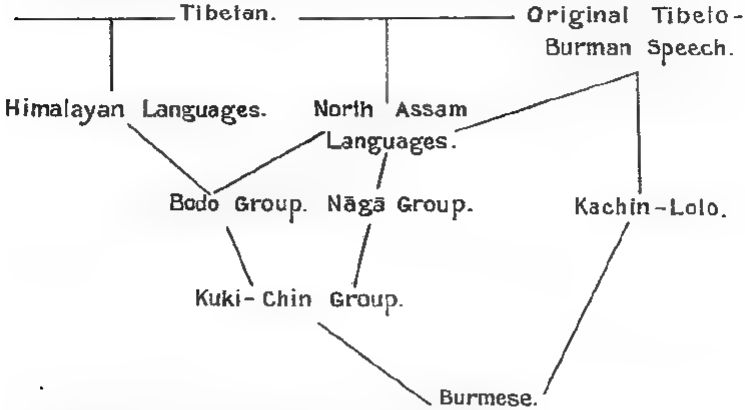
We have seen that the Tibeto-Burman people first of all split into two branches, one going north and west along the valley of the Sanpo into Tibet, and the other remaining on the south side of the Himalaya to populate Assam and Burma. So early an ethnical division naturally leads us to expect a corresponding division of languages, and such indeed is the case. Philologists have hitherto divided the Tibeto-Burman sub-family into two main branches, the Tibeto-Himalayan, and the Assam-Burmese or Lohitic. To these we must add a third, miscellaneous group, which, for the sake of convenience, we may call the North Assam Branch. So far as up to the present has been ascertained, this last occupies an intermediate position between the two others, and is spoken by tribes whose ancestors appear to have migrated thither independently, and at different times, from the original nidus of the Tibeto-Burman race. On the margin I give the number of speakers recorded for each branch in this Linguistic Survey and in the Census of 1921. For the Assam-Burmese Branch the Survey figures are much less than those of the Census, as the former did not cover anything like the whole Assam-Burmese area. Accessions of territory, or a widening sphere of political interest, accounts for the large number of speakers of the North Assam branch recorded in the Census.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Tibeto-Himalayan . .	399,742	440,263
North Assam . . .	26,910	80,482
Assam Burmese . .	1,543,655	11,438,266
TOTAL .	1,980,307	11,959,011

Mutual relationship of the three branches.

This division of the Tibeto-Burman languages is not, however, so simple as it seems. The question is considered in detail on pp. 10ff. of Volume III, Part i, of this Survey, and here it must suffice to give the broad results so far as we have been able to ascertain them. The most northern representative of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch is Tibetan, and the most southern representative of the Assam-Burmese Branch is Burmese. Between them lie all the other Tibeto-Burman languages. The two extremes are connected along two distinct linguistic chains. The eastern chain consists of the Kachin and Lolo forms of speech, which connect Tibetan directly with Burmese. The western chain is at first a pair of chains each beginning in a different locality, but joining together lower down, like the letter Y. The joint chain then goes on and ends again in Burmese. The eastern limb of this Y begins with the miscellaneous forms of speech which make up the North Assam Branch and continues through dialects of the Naga Hills into those of the Bodo and Kuki-Chin groups, where it meets the other, western, limb. The latter begins with those dialects of Tibetan which have crossed the Himalayan watershed from the North and have occupied the southern face of that range. These also lead us into Bodo and

Kuki-Chin. The joined eastern and western limbs then lead us, like Kachin and Lolo, into Burmese. This may be roughly represented by the following diagram :—



The localities in which these groups are severally spoken are shown in the map facing the preceding page.

Tibeto-Himalayan Branch.

Tibeto-Himalayan Branch.

		Survey.	Census of 1921.
Tibetan Group	. . .	205,508	231,885
Non-pronominalized Group.	Himalayan	100,256	100,537
Pronominalized Group.	Himalayan	93,978	107,841
	TOTAL .	399,742	440,263

Tibetan Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Tibetan	7,968	8,995
Balti and Purik . . .	130,678	143,366
Ladakhi	28,806	32,302
Dā-rjong-kā	20,000	10,046
Lhoke	5,079	10,526
Others	11,977	20,650
TOTAL .	205,508	231,885

The Tibeto-Himalayan Branch falls more easily into three well defined groups. The first, or Tibetan, Group consists of those forms of speech which we may call by their general Indian name of 'Bhōṭiā,' and of which the most prominent representative is Tibetan, or the Bhōṭiā of Tibet.

This last named language hardly concerns us, as the Survey does not extend to Tibet proper, but other forms of Bhoṭiā, which from another point of view may be looked upon as dialects of Tibetan, are found in Baltistan and Ladakh, and have crossed the Himalaya into the northern parts of Lahoul, Spiti, Kunawar, the State of Garhwal, Kumaun, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. Tibetan proper possesses tones, due to the loss of old prefixes, but as we go westwards into Ladakh and Baltistan we find many prefixes still in vigorous existence, and, as a consequence, no tones in use. Standard Tibetan has a great literature, but the others are mostly corrupt dialects with no written records.

The presence of the few speakers of standard Tibetan in British India is accidental, and need not detain us long. Nevertheless, from the point of view of philology and on

account of its literature, the language is of great importance, and, though there are so few speakers in India, its connexion with India is intimate. It was from India that Tibet received the Buddhist religion and the scriptures that explained it. Tibet's very alphabet is of Indian origin, and its earliest literature, dating from the 7th century A.D., consists mainly of translations of Indian books, many of which are now lost in their original form. It was these translations that changed the rude speech of the Tibetans into a copious literary language capable of reproducing the infinite wealth of Sanskrit in a manner at once literal and faithful to the spirit of the original.[1]

The standard form of Tibetan is that spoken in Central Tibet, in the provinces of Ü and Tsang, and several dialects spoken in other parts of that country have been catalogued in Volume III, Pt. i of this Survey. So far as India is concerned, it will be sufficient to consider two groups of dialects, — an Eastern and a Western. The Eastern includes Lhoke, the language of Bhutan; Dā-njong-kā, the form of Tibetan spoken in Sikkim; Sharpa and Kāgate of Nepal, and minor dialects found in Kumaun and the State of Garhwal. In Ladakh and Baltistan we find the Western Group. Ladakhī has been sufficiently studied to have a dictionary, and several texts in the dialect have been published by Mr. Francke and other missionaries stationed at Leh. Baltī, with a peculiar character of its own, now obsolete, owns some historical books, but cannot now be called a language with a literature. At the present day, the population being Musalmān, the Persian character is used for writing it, and in this medium we have translations of the Gospels and a few Christian tracts published in the modern language. Immediately to the East of Baltī, between it and Ladakhī, lies the closely allied Purik, and, for statistical purposes, the two dialects have been treated as one with a joint total for the number of their speakers. As already stated, Baltī and Ladakhī to a large extent retain the ancient prefixes lost by standard Tibetan, and consequently they have not developed tones.

Lhoke.
Dā-njong-kā.
Sharpa
Kāgate.
Ladakhī.
Baltī.
Purik.

The above Tibeto-Burman languages are all forms of speech which can at once be recognized as dialects of the Bhoṭiā of Tibet (*i.e.* Tibetan) Several of them have crossed the Himalayan watershed and are now spoken on the south side of the great range. Their arrival there must have been at a comparatively late period, for their speakers still acknowledge the relationship with the parent language. But there is an older set of languages of the same sub-family, which must have crossed the Himalaya from the North before the language of Tibet had established itself in its present form, and which have, in the sites where we now find them, had their own history and, independently of Tibetan, their own development, although their more distant relationship with that language cannot be denied. These are called the "Himalayan" Tibeto-Burman languages, and their general characteristics are thus described by Professor Konow [2]:—

Himalayan Dialects.

These languages are all Tibeto-Burman forms of speech, although in many of them we can observe several features which are not in accordance with Tibeto-Burman principles Thus, a difference is often made between such words as denote animate beings and inanimate things, respectively; higher numbers are often counted in twenties and not in tens as is the case in Tibetan, Burmese, Chinese, Siamese, etc. the personal

[1] *See* Preface to Jäschke's Tibetan Dictionary, p. iv.
[2] Vol. III, Pt. i, p. 179. With a few verbal alterations.

pronouns often have a dual in addition to the ordinary plural, and double sets of the dual and plural of the first person, one including and the other excluding the person or persons addressed; there is in many dialects a tendency to distinguish the person of the subject by adding pronominal suffixes to the verb, so that a kind of regular conjugation is effected, and so forth.

In such characteristics the dialects in question have struck out lines of their own, in entire disagreement with Tibeto-Burman, or even Tibeto-Chinese, principles. They have accordingly become modified in their whole structure. It is difficult to help inferring that this state of affairs must be due to the existence of an old heterogeneous substratum of the population, which has exercised an influence on the language. That old population must then have spoken dialects belonging to a different linguistic family, and the general modification of the inner structure of the actual forms of speech must be due to the fact that the leading principles of those old dialects have been engrafted on the languages of the tribes in question. Now it will be observed that all these features in which the Himalayan dialects differ from other Tibeto-Burman languages are in thorough agreement with the principles prevailing in the Muṇḍā forms of speech. It therefore seems probable that Muṇḍās, or tribes speaking a language connected with those now in use among the Muṇḍās, have once lived in the Himalaya and have left their stamp on the dialects there spoken at the present day.

The non-Tibeto-Burman characteristics mentioned above are seldom found together in one and the same form of speech, and some of the dialects under consideration have few if any traces of them. On the other hand, some of these features, such as the distinction between an inclusive and an exclusive plural of the first personal pronoun, have penetrated much further and are, *e.g.*, found in the western dialects of Tibetan. If we consider only the formation of verbs, the most interesting feature of Tibeto-Burman languages, it will be found that Hodgson's[1] classification into non-pronominalized and pronominalized languages holds good for the entire field of Himalayan philology. We shall therefore adhere to it in the coming pages and consider the Himalayan dialects under two different headings, non-pronominalized and pronominalized dialects.

The latter group we shall further subdivide into two sub-groups, one comprising several dialects spoken in the east of the valley of Nepal, and the other consisting of some forms of speech found in Kumaun and further towards the West.

The Non-pronominalized dialects are spoken in Central and Eastern Nepal, and further to the East, in Sikkim and Bhutan. As most of them are spoken in Nepal, the statistics given on the margin are necessarily incomplete, for the numbers given represent only those speakers (mostly soldiers in our Gōrkhā regiments or immigrants to Darjiling) who were found in India Proper. The bulk of the speakers, who reside in Nepal, is altogether omitted from consideration. On the other hand, thanks to the kindness of the Nepal Government, the Survey has been supplied with very complete specimens of most of these languages, and it is possible to give fairly good accounts of them, even if we do not know how many people speak them.

Non-pronominalized Himalayan Languages.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Gurung	...	5,211
Murmi	36,848	28,512
Sunwār	5,356	4,122
Mākarī	16,979	20,536
Nēwārī	5,979	10,134
Rōng or Lepcha	34,894	20,569
Others	200	1,443
TOTAL	100,256	100,587

The influence of the ancient language of the Muṇḍā type is not so prominent in these languages as in those of the pronominalized group. There are nevertheless distinct traces of its previous importance, and we may assume with considerable probability that here we have a case of the old influence receding before that of Tibetan and of the Bodo languages spoken immediately to the East. We appear to have a clear example of this in Sunwār. In Hodgson's days it was a pronominalized language, but, if the specimens received for the Survey are to be trusted, it is so no longer. Hodgson's Essay was written in 1847, so that, allowing for the date when the specimens for the Survey were received, this change took place in little more than half a century. As we know how rapidly Tibeto-Burman languages which have no literature to act as a conservative influence do change, this short period need not surprise us, and it is pretty

[1] Essays relating to Indian Subjects. Vol. i, p. 105.

certain that in all these languages the Muṇḍā characteristics were much stronger two or three centuries ago than they are now. On the other hand we also see in these non-pronominalized languages links connecting them with the Bodo Group. Whether they are naturally inherent in the languages or have been borrowed from the neighbouring languages we do not know, but, either way, it is the presence of these links which cause the Himalayan languages to form the western limb of the letter Y alluded to on page 53.

The head-quarters of Gurung, Murmi, Sunwār, Māgarī, and Nēwārī are in Nepal, and most of the speakers recorded for the Survey were found in Darjiling and the neighbourhood, where they formed an overflow from that country. Elsewhere in British India the speakers were chiefly found in Gorkhā regiments. Only one of them, Nēwārī, has any literature. Before the Gōrkhā invasion the Nēwārs were the ruling race of the country, and the name of the tribe is only another form of the word 'Nēpāl.' Nēwārī was thus the state language of the country until the overthrow of the Nēwar dynasty in 1769. Buddhism was introduced into Nepal at a very early date, and, though Sanskrit accompanied it as the language of sacred books, Nēwārī also soon became used for literary purposes. Most Nēwār books are commentaries on, or translations of, Sanskrit Buddhist works current in Nepal, but from the fourteenth century inscriptions in the language began to appear, and we have other survivals in the shape of indigenous dictionaries, grammars, and dramatic works with stage directions in Nēwārī. The oldest Nēwārī book with which we are acquainted was written in the 14th century, and is a historical account of the chief events in Nepal from A.D. 1056 to 1388. The language has an alphabet of its own and has received some study from Russian and German scholars, but the only Englishman who has examined it was Hodgson, and even he did not give it any special attention.

Another interesting language of this group is Róng or, as the Nepalese nickname it, Lepcha. It is the principal language of Sikkim, and has an alphabet of its own and a literature which is said to consist mainly of works on Buddhist theology and connected subjects. As it is spoken within easy reach of Darjiling it has attracted the attention of English scholars, and has been provided with a grammar and dictionary written on European lines.

Pronominalized Himalayan languages.

In the Pronominalized group the influence of the ancient Muṇḍā language is far more apparent. In all of them we notice the characteristic idiom of suffixing personal pronouns to the verb to indicate not only the subject but also, often, the direct and indirect objects. When a Limbu wishes to say 'I strike him,' he turns both the 'I' and the 'him' into suffixes added to the verb. 'Strike' is *hip*, 'him' is *-tū*, and 'I' is *-ng*, so he says *hiptūng*, which it will be remembered is exactly parallel to the Santālī example given on page 37. Some of the languages of this group follow the Muṇḍā system of counting the higher numbers in twenties. Only two follow the Tibetan system of counting by tens, and the rest have embarrassed comparative philology by borrowing the Indo-Aryan numerals. In Tibetan and the languages allied to it there is a complicated system for expressing pronouns. But the various forms are due to the exigencies of etiquette, and each implies a different degree of politeness, just as in many other oriental languages we hear such expressions as 'this poor slave' used instead of an uncompromisingly egotistical 'I.'

But in these pronominalized languages, though there is great variation of pronominal forms, this is based on an altogether different principle. Exactly as in Muṇḍā, there are three forms indicating number,—a singular, a dual, and a plural,—for each person, and for the first person we have even greater diversity, there being separate duals for 'I and thou,' and 'I and he,' and plurals for 'I and you,' and 'I and they.' In some of the Western dialects we even find what might almost be called instances of borrowing of Muṇḍā words, and a relic of Muṇḍā or Mōn-Khmēr pronunciation in the checked final consonants which have been described on pages 37 and 48.

As stated above, these pronominalized languages fall into two groups, an Eastern and a Western, which, so far as the materials available show, are separated from each other by a comparatively wide extent of country. The Eastern group is confined to Eastern Nepal and the neighbourhood,—the so-called 'Kirānt'[1] country, owing to which they were appropriately named by Hodgson, 'the Kirāntī Dialects.' As they all inhabit this tract figures are available for only a few of them, and these refer only to settlers in Darjiling and thereabouts and in no way indicate the true numbers of the speakers of these forms of speech. I therefore omit all figures in the list given on the margin. Those curious in the matter can refer to the incomplete figures given in Appendix I (p. 392). All these languages have been described by Hodgson, some very briefly, and others,—especially Dhīmāl, Bāhing (a Khambū dialect), and Vāyu,—at considerable length. Limbū has a full modern grammar from the pen of Colonel Senior, but regarding the rest, practically nothing is known beyond the materials collected by Hodgson and the subsequent information collected for the Linguistic Survey.

Eastern Pronominalized Group.

Dhīmāl.
Thāmī.
Limbū.
Yākhā.
Khambū (with 16 dialects).
Rai or Jimdār.
Vāyu.
Chēpāng.
Kusūnda.
Bhrāmu.
Thākya.

We know more about the Western Group of the pronominalized languages, as they are all spoken in British India. They possess all the Muṇḍā characteristics that distinguish the Eastern Group, and it is here,—in Kanauri and a neighbouring dialect,—that we find the checked final consonants to which reference has already been made. The most important of these languages is the Kanauri (also written Kanāwarī) spoken in Kanawar, sixty or seventy miles north-east of Simla. It has received some study, and has been given a grammar and a vocabulary written by Europeans or compiled under their encouragement. Parts of the Bible have also been translated into it. Kanāshī is a curious

Western Pronominalized Himalayan Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Manchāṭī	2,905	...
Chamba Lāhuli	1,387	...
Bunān and Rānglōi	2,987	...
Kanāshi	980	539
Kanauri	13,039	23,038
Rangkas	314	...
Darmiya	1,761	7
Chaudāngsi	1,485	...
Byāngsi	1,585	...
Jangsali	200	89
TOTAL	27,093	22,733[2]

[1] This name recalls the fabulous *Kirātas* of Sanskrit literature. Similarly, the Yākhas remind us of another fabulous people, the *Yakshas*.

[2] The Census figures for these languages are very incomplete. It is probable that they have all been confused with, and returned as, Tibetan.

lonely language spoken in an isolated glen in Kulu, to the north-west of Kanauri, with which it has many points of resemblance. Being surrounded on all sides by speakers of Kuḷuī, an Indo-Aryan language, it has naturally borrowed from it a portion of its vocabulary, but the character of the language as a whole clearly points to a connexion with Kanaurī. Manchāṭi, Chamba Lāhuli, Bunán, and Banglōi are spoken still farther to the north-west in the mountainous country of Lahul, Chamba, and Kangra. They have received attention from the Ladakh missionaries, and gospels have been translated into Manchāṭi and Bunán. The remaining languages of this group are spoken a long way to the east, in the mountain ranges of the north of Kumaun. Nothing is known of them except what is recorded in the Survey, and that is but little; but, with one exception, it is sufficient to show that they belong to this group. The exception is Janggalī, of which the Survey failed to obtain any satisfactory specimens. The name indicates the wildness of its forest speakers, and all that we can say with certainty is that it is a member of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. It has been classed with the others, for the present, merely on account of its geographical position.

The above remarks conclude our survey of the Himalayan Tibeto-Burman dialects. As previously pointed out, the indications of the ancient Muṇḍā influence on these forms of speech is a matter of the greatest interest. It connects languages spoken in Lahul, Chamba, and Kanawar with the Muṇḍā languages of Central India, and, through them, with the Khāsi spoken in Assam, and with the Mōn-Khmēr languages of Further India. These last lead us on to the tongues of Indonesia and Polynesia till we arrive at Easter Island. Roughly speaking, we find this Austric Family of languages extending from 80° east longitude to 110° west longitude, a total of 170 degrees longitude, or very nearly half way round the world. Excepting the Indo-European (which has in modern times spread from Europe to America) it is the most widely extended of any of the language families of the earth.

North Assam Branch.

In describing the progress of the migrations of the Tibeto-Burman tribes, I have stated that, after the Tibetan branch had entered Tibet along the course of the Sanpo, some of its members crossed the Himalaya and appeared on the southern slope of that range. Of these, the most eastern are the inhabitants of Bhutan and Towang East of them, extending from Towang up to and beyond the extreme eastern corner of Assam, the hills north of the Brahmaputra are occupied by four tribes, the correct classification of whose languages is a matter of considerable doubt. These are, in order, going from west to east, the Akas, Angkas, or Hrusso; the Daflās; the Abor-Miris; and the Mishmis. Most of these people live outside settled British territory. Our knowledge of them is therefore incomplete, and the figures shown on the margin in no way represent the real numbers of the speakers, but only those who were found in British territory. The Akas or Angkas, as they are called by their neighbours, or Hrusso, as they call themselves, dwell in the hills north of Darrang, in a corner between Towang and Assam. Of all the North Assam languages we know least about theirs. An attempt was made

North Assam Branch.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Aka or Hrusso .	20	71
Abor . . .	170	13,317
Miri . . .	25,510	45,289
Daflā . . .	990	959
Michmi . .	220	846
Total .	36,910	60,482

to gain further information concerning it for the purposes of the Survey, but our one authority, the Aka chief whose presence and help had been secured, preferred the freedom of his native hills to philology, and disappeared before the work was finished, leaving our information tantalizingly incomplete. Robinson gave us a short vocabulary in 1841, Hesselmeyer a fuller one in 1868, and J. D. Anderson another in 1896.[1] The first differs altogether from the two latter, and is apparently really a corrupt Daflā. The Aka of Hesselmeyer and Anderson is certainly a Tibeto-Burman language, but it appears to have strange and peculiar phonetic laws which cause it to differ widely from the speech of any other language of the branch. Even the numerals and the pronouns have special forms, though, on the other hand, its vocabulary shows points of contact with Daflā, which do not seem to be due to borrowing. There are very few of the tribe, or of the Daflās in British territory.

Aka.

Daflā.

East of the Akas lie the Daflas, east of them the Miris, and east of them, on both sides of the Dihang river, the Abors. The Miris and the Abors speak the same language, with only dialectic variations, and this is closely connected with Daflā. We know a good deal about Abor-Miri and Daflā. Robinson gave us grammars of both in the middle of the last century, and, to omit mention of less important notices, in later times Mr. Needham has given us a grammar and Mr. J. H. Lorrain a dictionary of the former, and Mr. Hamilton a grammar of the latter. We have seen that Aka and Daflā have points of contact in vocabulary, and at the other end of the chain Abor shows signs of affinity to the nearest form of the Mishmi language.

Abor-Miri.

The Mishmis, who inhabit the hills north of Sadiya, are divided into four tribes, speaking three distinct dialects. The most western are the Midu (or, as Robinson wrote, Nedu) or Chulikatā Mishmis, who occupy the valley of the Dihang with the adjoining hills, and, to their east, the Mithun or Bebejiyā (outcaste) Mishmis. These appear to speak the same dialect, or language, but about it we know hardly anything. We have only an imperfect vocabulary collected by Sir George Campbell. Even the indefatigable Robinson failed to get specimens of it. All that he can say is 'they speak a language peculiar to themselves, yet bearing some affinity to that spoken by their neighbours the Abors and Miris.' East of the Bebejiyās lie the Taying or Digāru Mishmis, beyond the Digāru river. The Mīju Mishmis are still further east, towards the Lama valley of Dzayul, a sub-prefecture of Lhassa. Robinson has given us grammars and vocabularies of both of these, and Mr. Needham has also written a Digāru vocabulary. The two dialects, or languages, are very different.

Mishmi.

Chulikatā.

Digāru.

Mīju.

The North Assam Branch of the Tibeto-Burman tongues is, it must be confessed, a rather haphazard collection of languages grouped on geographical rather than on philological principles. Our one certain conclusion is a negative one,—that they can be classed neither as Tibeto-Himalayan, nor as Assam-Burmese, though they are connected with both. Their territory is a kind of backwater over which various waves of Tibeto-Burman immigration have swept, each leaving its record in the speech of the inhabitants. They all show points of agreement with one or other of the two remaining branches of Tibeto-Burman

General conclusions as to the North Assam Branch.

[1] Sir George Campbell also printed an Aka vocabulary in 1874, which is again different.

speech, and, on the whole, they can be described as links which connect the Tibeto-Himalayan languages with the Assam-Burmese Bodo, Nāgā, Kuki-Chin, and Kachin.

Assam-Burmese Branch.

The probable race history of the tribes which employ the forms of speech belonging to the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages has been glanced at in the preceding pages, and more details will be given further on. This branch is further divided into the following groups:—the Bodo, the Nāgā, the Kachin, the Kuki-Chin, the Burma, the Lolo-Mos'o and the Sak or Lūi. Of these the only groups that have been examined each as a whole in this Survey are the Bodo and the Nāgā. The Kachin, the Kuki-Chin, the Sak, and the Burma have been partly examined, as some of the languages belonging to them fell within the area of its operations, but by far the greater number of the languages of these four groups belong to Burma, and have not been touched by this Survey at all. Finally, the Survey has not touched any languages at all of the Lolo-Mos'o group. The gaps left by this Survey will be filled up in due course by the proposed Linguistic Survey of Burma, and, pending its completion, I do not propose, so far as the languages of Burma are concerned, to do more than refer very briefly to them, adopting so far as may be the classification authorized by our very incomplete knowledge. It is quite possible that this classification may have to be seriously altered when the Burma researches are completed. For Bodo and Nāgā and for some of the Kuki-Chin languages, we are on firmer ground, and I shall enter into the subject in greater detail. As regards all these groups, we may say that according to our present knowledge, the Bodo and Nāga groups are those most closely connected with the Tibeto-Himalayan languages, while the Kuki-Chin and Burma groups display more independent characteristics. Between these two extremes lie the Kachin and Lolo-Mos'o groups, the former being more nearly related to Kuki-Chin and the latter to Burmese. The Sak (Lui) group requires separate consideration, and seems to represent the outcome of one of the earliest Tibeto-Burman swarms.

Assam-Burmese Branch.

Group.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Bodo	61[illegible],659	715,806
Nāgā	292,799	338,634
Kachin	1,920	151,196
Kuki-Chin	567,625	796,314
Burma	62,652	9,395,595
Lolo-Mos'o	...	75,686
Sak (Lūi)	...	25,145
TOTAL	1,543,655	11,488,265

The group of tribes known as Bodo or Bāṛā forms the most numerous and important section of the non-Aryan tribes of the Province of Assam. Linguistic evidence shows that at one time they extended over the whole of the present province west of Manipur and the Naga Hills, excepting only the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, which are inhabited by people speaking Khāsī, a language of a different family,—the Austro-Asiatic. To the north of the Khasi Hills they occupy the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Brahmaputra Valley. To the west they have made the Garo Hills their own. To the south

Bodo Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Kāchāri or Bodo	372,231	271,6[illegible]2
Lālung	40,160	10,383
Dimāsā	18,681	11,040
Garō	139,768	216,117
Koch	10,300	16,165
Rābhā	31,370	22,545
Tipurā	105,850	163,720
Chutiyā	9[illegible]4	4,113
Moran	...	1
TOTAL	618,659	715,696

they spread over the plains of Cachar and, further, over the present State of Hill Tippera. On the east their sphere of influence was bounded by Manipur and the wild tribes of the Naga Hills. Between the latter and the Khasi Hills an important tribe of them were settled in the hills of North Cachar. One branch of the family, popularly known as the Kōch, extended their power to far wider limits, and overran the whole of northern Bengal at least as far west as Purnea.

During the course of centuries the members of the Bodo family have suffered much from external pressure. From the east, in the year 1228 A.D. there began the incursion of the Āhoms, a Tai race, who occupied the Brahmaputra Valley, and ruled it for centuries till we annexed it, so that, in that neighbourhood, we know of powerful Kōch kingdoms only in Western Assam and in Cooch, or Kōch, Bihar. To the east the Bodo tribes sank into insignificance, and, except where the mountainous nature of their homes has enabled them to maintain their independence, their members can now only be identified in communities of a few hundreds each.

The Bodo country was also invaded from the south, and this within the last two centuries. Pressed forward by their co-tribesmen beyond them, Kuki hordes left the Lushai and Chin Hills and migrated north, settling in Manipur, the Cachar plains, and more especially in the hill country of North Cachar, where the population is now mixed, partly Bodo and partly Kuki.

But the most important invasion was that of Aryan culture from the west. With its language, it has occupied the plains of Dacca, Sylhet, and Cachar, so that the Bodos of the Garo Hills are now separated from their kinsmen of Hill Tippera by a wide tract filled with a population speaking an Aryan language. So, too, with the valley of the Brahmaputra. It is now almost completely Aryanized, and the old Bodo languages are gradually dying out. The ancient kingdom of Cooch Bihar now claims Bengali as its language, the old forms of speech surviving only in a few isolated tracts. In Kamrup and Goalpara, the former head-quarters of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, the speakers of the Aryan Assamese and Bengali are counted by hundreds, while those of Bodo are counted by tens. The very name Kōch has lost its original significance, and has now come to mean a Bodo who has become so far Hinduized that he has abandoned his proper tongue and is particular as to what he eats. Nay, many of those Bodos who still adhere to their old form of speech are trilingual. Numbers of them can speak Assamese, and in addition to this they commonly employ, not only their own pure racy agglutinative tongue, but also a curious compound mongrel made up of a Bodo vocabulary expressed in the altogether alien idiom of Assamese.

Kōch Language.

I have said above that the word "Kōch" has lost its original meaning, and now signifies a Hinduized Bodo. There is, however, in the Madhupur Jungle on the borders of Dacca and Mymensingh, in the Garo Hills, and the neighbouring districts of the Assam Valley, a body of people, known as Pāni, *i.e.* Little, Kōch, which still speaks a language of the Bodo Group. It is nevertheless doubtful if they are Kōches at all. According to some authorities they are Gārōs who have never got beyond an imperfect stage of conversion to Hinduism, involving merely the abstinence from beef. It has been conjectured that they assumed this name of 'Little', or 'Inferior' Kōches by way of propitiating the thoroughly Hinduized Kōch power which was predominant on their borders. If the specimens of their language

which I have seen are correct, it is a mongrel Gārō largely mixed with Assamese, and is the only form of speech known at the present day by the name of Kōch. The traditions of the speakers do not, however, connect their tribe with the Gārōs. They believe that they came from the north-west, *i.e.*, where the Kōch kings formerly ruled, and they quite easily represent a tribe which had migrated from there to their present seats.

Kāchārī.

Bārā or Bodo.

The true Kōches are now, at any rate, represented by the Kāchārīs, who inhabit Nowgong, Kamrup, Goalpara, Cooch Bihar, and the neighbouring country. Towards the east of this tract they call themselves Bārā, usually mispronounced "Bodo," and have given this name to the whole group of languages of which their tongue is a member. Towards the west they are called Meches, but everywhere their speech is the same, with a few local peculiarities. Their language is a fairly rich one, and is remarkable for the great ease with which roots can be compounded together, so as to express the most complex idea in a single "portmanteau" word. For instance, the sentence "go, and take, and see, and observe carefully" is indicated by a single word in Kāchārī. Of all the languages of the group it is the most phonetically developed, and here and there shows signs of the commencement of that true inflexion which is strange to most agglutinative languages. Another interesting fact is that in it we see going on before our eyes that process of phonetic attrition which, in all the languages of the family, has turned dissyllables into monosyllables, and has created that characteristic isolating appearance of all Indo-Chinese tongues. To take an example:—the word *sā* means 'person,' and the word *fi* is a causal prefix. Hence the compound *fi-sā* means 'a made person,' *i.e.* 'a child,' for the Tibeto-Burman mind cannot grasp the abstract idea which we connote by the word 'child,' and can think of a child only in reference to its father, the person who made it. But here accent comes in. It is put on the second word of the compound, so that the *i* of *fi* is scarcely audible, and we get *f'sā*. This accounts for the origin of the word for 'child' in cognate languages. It is always a monosyllable, *fsā*, *bsā*, or something of the sort. We should never have known the real meaning of this monosyllable had we not Kāchārī for our guide. Nay, Kāchārī itself makes secondary monosyllables in this way. For instance, *rān* means 'to be dry,' but *frān*, which we now know to be contracted from *fi-rān*, means 'to make dry.'

Bodo is a language which is fairly well-known. Besides school-books, we have for the standard Bodo dialect a grammar by Endle and an excellent collection of folktales by Anderson, while Skrefsrud has given us a grammar of Mech.

Lālung.

Dīmā-sā.

Closely connected with Kāchārī is the Lālung spoken in south-west Nowgong and the neighbourhood. It forms a link between it and Dīmā-sā. This last is the Bodo language spoken in the hill country of North Cachar. The name of the country in which it is spoken has led to its being called 'Hills Kāchārī,' but this has the disadvantage of inducing the belief that it and the 'Plains Kāchārī' of Kamrup are different dialects of the same language[1]. Really these two are not so nearly connected as French and Spanish. They both belong to the same linguistic group, and both, no doubt, have a

[1] The Dīmā-sā of North Cachar and the Bodo of Kamrup formed one nationality till about 1540 A.D., when the Ahoms conquered the former, who at the time occupied the Dhansiri Valley as far as the Brahmaputra, with Dīmāpur as their capital. They then retreated into the North Cachar hills. The differentiation between Dīmā-sā and standard Bodo has therefore probably taken place since that date. Up to that time there had been free communication between the two branches.

common ancestor, but, at the present day, they are quite distinct forms of speech, and it is best to call Hills Kāchārī by the title which its speakers give to themselves, Dīmā sā. Since it was described in the Survey, it has been given a grammar and vocabulary by Mr. Dundas. It has a dialect of its own spoken in south Nowgong called Hojai.

Hojai.

Chutiyā.

Going still further up the Assam Valley, we find the most eastern of the Bodo languages, the Chutiyā, which is fast dying out. It is spoken only by a few Deoris, who form the priestly caste of the Chutiyā tribe They have preserved, in the midst of a number of alien races, the language, religion, and customs which they brought about a hundred years ago from the country east of Sadiya, and which, we may presume, have descended to them with comparatively little change from a period anterior to the Āhom invasion of Assam. Their present seats are on the Majuli Island in Sibsagar, and on the Dikrang River in north Lakhimpur. Of all the languages of the Bodo group, owing no doubt to its religious associations, it appears to have preserved the oldest characteristics, and to approach most nearly the original form of speech from which they are all derived It and Kāchārī represent the two extremes, the least developed and the most developed of the group. Like the latter, it exhibits the remarkable facility for forming compound verbs to which attention has already been drawn. This is probably a characteristic of all the dialects of the Bodo group, but it is only these two which have been thoroughly studied, so that we cannot as yet be certain about the others.

Gārō.

Returning to western Assam, we have next to consider Gārō, or, as its speakers call it, Māndē Kusik, the language of men. Its proper home is the Garo Hills, but its speakers have overflowed into the plains at their feet, and have even crossed the Brahmaputra into Cooch Bihar and Jalpaiguri. Gārō, in its standard dialect, has received some literary cultivation at the hands of local missionaries, and, besides possessing a version of the Bible, has a printed dictionary, school books, religious and other works It has a number of dialects which bear a strong resemblance to each other, though to a foreigner learning to converse with the natives the differences are striking enough. That known as Ātong or Kuchu presents the greatest variations, and Gārōs from other parts of the Garo Hills can make themselves fairly well understood wherever they go except in the Ātong country It is spoken in the lower Someswari Valley which lies south-east of the Garo Hills, and in the north-east of the District of Mymensingh. It appears to approach most nearly the original language from which the various dialects are derived, for we meet typical Ātong peculiarities in the most widely separated localities, where Gārō, in a more or less corrupt form, is spoken. A language closely connected with Gārō is Rābhā, which has most speakers in the District of Goalpara but which is dying out. Rābhā seems to be a Hindū name for the tribe, and many men so called are pure Kāchārīs. At one time they formed the fighting clan of the Bodo family, and members of it joined the three Assam regiments before they took to recruiting Gorkhās.

Rābhā.

Tipurā.

The remaining important language of the Bodo Group is Tipurā. Its home is the State of Hill Tippera and the adjoining portion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, but speakers of it are also found in Dacca, Sylhet, and Cachar. The Chittagong Hill Tracts people call it Mrung. It shows points of connexion with both Dīmā-sā and Gārō, and generally has all the characteristics of

the group in which it is included. An interesting point is that the word for 'man' is *bâṛâk*, which is almost identical with the name Bāṛā by which the Kāchāṛīs of Kamrup and the neighbourhood call themselves.

Morān.

To complete the survey of this group, we may mention Morān, a language which is believed to be now extinct. The Moràns were the first tribe conquered by the Āhoms when they entered Assam from over the Patkoi. They became the Gibeonites of their vanquishers, being employed by them as carriers of firewood, and are still found in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur. Their language belonged to the Bodo group, but they have nearly all abandoned it in favour of Assamese.

Nāgā Group.

While the number of speakers of languages belonging to the Nāgā Group is less than half that of those whose mother speech is Bodo, the number of Nāgā languages is more than four times as many. The extraordinary diversities of speech, differences of language, not merely of dialect, which characterize the hill country between the Patkoi Range on the east, the Jaintia Hills on the west, the Brahmaputra Valley on the north, and Manipur on the south, render it one of the most interesting fields for investigation by the philologist. The Assam Valley proper is bounded on the south by ranges of hills separating it from Sylhet and Cachar. At its western end these hills are comparatively low, and under the name of the Garo Hills are inhabited by a people speaking a language of the Bodo Group. As we go west they become the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, with summits rising more than six thousand feet above the level of the sea. Then we have a drop into the valleys of the Kapili and the Dhansiri, a country of low hills forming the subdivision of North Cachar. Further east, the general level of the tract rapidly rises up to the Patkoi, including the south of the Nowgong, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur districts, the whole of the Naga Hills and the north of the State of Manipur. Here we have a confused mass of mountains, some of them rising to nine or ten thousand feet, which, as we go eastwards, become ranges running north and south, connected with the Himalaya through the Patkoi and the hills beyond, and extending southwards, through Manipur and the Lushai Hills, until they terminate in the sea at Cape Negrais. It is in this country, between North Cachar and the Patkoi, that the Nāgā languages are mainly spoken. The inhospitable nature of the land and the ferocity of the inhabitants have combined to foster this diversity of speech. Where communication is so difficult, intercourse with neighbouring tribes is rare, and, in former times, when heads were collected as eagerly as philatelists collect stamps and no girl would marry a young fellow who could not display an adequate store of specimens, if a meeting with a stranger did take place, the conversation was sure to be more or less one-sided. Under such circumstances, monosyllabic languages, such as those of the Nāgās, with no literature, with a floating pronunciation, with a system of taboo which is ever and anon prohibiting the further use of certain words, and with a number of loosely used prefixes and suffixes to supply the ordinary needs of grammar, are bound to change very rapidly and quite independently of each other. Cases are on record in which

Sub-groups.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Nāgā-Bodo	36,353	27,109
Western	68,920	83,264
Central	38,000	48,554
Eastern	10,000	..
Nāgā-Kuki	139,516	152,286
Unclassed	...	23,441
TOTAL	292,799	338,634

Orography.

members of a tribe who have emigrated but a comparatively short distance have developed a language unintelligible to the inhabitants of the parent village in two or three generations.[1]

Between the Bodo and the Nāgā languages, there is an intermediate sub-group belonging in the main to the latter, but possessing distinct points of contact with the former.[2] Empēo is the best known of these, as we have a grammar and a vocabulary of it by Mr. Soppitt. It is spoken in North Cachar and in the western Nāgā Hills, and it shows points of contact not only with Bodo but also with Kuki forms of speech, though in the main it is Nāgā. Kabui and Khoirāo belong to north Manipur. As for the former all that was known about it previous to the Survey was a short vocabulary compiled by Major McCulloch in the middle of the last century. About Khoirāo nothing was known till the Survey took it in hand. The Survey figures for these two languages were very rough estimates, with no census figures on which they could be based. Since they were recorded, these tribes have fallen within the net of two regular censuses, and the figures shown for 1921 should be taken as more accurate than those given by the Survey.

Nāgā-Bodo Sub-Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Empēo or Kachchā Nāgā	10,230	9,959
Kabui or Kapwi	11,073	15,647
Khoirāo	15,000	1,503
TOTAL	36,353	27,109

Empēo.

Kabui.

Khoirāo.

Turning to the Nāgā languages proper, we find them falling naturally into three sub-groups, a western, a central, and an eastern. Of the western languages, the most important is Angāmi, with its two dialects, Tengimā and Chakromā, and numerous sub-dialects of which the principal are Dzunā, Kehenā, and Nāli. A good deal is known about Tengimā. Beginning in the year 1850, Hodgson, Brown, Stewart, and Butler all have given us vocabularies, and the descriptions of the tribe by the last two are classics. We have a grammar written by McCabe in the year 1887 and a phrase-book by Mr. Rivenburg in 1905, the latter having appeared subsequently to the Survey account. Then there are the admirable accounts of the language and of the habits and customs of the tribe from the pen of Mr. A. W. Davis, which appeared in the Assam Census Report of 1891, and which have been partly reprinted in Volume III, Part ii of this Survey. Finally in 1921 we have Mr. J. H. Hutton's "The Angami Nagas," which supersedes all previous accounts of the tribe, and on pp. 291ff. of which all our previous knowledge regarding its language has been excellently summarized. To the east of the Angāmis are the Kezhāmās, to whose north again lie the barbarous and savage Semās. North of the Angāmis and west of the Semās are the Rengmās. Until the account of this Survey was published nothing whatever was known to outsiders about the Kezhāmā language, and we had only short and incomplete lists of a few words each of Semā

Western Nāgā Sub-Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Angāmi	35,410	43,060
Semā	26,400	34,883
Rengmā or Unzā	5,500	5,103
Kezhāmā	1,620	5,228
TOTAL	68,930	88,264

Angāmi.

Kezhāmā.

Semā.

Rengmā.

[1] See McCabe, Angāmi Grammar, p. 4.

[2] In Volume III, Part ii, pp. 379ff. of the Survey, I have also included Mikir in this group, but on reconsideration of all the circumstances, I now class it as belonging to the Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group, described below.

and Rengmā, but since then Mr. Hutton has given us a Semā grammar and vocabulary. The Rengmās call themselves by the name of Unzā, which is really the name of one of the two dialects of the language. It may be added that about half a century ago, a number of Rengmās were driven out of their proper home by the constant attacks of neighbouring tribes, and settled on a range of hills lying between the Mikir Hills in the Nowgong District and the forests of the Dhansiri. This portion of the tribe has lost most of its savage customs, and has to some extent taken to the habits of the people of the plains, while the others retain their primitive simplicity. The most characteristic feature which distinguishes these Western Nāgā languages from those of the Central Sub-Group is that in them the negative particle follows the word that it negatives, whereas in the Central Sub-Group it precedes it.

The principal members of the Central Sub-Group of the Nāgā languages are Āo and Lhōtā. Minor members are Tengsa, Thukumi and Yachumi. We have excellent grammars and vocabularies of both Āo and Lhōtā prepared by the local missionaries. The former is well known and has often been written about, but the literature concerning it is not always easy to find, as it has been described under at least nine different names, some appropriate enough, and others due to misapprehension. As an instance of the latter, we may quote the name 'Assiringiā.' This is the name of a village inhabited by a 'Naked Nāgā' tribe, the members of which speak an Eastern Nāgā language. But Āos often come down from their homes to the plains through this village, and are hence wrongly given its name by the Assamese. Other names for Āo are again taken from the names of passes through which they come to the plains. Thus, those who come down through the Dop Duār Pass are called 'Dupdoria,' and those who come down by the Hatigor Duār Pass are called 'Hatigorria.' But these are names and nothing more and connote no distinction of tribe or dialect. Āo has two well-marked dialects,—Chungli and Mongsen,—and is spoken in the north-east of the Naga Hills District. Lhōtā is spoken south of Āo about the centre of the same district, where it abuts on Sibsagar. Its speakers are generally known as Lhōtā or Tsōntsū, but they called themselves Kyō, while they are known to the Assamese as Miklai. All these names are also used to indicate the language. Tengsa, Thukumi, and Yachumi are spoken by tribes beyond the Dikhu, and outside settled British territory. Very little is known about them, but short vocabularies enable us to connect them with Āo and Lhōtā.

Central Nāgā Sub-Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Āo	15,500	30,142
Lhōtā	22,000	18,412
Tengsa Nāgā	?	...
Thukumi	?	...
Yachumi	?	...
TOTAL, SAY	38,000	48,554

Āo.

Lhōtā.

Tengsa.
Thukumi.
Yachumi.

In the Eastern Nāgā Sub-Group are included the languages of all the other Nāgā tribes found in the tract east of the Āo country, extending to the Kachin country on the east and bounded on the south by the Patkoi Range. Within these limits there are many different tribes, some of them consisting only of a few villages, and all, or nearly all, speaking languages unintelligible the one to the other. Within twenty miles of country five or six dialects are often to be found. The information that we possess

Eastern Nāgā Sub-Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Angwāsku, Chingmēgnu	5,000	...
Banpara, Mutonā, Mohongā	1,630	...
Namsangā	1,870	...
Chāng	?	...
Assiringiā	?	...
Mōshāng	?	...
Shānggā	?	...
TOTAL, SAY	10,000	...

regarding the languages spoken in this area is very scanty, but, so far as our knowledge extends at present, a strong affinity appears to exist among them all. There is also a great resemblance in the manners and customs of the Nāgās of this tract. They nearly all expose their dead upon bamboo platforms, leaving the body to rot there, the skull being preserved in the bone-house, which is to be found in nearly every village. In several of the tribes, the women go perfectly naked. In others the men. None of them have been recorded in the Census of 1921.

Characteristics of the Eastern Nāgā languages.

The most important general point about these Eastern Nāgā forms of speech is that they form a group of transition languages bridging over the gulf between the other Nāgā tongues and Kachin, the great language which lies to their east and south. Another peculiarity which deserves notice is that at least four languages of the sub-group,—Angwāngku, Chingmēgnu, Chāng, and Namsangiā, appear to have an organic conjugation of the verb. Each tense seems to change according to the person of the subject, a state of affairs quite foreign to the other members of the Nāgā group and to Kachin, and almost foreign to the Bodo group. The Namsangiā verb (while not changing for number) has its three persons for each tense, just like Assamese or Bengali.

Angwāngku. Chingmēgnu.

Taking these Eastern Nāgā languages from west to east, the first we meet are Angwāngku or Tableng, and Chingmēgnu or Tamlu. A rough estimate shows that they are spoken each by about 2,500 persons, naked savages who reside (sometimes both in the same village) in the hills on both sides of the river Dikhu, before it enters the valley of the Brahmaputra. Like so many of these Tibeto-Burman tribes they call themselves by their word for 'man',—*Kātā*. Tableng and Tamlu are the names given to them by the English after villages in which they live. They call their own languages Angwāngku and Chingmēgnu respectively. Politically their main habitat is in the extreme north-east of the Naga Hills District. Beyond the Dikhu River, outside settled British territory, we find a language called, by the Āos, Mojung, and by its speakers, who are doubtfully estimated to be about 6,500 in number, Chāng. The Āos call all trans-Dikhu Nāgās 'Miri', and hence the Chāngs are often alluded to by that name, which should be avoided, as leading to confusion with the altogether different Miris of the upper waters of the Subansiri. Nearly connected with Chāng is Banparā, with one dialect called Mutoniā, which is spoken by tribes in western and central Sibsagar to the east of Angwāngku. We have only a few lists of words belonging to this language and its dialect. At the eastern extremity of the same district lie the Mohongiās, also called Borduariās and Pānidurias. Brown, writing in the year 1851, says that their language is the same as Namsangiā, but this is not borne out by the only available specimen of the language,—the first ten numerals published by Peal in 1872. Crossing the Sibsagar frontier, we find the Nāgās of Lakhimpur, usually known by the name of Namsangiās, but also called Jaipuriā Nāgās after the name of the village through which they mostly descend to the plains. We know more about their language than we do about any others of the Eastern Sub-Group, for Robinson published a grammar and vocabulary of it in the year 1849. Owen, Hodgson, Peal, Sir George Campbell, and Butler have also given us more or less extended lists of words. Since then nothing seems to have been done regarding them. Indeed at

Chāng.

Banparā and Mutoniā.

Namsangiā.

the present day local Europeans seem to know much less about the languages of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur than did their predecessors of two generations ago. Even the Linguistic Survey has failed to obtain any additional information concerning them. The list of Eastern Nāgā languages is completed by a reference to Mōshāng and Shānggē, the languages of two tribes in the wild country south of the Patkoi. Further to the east and south we have the great Kachin country, the main language of which is Kachin or Singpho. It forms a link between the Nāgā and Tibetan languages on the one side and Burmese on the other, and also leads, through the Meithei of Manipur, from Nagā and Tibeten into the Kuki-Chin group.

Mōshāng.

Shānggē.

There is, moreover, another chain of connexion between Nāgā and Kuki, the Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group of languages, which, on the other side, corresponds to the Nāgā-Bodo Sub-Group already mentioned as leading from Nāgā into Bodo. The most important of these is Mikir, the head-quarters of which are now in the hills that bear the same name in the Nowgong District of Assam, and which is also spoken in slightly varying dialectic forms in South Kamrup, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, North Cachar, and the Naga Hills. Small fragments of the tribe are also found elsewhere, and it cannot be doubted that in former times the Mikirs occupied a comparatively large tract of country in the lower Hills and adjoining lowlands of the central portion of the range stretching from the Garo Hills to the Patkoi. As elsewhere, the Mikirs call themselves by their word for 'man,' *Ārleng*. Their language has received some attention from the missionaries who work among them. We have a vocabulary and some short pamphlets written in it, and an admirable grammar with selected texts from the pen of the late Sir Charles Lyall. In Volume III, Part ii of the Survey I have classed Mikir as falling within the Nāgā-Bodo Sub-Group. The language has affinities with Bodo, but subsequent investigation has shown that it is much more closely connected with Kuki, and that it should be classed, as here, as belonging to the Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group, in which it occupies a somewhat independent position.

Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group.

Mikir.

Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Mikir	89,516	109,123
Sopvomā	10,000	13,096
Marām	2,500	3,522
Miyāngchāng . . .	5,000	...
Kwoireng	5,000	...
Tāngchul	26,000	24,170
Moring	1,500	2,355
TOTAL .	139,516	152,266

The remaining Nāgā-Kuki languages are found chiefly in the State of Manipur. As previously explained, there occurred a backwash from the south of Kuki-Chin tribes into this state, where they found Nāgā tribes already settled. We thus find here a great number of Kuki tribes, scattered over the country, each speaking a different language, and also a number of Nāgā tribes, equally scattered, and all retaining languages of the Nāgā family in a more or less corrupted condition. The hills of north Manipur lie immediately to the south of the Angāmi Nāgā country, and it is natural that here the Nāgā characteristics are retained most vigorously. It is in this locality that we find Sopvomā, used by the Nāgās of the country round Māo (whence their alternative name of 'Māo Nāgās') on the Manipur Naga Hills frontier, about twenty miles south of Kohima. It is the language

Sopvomā.

of this sub-group which most nearly approaches the true western Nāgā speech, its closest relative being Kezhāmā. South of Māo lie the Marāms, inhabiting one large village. The two tribes claim to have a common origin, but are at perpetual feud with each other. Both Brown and McCulloch have given us vocabularies of their language, which are sufficient to show that it is different from, but akin to, Sopvomā. In connexion with Marām, we may mention Miyāngkhāng or Mayangkhong classed by Damant with it and with Sopvomā. Nothing more is known about it. Here also we may insert Kwoireng or Liyāng, of which we have vocabularies by Brown and McCulloch. The tribe which speaks it inhabits the country north of Manipur town, and just south of the great Barail Range which forms the north-western boundary of the State. Immediately to their south lie the Kabui Nāgās, whose speech belongs to the Nāgā-Bodo sub-group, and their language is intermediate between that and Nāga-Kuki. The forms taken by Kwoireng pronouns agree best with the latter, and therefore it is mentioned here, though the geographical position of its speakers would incline one to place it among the Nāgā-Bodo languages. They are a race possessed of some energy, which developes itself in trade with the Angāmis and our frontier districts.

Marām.

Miyāngkhāng.

Kwoireng.

The large and important tribe of the Tāngkhuls occupies the north-east of the State. They are sometimes called Luhūpā or Luppā from the *luhūp*, or curious helmet of cane worn by members of the northern sections of the tribe when going into battle. But such a name is misleading, as a similar headdress is worn by the Māo Nāgās. The number of Tāngkhul dialects is said to be very great, almost every village in the interior having its separate form of speech. We may select three as typical,—Tāngkhul proper (spoken in and near the village of Ukrul), Phadāng, and Khangoi. Brown has given us three short vocabularies of Tāngkhul, and the Linguistic Survey succeeded in obtaining sufficient specimens to compile a short grammar and vocabulary. Since the latter was published, the Rev. W. Pettigrew has compiled a formal Tāngkhul grammar and vocabulary. The head-quarters of the tribe are at Ukrul, about forty miles to the north-east of Manipur town, and the same distance to the south-east of the Māo tract. McCulloch has given us vocabularies of Phadāng and Khangoi. The former closely agrees with Tāngkhul, while Khangoi has much more of a Kuki complexion. The latter leads us to Maring, spoken by a Nāga tribe inhabiting a few small villages in the Hirok range of hills which separates Manipur from Upper Burma. There is also a small colony of them in the Manipur Valley, about 25 miles south of the capital of the State. It has two dialects, Khoibu[1] and Maring proper, which are closely related to each other. It is the one of the Nāgā-Kuki languages which most nearly approaches the Kuki-Chin Group. The pronoun of the first person is the same as in Kuki. Both Brown and McCulloch have given us Maring vocabularies, and the Linguistic Survey has succeeded in collecting sufficient materials to compile a short grammar of the language.

Tāngkhul.

Phadāng.

Khangoi.

Maring.

The Kachin Group hardly concerns us, as most members of the tribe that speaks the languages composing it dwell in Burma, and the various forms of Kachin speech will be considered in connexion with

Kachin Group.

[1] The 'Saibu' of some writers is probably a misprint.

the Linguistic Survey of Burma. There are, however, a few Kachin speakers found in Assam, and they must be my excuse for the following remarks, which, so far as Burma is concerned, must be taken as merely provisional, pending the publication of the results of the Linguistic Survey of Burma. Another name for Kachin is, in Burma, Chingpaw, and, in Assam, Singpho. This word, in its two different forms, means properly 'a man of the Kachin tribe,' and hence 'a man' generally. The Kachins inhabit the great tract of country including the upper waters of the Chindwin and of the Irrawaddy, which lies to the east of Assam, and to the north, north-east, and north-west of the more settled parts of Upper Burma. During the last three quarters of a century they have spread a long way to the south into the Northern Shan States and the districts of Bhamo and Katha. They would probably have extended much further, if we had not annexed Upper Burma when we did; and indeed at the present moment there are isolated Kachin villages far down in the Southern Shan States and even beyond the Salwin River. Colonies of them appear to have entered Assam, where they are known as Singphos, something over a century ago. At any rate, their language shows that they must have come into that country after long contact with the Burmans. Philology and the traditions of their race alike point to the head-waters of the Irrawaddy as their original home, from which they have gradually extended, mainly along the river courses, ousting their immigrant predecessors, the Burmese and the Shans. The language of the Kachins varies greatly over the large tract of country that they occupy. They are essentially a people of the hills, and almost every hill has got its peculiar form of speech. We may, however, divide all the dialects into three classes—the northern, the Kaori, and that of the southern Kachins. The northern dialect, which we know best in the form in which it is spoken by the Singphos of Assam, has been described in the grammatical sketches of Logan, Major (afterwards Brigadier-General) Macgregor, and Mr. Needham. Southern Kachin, which is that spoken in the Bhamo district, is illustrated by those of Messrs. Hertz and Hanson, while the Kaori dialect, which is the language of the Kaori Lepais, who inhabit the hills to the east and the south-east of Bhamo, forms the basis of that written by Dr. Cushing. As regards the mutual relationship between Kachin and the other Tibeto-Burman languages, it may be said to occupy a somewhat independent position. In phonology it comes close to Tibetan; on the other hand, it is also intimately related to the Nāgā and Kuki-Chin languages and to Burmese. Among the Nāgā languages, its nearest affinities are to those that form the Eastern Sub-group. Of the Kuki-Chin languages, it shows remarkable points of resemblance to Meithei. Its relationship to Burmese has never been disputed. The inquiries made during the progress of this Survey show that Kachin, without necessarily being a transition language, forms a connecting link between Tibetan on the one hand, and Nāgā, Meithei, and Burmese on the other.

Kachin Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Kachin	1,920	151,196

Kuki-Chin Group.

The territory inhabited by the Kuki-Chin tribes extends from the Naga Hills, Cachar, and East Sylhet on the north, down to the Sandoway district of Burma in the south; from the Myittha River in the east, nearly to the Bay of Bengal on the west. It is almost entirely filled up by hills and mountain ridges, separated by deep valleys. We find the tribes also in the Valley of Manipur and in small settlements in the Cachar plains and Sylhet. Both the

names 'Kuki' and 'Chin' have been given to them by their neighbours. 'Kuki' is an Assamese or Bengali term applied generally to all the hill tribes of this race in their vicinity, while 'Chin' or 'Khyeng' is a Burmese word used to denote those living in the country between Burma and Assam. Neither of these terms is employed by the tribes themselves. The denomination 'Kuki-Chin' for this group of people and for the group of languages which they speak is therefore purely conventional, there being no indigenous name covering them all as a whole. The tribal languages fall into two main sub-groups, which we may conveniently call the 'Meithei' and the 'Chin.' We have already seen how it is probable that this stock migrated from the north or north-east into the Manipur Valley and there settled, while another branch of the same stock proceeded further south and filled the Lushai and Chin Hills. Assuming that this represents the true facts of the national movement,

Kuki-Chin Sub-groups.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Meithei	240,337	242,645
Northern Chin	60,345	83,033
Central Chin	107,804	141,868
Old Kuki	43,314	26,245
Southern Chin	110,225	35,206
Unclassed	...	167,517
Total	567,525	794,314

Meithei.

Meithei represents the language of the original settlers in Manipur, and Chin that of the more southern migration. In these southern seats the language rapidly developed, partly by its own natural growth and partly by its contact with the Burmese. The development of Meithei, the language of Manipur, has, on the other hand, been slow and independent. The Manipuris are mentioned in the Shān chronicles so early as A. D. 777, and probably owing to the fact that it has in later times developed into a literary language, their present form of speech gives the impression of an archaic character. The language has an alphabet, said to have been introduced from Bengal about two centuries ago, and, written in this character, possesses a series of chronicles, carrying the history of the State as far back as the year 1432. This character is now practically obsolete, being ousted from current use by the Bengali alphabet. The language of the chronicles, too, is obsolete and is indeed intelligible only to professed scholars who have made it their business to study it. In Mr Hodson's book 'The Meitheis' there is given a long passage in this ancient dialect with the corresponding words in modern Meithei, and there can be no better example of the rapid changes which can be undergone by a Tibeto-Burman language in the course of a few centuries. We have here two different languages with hardly a word in common, and it is difficult to believe that one is the descendant of the other. So far as I am aware, no European has ever studied the archaic dialect, and, for scientific purposes, though it would be of little practical use, a grammar of it would be of considerable value; for, between Burma and Tibet, Meithei is the only Tibeto-Burman language the history of which it would be possible to trace through at least two hundred years. For the modern language, we have now the Rev. W. Pettigrew's very full grammar, which has appeared since the Meithei section of the Survey saw the light. At the same time further information regarding this interesting language would be very welcome. We do not know if it has any dialects, and it is not improbable that further inquiries on this point would show that the apparent gulf between Meithei and the other Kuki-Chin languages is actually filled up by intermediate forms of speech. At present, this much is certain, that the modern language has preserved many traces of a more ancient stage of phonetic development, and hence sometimes agrees more closely with Burmese, and even with Tibetan, than with the Kuki-Chin languages proper. On the other hand, in certain respects it shows points of common origin with the Nāgā languages and,

especially with Kachin, being a connecting link between them and the southern, more developed, forms of speech.

Chin languages.

The Chin forms of speech include something like forty distinct languages, which may be divided into the Northern Chin, the Central Chin, the Old Kuki, and the Southern Chin sub-groups. The Old Kuki languages are most closely connected with the Central Chin sub-group, but, for historical reasons, it will be most convenient to consider them first of all. They are sixteen in number, and most of them are spoken by tribes now living in Manipur, Cachar (especially the northern sub-division), Sylhet, and Hill Tippera, who migrated to their present settlements at different periods in the last three centuries from their original homes in and about Lushai Land. Only one tribe, the Hmār, remained in its original seat, and their language is at the present day much mixed with Lushēi. The main migration to the north was indirectly due to the pressure exercised by the Lushais. These pressed the Thādos from the south, who in their turn pressed the Old Kukis northwards into their present homes. The Thādos now occupied the old home of the Old Kukis, but the irresistible progress of the Lushais northwards still continued, and the Thādos had to follow those whom they had dispossessed into almost the same localities; and as their arrival was later, they and their fellows became popularly known as New Kukis, the earlier immigrants being known as Old Kukis. "Old Kuki" connotes a distinct group of cognate tribes and languages, but "New Kuki" connotes only one tribe, the Thādos, out of five closely connected ones, the rest of whom still live in the Lushai and Chin Hills. It is therefore best to abandon the term "New Kuki," and to call the whole group of five by the name of "Northern Chins." The Lushais now occupy the old seat of the Old Kukis, and of, subsequently, the Thādos. After dispossessing the latter, they still attempted to progress north, and it was this which brought them first into hostile contact with the British power.

OLD KUKI SUB-GROUP.

	Survey.	Census of 1931.
Hrāngkhol	8,450	671
Hallām	26,843	3,131
Langrong	6,766	...
Hmār	2,000	8,586
Kyau or Chaw	...	351
Others	5,250	13,506
Total	48,814	26,245

We thus see that there was a reflex wave of migration of the Kuki-Chin tribes, so that we find Manipur inhabited, not only by speakers of the early Meithei, but also by tribes whose native languages, once the same as an old form of that speech, have developed independently, and, owing to the want of a literature, much faster in a country far to the south.

Hrāngkhol.

Hallām.

Langrong.

Manipur languages.

The principal Old Kuki languages are Hrāngkhol[1], with its dialect known as Bētē, spoken in Hill Tippera and North Cachar, Hallām spoken in Sylhet and Hill Tippera, and Langrong, also spoken in the latter State. We have a grammar of Hrāngkhol by Mr. Soppitt, but, till the Linguistic Survey, very little has been known about the others. No less than eleven[2] languages are spoken by small Old Kuki colonies in the State of Manipur. These are Aimol (Census figures, 387), Chiru (1,577), Kolrēn (600), Kōm (2,855), Chote (264), Muntuk (nil), Karum (nil), Pūrūm (1,132), Anāl (3,065), Hiroi-Lamgāng (744), and Vaiphei

[1] Also written Rāngkhōl and Hrangchal, but Hrāngkhol is said to be the correct form.

[2] A slightly different list of only ten tribes is given in Colonel Shakespear's "The Lushei Kuki Clans," p. 151.

(2,882). The Chiru and the Anāl are mentioned in the Manipur chronicle as far back a the middle of the 16th century, and the Aimol make their first appearance therein in 1723. Regarding the others I have no information as to when they arrived. As already said, Hmār is still spoken in Lushai Land, the tribe having accepted Lushai domination; and finally, far to the south, on the banks of the Koladyne, we find Chaw spoken by the descendants of some Old Kuki slaves who were offered to a local pagoda by a pious queen of Arakan some three centuries ago.

Hmār.

Chaw

The Northern Chin Sub-Group includes Thādo (with its dialects Khongzāi, Langtung, Jangshēn, and Sairang), Soktē, Siyin, Rāltē, and Paitē. The Thādos, who are sometimes, as explained above, called New Kukis, formerly lived in the Lushai and Chin Hills, where they had established themselves after having expelled the Old Kuki Hrāngkhol and Bētā tribes. They were themselves gradually ousted by the Lushais from the former tract and settled down in Cachar and the Naga Hills some time between 1840 and 1850. About the middle of the 18th century the Thādos of the Chin Hills were conquered by the Soktēs and were driven north into the southern hills of Manipur, where they are now found and are locally known as Khongzāis. There are now very few Thādo villages left in the Chin Hills. The Soktē tribe, which includes the Soktēs proper and the Kamhows (or, as the Burmese call them, the Kanhows) occupy the northern parts of the Chin Hills, and the Siyins the hills immediately to their east, round Fort White. These two last really belong to Burma, and will be dealt with in the Burmese Linguistic Survey. They are mentioned here only to complete the tale of the Northern Chins. The Rāltēs are principally found in the western parts of the Lushai Hills, but in modern times bodies of them have settled in Cachar, both in the plains and in the hills. The Paitēs are scattered all over the Lushai Hills, a few being found in almost every village. They have accepted the Dulien domination, but have retained their own language, which, however, like Rāltē, is much mixed with Lushēi.

Northern Chin Sub-Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Thādo	31,437	33,358
Soktē	9,005	30,633
Siyin	1,770	3,143
Rāltē	18,133	5,539
Paitē	...	10,460
Total Thādo.	60,345	83,033

Soktē.

Siyin.

Rāltē.

Paitē.

The Central Chin languages are Shunkla or Tashon, Lai, Lushei or Dulien, Banjōgī and Pānkhū. These are all closely connected with the northern sub-group, but have a still greater affinity with the Old Kuki forms of speech. The Tashōns, who call themselves Shunklas, dwell in the country south of that inhabited by the Siyins and Soktēs, and properly fall within the bounds of the Linguistic Survey of Burma. They are mentioned here only for the sake of completing the list. They form a powerful tribe, and their country is the most thickly populated in the Chin Hills. There are several dialects of the language, and at present the only one of which we know more than the name is called Zahao or Yahow. Like the Shunklas, the Lais properly

Central Chin Sub-Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Shunkla	41,215	20,754
Lai	24,550	43,731
Lushēi	40,539	77,180
Banjōgī	800	3
Pānkhū	500	...
Total	107,604	141,668

Lai.

belong to Burma, although there are colonies of them whose language falls within the purview of this Survey. The Lais inhabit the middle portion of the Chin Hills, their name being said to mean 'Central.' The Burmese call them 'Baungshe' from their fashion of wearing a knot of hair over the forehead. Several dialects of Lai are spoken by the surrounding tribes, and nearly all of them also understand the standard form of that speech. This is also the case with the Shunklas, so that Lai is an important language for the purposes of administration, and has been well illustrated in a grammar prepared by Major Newland. Lakher, one of the dialects, is spoken in the south of the Lushai Hills. Its speakers are called Zao or Zo by the Chins. They are an offshoot of the Tlan-tlang (or, as the Burmese officers say, Klang-klang) Lais, whom the British first met on the Arakan and Chittagong frontier under the name of Shendoos

Lakher.

As Lai bids fair to become the general means of communication in the Chin Hills, so Lushēi has become that of the Lushai Hills. This tract has become the scene of various migrations, new tribes at different times pushing the preceding inhabitants westwards and northwards. The Lushais, who are now the prevailing race, seem to have begun to move forwards from the south-east in the early part of the nineteenth century. Between 1840 and 1850 they obtained final possession of the North Lushai Hills, having pressed the former possessors, the Thādos, before them into Cachar. In 1849 they made a raid on a Thādo village in that district, and for the first time came into contact with us and found their northward progress finally stopped. Our subsequent relations with them are a matter of history. Their name is commonly spelt 'Lushai,' but the proper mode, which is employed when speaking of their language, is 'Lushēi.' They usually call themselves 'Dulien' and their language 'Dulien Tong.' The latter has several dialects of which the best known is Ngentē, spoken by a non-Lushai tribe in parts of the South Lushai Hills, in the villages round Demagiri, and in some of the Western Howlong villages. Another is Fannai, spoken, also by a non-Lushai tribe, between the eastern border of the South Lushai Hills and the Koladyne. Standard Lushēi is comparatively well known. Several grammars have been written of it, the most important being that of the pioneer missionaries, Messrs. Lorrain and Savidge, which is accompanied by a very full dictionary. Banjōgi and Pānkhū are two unimportant languages spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Lushēi is the only one of these three languages for which fairly accurate figures are available.

Lushēi.

Banjōgi.

Pānkhū.

The languages classed as Southern Chin do not, save in two instances, fall within the scope of the Linguistic Survey of India. The two exceptions are Khyang or Shō and Khami, Khweymi, or Kumi. The language of the Khyangs or Khyengs (the word is merely the Arakan pronunciation of the word 'Chin') hardly concern us, as their main habitation is the country on both sides of the Arakan Yoma, in Burma, but about a hundred of them are also found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and thus fall within the present Survey. The Survey figures (95,599) given

Southern Chin Sub-Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Chinmè	...	...
Welaung	...	...
Chinbōk	...	...
Yindu	...	105
Chinbōn	...	683
Taungtha	...	6,253
Khyang	95,599	107
Khami	14,626	27,346
Aau	...	712
M'baug	...	...
Total	110,225	35,206

on the margin are those of the Burma Census of 1891, but at that time all the languages of the Sub-Group except Khami were included under the general name of 'Khyang.'

Khyang.

Their language has received some attention, and we have grammars and vocabularies by Major Fryer and Mr. Houghton, besides word-lists by other writers. They are partially civilized and are hence sometimes known as 'Tame Chins.' They call themselves 'Shô.'

Khami.

The Khamis, or as the Burmese nickname them 'Khweymis,' 'Dogs' tails', are found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and along the River Koladyne in Arakan. They used to live in the Chin Hills, and came to their present seats only in the middle of the nineteenth century. We have several vocabularies of their language, and a short grammar published in 1866 by the Rev. L. Stilson. This language also properly belongs to Burma, and its inclusion in the Linguistic Survey of India is merely due to the presence of some of the speakers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. All the other languages of this sub-group are confined to Burma, and will form subjects of the investigations of the Linguistic Survey of that Province. For the sake of provisional completeness I have given in the list in the above marginal note, the names which I have come across, but I cannot assert either that it is complete or even that the names given are correct. It is not as yet even certain

Chinmè.

that all the languages named are Tibeto-Burman. The Chinmès, who were formerly described as inhabiting the sources of the eastern Mōn, and as a connecting link between the Lais and the

Welaung.

Chinbôks, have been lost sight of since 1901. A similar fate has befallen the Welaung Chins, who were formerly described as inhabiting the villages at the head-waters of the Myittha River, and as

Chinbôk.

being bounded on the north by the Lais and on the south by the Chinbôks. These last named live in the hills from the Maw River down to the Sawchaung. They are bounded on the north by the Lais and the Welaungs, on the east by the Burmans, on the west by the tribes of the Arakan Yoma,

Yindu.

and on the south by the Yindu Chins. The Yindus are found in the valleys of the Salinchaung and the northern

Chinbôn.

end of the Mōn Valley. The Chinbôns inhabit the southern end of the Mōnchaung and stretch across the Arakan Yoma into the valley of the Pichaung. All these localities, unless otherwise stated are in, or

Taungtha, Anu, M'hang.

near, the Pakôkku District of Burma. In the same District are found the Taungthas. Anu is spoken in northern Arakan, and M'hang in Akyab. The last named is also reported from Kyaukpyu.

This is not the place in which to explain the main points of differentiation which

General characteristics of the Kuki-Chin languages.

characterize the Kuki-Chin languages. The necessary particulars will be found in Volume III, Part iii. But I may draw attention to one peculiarity which admirably illustrates the nature of the Tibeto-Burman construction. It is a well-known fact that none of these languages has developed a proper verb. The words which perform the functions of our verbs are, in reality, verbal nouns denoting a state or an action. They are therefore dealt with as nouns, and forms corresponding to our tenses are formed by adding postpositions, or are compounds the last part of which has the meaning of 'finishing,' 'beginning,' etc. This is peculiarly evident in the Chin languages. In most

of them the verbs are never conceived in the abstract, but are always put into relationship with some other noun which, with us, would be the subject. This is effected in exactly the same way as with ordinary nouns, *viz.*, by prefixing the possessive pronouns, so that the expression 'my going' is used instead of 'I go.' Thus, in Lushei, when we want to say 'I am', we say *kā nē*, literally 'my being'; and when we want to say 'thou art,' we say *i nē*, 'thy being.'

The Sak, or Lūi, Group cannot be considered as definitely established till the Linguistic Survey of Burma is completed

The Lūis or Lōis are a group of servile tribes found in the Manipur State, and are said both by the Meitheis and by their own traditions to be descendants of the autochthones of the country, who were dispossessed of their fertile lands by the tribes of the Meithei confederacy[1]. McCulloch, in his *Account of the Valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes*, gives vocabularies of three languages,—Andro, Sengmai, and Chairel,—spoken by Lūi tribes, but no such were reported for the Linguistic Survey, and subsequent accounts have shown that they are now nearly extinct. Already in McCulloch's day (1859) they were in course of being superseded by the dominant Meithei. Andro and Sengmai are practically the same language, and they are closely connected with the Kadu mentioned below. Chairel is very different from these three, and I have been unable as yet satisfactorily to affiliate it to any other forms of Tibeto-Burman speech, although it manifestly belongs to that sub-family. Pending further information from the Burma side, I have temporarily put it together with the two other Lūi languages, although I cannot suggest any relationship between it and them.

SAK (LŪI) GROUP.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Lūi Languages—		
Andro and *Sengmai*	...	...
Chairel		
Kadu	...	18,504
Daingnet	...	4,015
Ganan	...	1,022
Sak or Thet	...	614
Total	...	25,145

Andro, Sengmai, Chairel.

Kadu is spoken in the neighbouring Burma districts of Myitkyina, Katha, and Upper Chindwin, and Ganan in the last two of these. Ganan is merely a variant of Kadu, and its speakers as well as those of Kadu call themselves 'A-Sak.' This leads us on to Sak or Thet, spoken far away, in the Akyab District, which is allied to Kadu. Mr. Taylor[2] tells us that, according to Burmese history, in early days the Saks inhabited the upper part of the Irrawaddy Valley. Some of these are supposed to have travelled from their original settlement in North Burma in a south-westerly direction into Arakan. He suggests that some of them may have passed on into Manipur and become the ancestors of the Andro and Sengmai tribes. Another possible explanation is, however, that the original Kadu-Saks, while still in north Burma, spread also into Manipur, and that the Andro and Sengmai were left behind there, like the Kadus of Myitkyina and the neighbourhood, when the Saks migrated to the South-West. The facts that they were servile tribes, and that they were expropriated by the Meitheis, show that they must have been very early settlers there, and that they were found there by the Meitheis when they conquered the country.

Kadu.
Ganan.

Sak.

[1] See T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, p. 65.

[2] The 'Kadus', in Vol. XII, Part i (1922) of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*. It may be added that 'Sak' is the old written form, while 'Thet' is the modern colloquial form of the name.

Daingnet.

Finally, Daingnet is the language, much corrupted by the Indo-Aryan Bengali, of the descendants of Sak prisoners of war from the Valley of the Lower Chindwin, who were captured by King Mindi of Arakan at the close of the thirteenth century and made to settle in the Akyab District[1].

The remaining languages of the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family belong to Burma, and their consideration must be left to the Burmese Linguistic Survey. Here, for the sake of completeness I shall give little more than a catalogue as accurate as our present knowledge permits.

Burma Group.

Under the head of the Burma Group I here include not only Burmese and the languages directly allied to it, but also a number of other languages which have been hitherto classed as hybrids or corrupt mixtures of Burmese with Kachin or other forms of speech. Another suggestion has been made that, like the Lūis, the tribes speaking them may be remnants, or predecessors, left by the Burmese in their migration from the north into Burma, or possibly that they were tribes of the same stock as the Burmese, who left the original seat after them Pending the decision of the Burma Linguistic Survey I have therefore provisionally prefixed them to the Burma Sub-Group. Szi or Atsi and Lashi or Lechi are two tribes of mixed origin spread along the Burmese frontier, north, east, and south-east of Bhamo. They belong to the great Lepai Kachin tribe, but are looked upon by some authorities as half-breeds. Maru, spoken in Myitkyina and Bhamo, has much the same character as Szi and Lashi. We have a grammar and vocabulary of it by Mr. Clerk. The speakers are popularly classed as Kachins, but they themselves, like the Szi and the Lashi, deny the fact, and their denial is borne out by ethnographical research and by their language. Another language which presents a character similar to these three is Maingtha. Its speakers call themselves 'Nga-chang', and the Shans call them 'Möng-a'a', which latter word has been corrupted into "Maingtha" by the Burmese. It is spoken in the Northern Shan States and also in Yün-nan and North-West China. The Phun (or as the word is spelt in Burma, Hpun) speakers are dying out, and there are now but few. The tribe lives in the first defile of the Irrawaddy, extending a few miles north and south of the dividing line between the Bhamo and Myitkyina districts. It presents the

BURMA GROUP.

	Census of 1921.
Szi	5,563
Lashi	16,570
Maru	20,577
Maingtha	839
Phun	242
Myū	22,907
Burmese	8,423,256
Arakanese	204,549
Taungyo	22,532
Danu	72,955
Intha	55,007
Taroyan	131,743
Chaungtha	9,052
Yanbye	250,018
Others	179
Total	9,335,596

Maingtha.

Phun.

[1] Burma Census Report for 1921, Appendix B, §10.

appearance of a very archaic Burmese, but many of its words closely resemble those of the preceding four. Mrū or Mrō is a puzzling language in many respects. In the main it follows the phonetic system of Burmese, and yet it sometimes differs from it in material points, presenting forms which are paralleled not only (and most frequently) by those which we meet in Kuki-Chin, but even by the construction of Bodo and Nāgā forms of speech. It is mainly spoken in North Arakan and Akyab, but a few speakers are also found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Mrū.

Turning now to Burmese proper, I confine myself to enumerating those forms of speech which appear in previous Census Reports. They are there shown each as an independent language, but it is probable that the Burma Linguistic Survey will show that this is not the case, but that most, or all, of them are simply dialects of Burmese. Standard Burmese is the language spoken all over the Province by educated natives of the country. It is the language of literature and of the schools, and is the official language of Government. The written language is the same everywhere, but the local language varies greatly. Arakanese or Rakhaing is the only form of Burmese that is spoken in the area examined by this Survey, as it appears under the name of Maghī in Bakarganj, Chittagong, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In these tracts the speakers are really an overflow from Burma, and the true home of the dialect is in Akyab, Sandoway, and Bassein. The Arakanese branched off from the main Burmese stock at an early date, and have had relatively little intercourse with them since that period, communication having been barred by an intermediate mountainous tract of country. Their language has therefore developed upon lines of its own, and in many respects it differs widely from the standard form of speech. It is well known that the orthodox pronunciation of the latter is extremely dissimilar from that indicated by the written language. In other words, the development of the spoken language has proceeded more rapidly than that of the written one, and the latter represents the older form. One of the proofs of this is that the pronunciation of Arakanese frequently agrees with that of Burmese as written, and not as it is spoken. Taungyo is spoken in Meiktila and the Southern Shan States, and Danu in the Shan States and neighbouring districts. The Taungyo people call themselves Tāru. Intha also is spoken in the Southern Shan States, and Tavoyan, or Dawé, in Tavoy. These two are closely connected, and Mr. Taylor informs me that there is good evidence that the Inthas left Tavoy for their present habitat on the Inle lake some 700 years ago. The two languages were then the same. Chaungtha is spoken in Akyab and the Arakan Hill Tracts, and Yanbye in Kyaukpyu and Akyab.

Burmese.

Arakanese.

Taungyo.

Danu.

Intha.

Tavoyan.

Chaungtha.

Yanbye.

The languages of the Lolo-Mosʻo Group belong to Yün-nan and North-Western China, but some of the speakers have overflowed into the Shan States, and will thus attract the attention of the Linguistic Survey of Burma. With the present Survey they have no connexion, beyond the fact that they belong to the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family, and show a certain amount of relationship with Kachin. The Group is also interesting for its apparent connexion with Si-hia, a language once spoken in the Tangut country, close to the border of the Great Desert, and now dead for many centuries. Specimens of it have been

Lolo-Mosʻo Group.

Lolo-Mos'o Group.

	Census of 1921.
Lolo	35,085
A-hi	...
A-ka	*34,265*
A-kö	*51*
Unspecified	*769*
Lisu	13,152
Lis'aw	...
Unspecified	*13,152*
Mo-s'o	26,418
Lahu	...
Kwi	*3,676*
Unspecified	*22,742*
Others	1,031
Total	75,686

preserved by Chinese writers, and these have been studied and described by Dr. Laufer in the pages of 'T'oung-pao.'[1] The Lolo languages themselves have received much study at the hands of French missionaries, and we know more about them than we do about any other non-literary Tibeto-Burman forms of speech. They will doubtless receive further study in the Burmese Linguistic Survey. Here it must suffice to record the names of the principal languages of the group, referring the reader for further particulars to the Comparative Vocabulary in Part II of this Volume. The chief languages are Lolo, Lisu, and Mo-s'o.

Lolo. Lolo is itself really a sub-group of languages, the principal

A-hi, A-ka. of which are A-hi, A-ka (the Akha of the Upper Burma

A-kö. Gazetteer), and A-kö. A-ka is also sometimes called Kaw.

Lisu. The Lisu language of Yün-nan is little known, but lists of

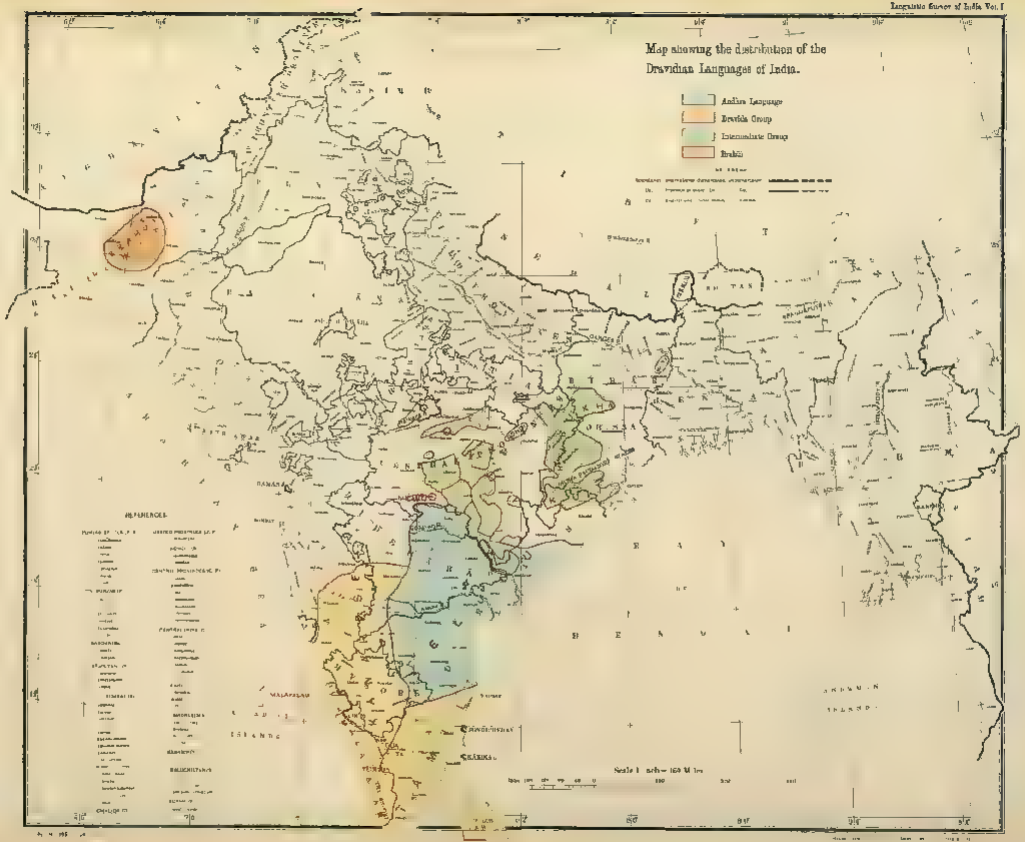
Lis'aw. words belonging to its dialect Lis'aw have been obtained

Mo-s'o. from the Shan States, and a Lisu grammar has lately been brought out by M. J. O. Fraser. The proper home of Mo-s'o (the Mosso or Musu of the Gazetteer of Upper Burma) is the valley of the Mekhong immediately to the east of

Lahu. Upper Burma and the valley of the Yang-tse round Li-kiang.

Kwi. Lahu and Kwi are said to be dialects of Mo-s'o.

[1] Second Series, Vol. XVII, No. 1, March, 1916.


Map showing the distribution of the
Dravidian Languages of India.
Andhra Language
Dravida Group
Intermediate Group
Brahui
REFERENCES
Scale 1 inch = 100 M. ins.

CHAPTER VII.—THE DRAVIDIAN FAMILY.

The Dravidian Race.

The Dravidian race is spread widely over India, but all the members of it do not speak Dravidian languages. In the north many of them have become Aryanized, and have adopted the Aryan languages of their conquerors while they have retained their ethnic characteristics. Besides these, many millions of people inhabiting central and southern India possessing the physical type classed by ethnologists as 'Dravidian' are almost the only speakers of two other important families of speech, the Muṇḍa and the Dravidian proper. Owing to the fact that these languages are nearly all spoken by persons possessing the same physical type, many scholars have suggested a connexion between the two families of speech, but a detailed inquiry carried out by the Linguistic Survey shows that there is no foundation for such a theory. Whether we consider the phonetic systems, the methods of inflexion, or the vocabularies, the Dravidian have no connexion with the Muṇḍā languages. They differ in their sounds, in their modes of indicating gender, in their declensions of nouns, in their method of indicating the relationship of a verb to its objects, in their numeral systems, in their principles of conjugation, in their methods of indicating the negative, and in their vocabularies. The few points in which they agree are common to many languages scattered all over the world.

Leaving, therefore, the fact of the so-called Dravidian *race* speaking two different families of languages to be discussed by ethnologists, we proceed to consider those forms of speech which are called 'Dravidian' by philologists.

Relationship to other languages.

We do not know how long the speakers of these languages have been settled in India. It seems to be certain that they had been long in the country at the time of the earliest Aryan immigrations, but we do not know whether they are to be considered as autochthones or as having, in their turn, come into India from some other country. We shall see that the fact that one tribe, not of the 'Dravidian' physical type, but speaking a language certainly belonging to the Dravidian linguistic family, the Brāhuis, is found in the extreme north-west of India has been adduced by Bishop Caldwell and others as indicating that the speakers of proto-Dravidian, like the Aryans, must have entered India from the north-west; but this argument is not convincing. It puts the speakers as forming the rearguard of an invasion from the north-west, but the facts are equally consistent with an assumption that they form the survivors of the vanguard of a national movement from the east or from the south of India. Moreover, in this case, physical type would be a most unsafe guide. For some centuries the Brāhūīs have lived amidst an Eranian population, with which they have freely intermarried, while they have been separated by many hundred miles from the nearest speakers of other Dravidian languages. Even if it were conclusively proved that there was such a type as that called 'Dravidian' by ethnologists, and that the original Brāhūīs possessed that type, it would be surprising if, under the circumstances in which they live, they had retained it.

From the Linguistic side Bishop Caldwell adduced a great mass of materials in his attempt to show that the Dravidian languages also point to the countries beyond north-western India and their 'Scythian' inhabitants as being their original nidus, and his

theory that they were related to Turkish, Finnish, and Hungarian has since been repeated over and over again in popular works, but has failed to gain the acceptance of modern scholars.

I have already alluded to the attempts made to prove a connexion with the Muṇḍā languages, and have explained how this cannot be considered to exist. Finally allusion may be made to comparisons with the Australian languages, and to suggestions of a possible connexion by land between India and Australia in the times when the prehistoric Lemurian Continent is believed to have existed. That certain resemblances in language have been found cannot be denied, but, as yet, we cannot quote anything as proving that a linguistic connexion is probable. All that we can say with our present knowledge is that it is not impossible. Up to a few years ago the knowledge of the Australian languages possessed by European scholars was very scanty. In 1919 Pater W. Schmidt[1] succeeded in reducing order out of chaos, and in classifying the numerous cognate tongues spoken in that great island-continent. The next stage in the investigation will be to carry on the inquiry into New Guinea, and thence into India. This inquiry was actually begun under Pater Schmidt's auspices[2] but was interrupted during the War, and up to the date of writing nothing has appeared on the subject. We can only, for the present, wait and hope that in the near future sufficient materials will be forthcoming to settle the question once for all.

Habitat.

The Dravidian languages at the present day have their chief home in the south of the Indian peninsula, as contrasted with the Aryan languages of the north. The northern limit of this southern block of Dravidian languages may roughly be taken as the north-east corner of the district of Chanda in the Central Provinces. Thence, towards the Arabian Sea, the boundary runs south-west to Kolhapur, whence it follows the line of the Western Ghats to about a hundred miles below Goa, where it joins the sea. The boundary eastwards from Chanda is more irregular, the hill country being mainly Dravidian with here and there a Muṇḍā colony, and the plains Aryan. Kandh, which is found most to the north-east, is almost entirely surrounded by Aryan-speaking Oṛyās. Besides this solid block of Dravidian-speaking country, there are islands of languages belonging to the family far to the north in the Central Provinces and Chota Nagpur, even up to the bank of the Ganges at Rajmahal. Most of these are rapidly falling under Aryan influences. Many of the speakers are adopting the Aryan caste system and with it broken forms of Aryan language, so that there are in this tract numbers of Dravidian tribes to whose identification philology can offer no assistance. Finally, in far off Baluchistan, there is Brāhūī, concerning which, as already stated, it is uncertain whether it is the advance guard or the rearguard of a Dravidian migration.

Mutual Relationship of the Dravidian Languages.

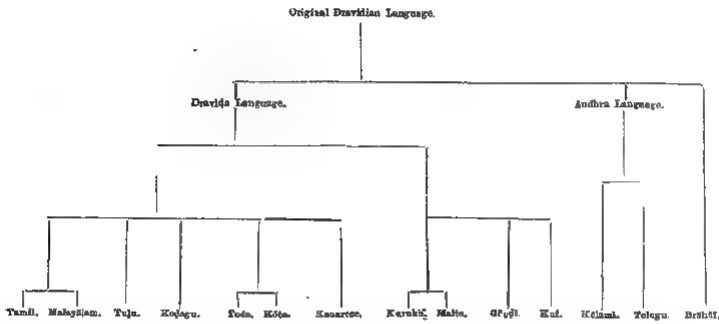
If Burnell was correct in his quotation[3], a Sanskrit writer of the 7th century who claimed familiarity with the languages of southern India divided them into two groups, that of the Andhra and that

[1] *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen.* Vienna, 1919.

[2] *Id.* p. 22.

[3] The reference is to an article by Burnell on p. 310 of the first volume of the 'Indian Antiquary,' and the Sanskrit writer was Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. The correct reading of the Sanskrit passage quoted is, however, doubtful. See P. T. Srinivas Iyengar in the 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xlii, pp. 266ff.

of the Dravida country. The former corresponds to the modern Telugu and the latter to the modern Tamil and its relatives, and the division well corresponds with the present division of the existing vernaculars. The language of Andhra was the parent of Telugu. Kurukh, Malto, Kui, Kōlāmi, and Gōṇḍī are intermediate languages, and, except Brāhūī and a couple of Hybrids, all the rest are descended from the language of Dravida. The relationship between the various Dravidian languages is therefore illustrated in the following table:—



On this basis we can divide the Dravidian languages into four groups, to which may be added a pair of semi-Dravidian Hybrids, making five in all. The number of people speaking each, according to the Survey and according to the Census of 1921, is shown on the margin. As this Survey did not extend to southern India, most of the great Dravidian languages remained outside the sphere of its operations. But as some reference to them is necessary in order to understand their connexion with Dravidian languages spoken in the area subject to the Survey, and as there is no immediate prospect of a Linguistic Survey being undertaken in the Madras Presidency, as has been begun in Burma, in the following pages I shall endeavour to describe all the languages of the family in some detail.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Dravida Group . . .	30,940,550	37,285,594
Intermediate Group . .	2,180,858	3,056,598
Andhra Language (Telugu) .	19,783,901	23,601,482
North-western Language (Brāhūī).	165,500	184,368
Semi-Dravidian Hybrids . .	2,452	..
TOTAL .	53,073,261	64,128,052

General Characteristics of Dravidian Languages.

The Dravidian languages are polysyllabic and agglutinative, but do not possess anything like the wonderful luxuriance of agglutinative suffixes which we have noticed as distinguishing the Muṇḍā family. They represent, in fact, a later stage of development, for, although still agglutinative, they exhibit the suffixes in a state in which they are beginning to be modified by euphonic considerations, dropping

letters in one place and changing vowels in another. The suffixes, though thus sometimes losing their original form, are nevertheless still independent and separable from the stem word, which itself remains unchanged. The following general account of the main characteristics of Dravidian forms of speech is taken, with one or two verbal alterations, from the Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency :—

> In the Dravidian languages all nouns denoting inanimate substances and irrational beings are of the neuter gender. The distinction of male and female appears only in the pronouns of the third person, in adjectives formed by suffixing the pronominal terminations, and in the third person of the verb. In all other cases the distinction of gender is marked by separate words signifying 'male' and 'female.' Dravidian nouns are inflected, not by means of case terminations, but by means of suffixed postpositions and separable particles. Dravidian neuter nouns are rarely pluralized. The Dravidian dative (*ku*, *ki* or *ge*) bears no analogy to any case termination found in Sanskrit or other Indo-European languages, the resemblance to the Hindī *kō* being accidental. Dravidian languages use postpositions instead of prepositions. In Sanskrit adjectives are declined like substantives, while in Dravidian adjectives are incapable of declension. It is characteristic of Dravidian languages in contradistinction to Indo-European, that, wherever practicable, they use as adjectives the relative participles of verbs in preference to nouns of quality, or adjectives properly so called. A peculiarity of the Dravidian dialects (shared however with Muṇḍā) is the existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, one inclusive of the person addressed, and the other exclusive. The Dravidian languages have no passive voice, this being expressed by verbs signifying 'to suffer,' etc. The Dravidian languages, unlike the Indo-European, prefer the use of continuative participles to conjugation. The Dravidian verbal system possesses a negative as well as an affirmative voice. It is a marked peculiarity of the Dravidian languages that they make use of relative participial nouns instead of phrases introduced by relative pronouns. These participles are formed from the various participles of the verb by the addition of a formative suffix. Thus, 'the person who came' is in Tamil literally 'the who-came.'

The only language of the Draviḍa group that (excepting a few stray dialects) fell within the area over which the Survey operations extended was Kanarese, and this because a large number of its speakers are found within the Bombay Presidency. But even for this language twice as many are found in Madras, the Nizam's Dominions, Mysore, and Coorg. For the reasons already given, I nevertheless propose to give a brief account of each of the languages of the group. The most cultivated and

DRAVIḌA GROUP.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Tamil	15,272,856	18,779,577
Malayāḷam	5,426,979	7,497,638
Kanarese	9,7 ,0,832	10,374,204
Kodagu	27,218	30,995
Tuḷu	491,728	592,325
Toda	736	663
Kōta	1,201	1,162
TOTAL	30,940,550	37,235,594

the best known of all the Dravidian forms of speech is Tamil. It covers the whole of southern India up to Mysore and the Ghats on the west, and reaches northwards as far as the town of Madras and beyond. It is also spoken as a vernacular in the northern part of the island of Ceylon, while most of the emigrants from the Peninsula to British Burma and the Straits Settlements, the so-called Klings or Kalingas, have Tamil for their native language; so also have a large proportion of the emigrant coolies who are found in Mauritius and in other British colonies. In India itself, Tamil speakers, principally domestic servants, are found in every large town and cantonment. The Madras servant is usually without religious prejudices or scruples as to food, headgear, or ceremonial, so that he can accommodate himself to all circumstances, in which respect he is unlike the northern Indian domestic. Tamil, which is sometimes called Malabar, and also, by Deccan Musalmāns and in the west of India, Arava, is a fairly homogeneous language. Only a few petty dialects mentioned on the margin have been reported. Irula and Kasuva are the dialects of small tribes spoken in the Nilgiris, and they have not been touched by the Survey. In classifying them as forms of Tamil I am merely following previous authorities, and they themselves are not certain as to the correct affiliation of Kasuva. Korava, Kaikādi, and Burgandi are spoken by vagrant tribes wandering over southern India, and as some of them were found in Bombay and the Central Provinces, they fell into the Survey's net, and have been analysed and described in Volume IV. There are also many provincial forms of the language, but of these the Survey is necessarily ignorant. Standard Tamil itself has two forms, the Shen (*i.e.* perfect) and the Kodun or Codoon (*i.e.* rude). The first is the literary language used for poetry, and has many artificial features. Codoon Tamil is the style used for the purposes of ordinary life.

Tamil.

TAMIL DIALECTS.

	Survey.
Standard and Unspecified	15,207,256
Korava or Yerukala	55,116
Irula	1,614
Kasuva	316
Kaikādi	8,289
Burgandi	265
TOTAL	15,272,856

Ancient Tamil has an alphabet of its own, the Vatteluttu, *i.e.* 'round writing,' while the modern language employs one which is also in its present form very distinctive, and which can be traced up to the ancient Brahmī character used by Asōka, through the old Grantha alphabet used in southern India for writing Sanskrit. The Vatteluttu is also of North Indian origin. The modern Tamil character is an adaptation of the Grantha letters which corresponded to the letters existing in the old, incomplete, Vatteluttu alphabet, from which also a few characters have been retained, the Grantha not possessing the equivalents. Like the Vatteluttu, it is singularly imperfect considering the copiousness of the modern vocabulary which it has to record.

Alphabet.

Tamil is the oldest, richest, and most highly organized of the Dravidian languages; plentiful in vocabulary, and cultivated from a remote period. It has a great literature of high merit. This is not the place in which to give an account of Tamil literature, but mention may be made of one or two of the more famous works that adorn it. Its beginning was due to the labours of the Jains, whose activities as authors in this language extended from the eighth or ninth to the thirteenth century. The *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar, which teaches the Sankhya

Literature.

philosophy in 1330 poetical aphorisms on virtue, wealth, and pleasure, is universally considered as one of its brightest gems. The author is said to have been a Pariah, and according to Bishop Caldwell, he cannot be placed later than the 10th century A.D. Another great ethical poem, the Jain *Nāladiyar*, is perhaps still older. A woman writer called Auveiyār, or 'the Venerable Matron,' and the reputed sister of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, but probably of later date, is said to have been the authoress of the *Attisūḍi* and the *Konṟeivēyndon*, two shorter works, which are still read in Tamil schools. We may further mention the *Chintāmaṇi*, a romantic epic of great beauty, by an unknown Jain poet, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kamban,—an epic said to rival the *Chintāmaṇi* in poetic charm,—and the classical Tamil grammar, the *Nannūl*, of Pavaṇanti. Special reference must also be made to the anti-Brahmanical Tamil literature of the *Śittar* (i.e. *Siddhas* or sages). The Śittar were a Tamil sect, who, while retaining Śiva as the name of the one God, rejected everything in Śiva-worship inconsistent with pure theism. They were quietists in religion and alchemists in science. Their mystical poems, especially the *Śiva-vākyam*, are said to possess singular beauty, and some scholars have detected in them traces of Christian influence.

Modern Tamil literature may be taken as commencing in the eighteenth century. The most important writers are Tāyumānavan, the author of 1453 pantheistic stanzas which have a high reputation, and the Italian Jesuit Beschi (d. 1742). Beschi's Tamil style is considered irreproachable. His principal work in that language is the *Tēmbāvaṇi*, or 'Unfading Garland.' It is a mixture of old Tamil legends with Italian reminiscences, of which the leading example is an episode from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, in which St. Joseph is made the hero.

Malayāḷam.

Closely connected with Tamil is Malayāḷam, the language of the Malabar coast. Its name is derived from *mala*, the local word for 'mountain,' with a termination meaning 'possessing,' the whole word thus meaning literally 'mountain region,' and strictly applicable rather to the country in which it is spoken than to the language itself. It is a modern offshoot from Tamil, dating from, say, the ninth century. In the seventeenth century it became subject to Brahmanical influence, received a large infusion of Sanskrit words, and adopted the Grantha character in supersession of the Vatteluttu for its alphabet. From the thirteenth century the personal terminations of the verbs, till then a feature of Malayāḷam, as of the other Dravidian languages, began to be dropped from the spoken language, and by the end of the fifteenth century they had wholly gone out of use except by the inhabitants of the Laccadives and by the Moplahs of South Kanara, in whose speech remains of them are still found. The Moplahs, who as Musalmāns had religious objections to reading Hindū mythological poems, have also resisted the Brahmanical influence on the language, which with them is much less Sanskritized than among the Hindūs, and, where they have not adopted the Arabic character, they retain the old Vatteluttu.

MALAYĀḶAM.

	Survey.
Standard	5,424,392
Yerava	2,687
TOTAL	5,426,079

Malayāḷam has a fairly large literature, principally, as explained above, Brahmanical, and including one historical work of some importance, the *Kēraḷōtpatti*. It has one dialect, the Yerava, spoken in Coorg.

Kanarese.

The true centre of the Kanarese-speaking people is Mysore. The historic "Carnatic" was for the most part in the Deccan plateau above the Ghāts. The language is also spoken in the south-east corner of the Bombay Presidency, and occupies a strip of the coast between Tuḷu and Marāṭhī. Above the Ghāts, it stretches eastwards into the Nizam's Dominions, and northwards to beyond the Kistna. The character used for writing and printing Kanarese is closely connected with that employed for Telugu, but the language itself possesses greater affinity to Tamil.

KANARESE SPOKEN IN	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Bombay Presidency .	3,019,739	2,403,443
Madras Presidency	1,461,477	1,533,344
Nizam's Dominions .	1,451,045	1,536,928
Mysore . . .	3,655,976	4,257,098
Coorg . . .	76,115	73,168
Elsewhere . . .	1,810	570,218
TOTAL .	9,666,163	10,374,204

Written character.

The character, like that of Tamil, is derived from the Brāhmī alphabet of Aśōka, but by an altogether different line of descent, as its pedigree comes down through the Vengi and Chālukya scripts of the seventh century A.D. The ancient Kanarese alphabet, known as the Hala-kannada, which was the same as that in contemporary use for Telugu, dates from the thirteenth century, but since then there has arisen a marked divergence between the two characters, which has increased since the introduction of printing in the course of the nineteenth century. Neither of these characters has been limited by the number of letters in the old Vatteluttu alphabet, and hence they are as full and complete as that of Malayāḷam or as any of the alphabets used for writing Sanskrit. The curved form of the letters is a marked feature of both, and this is due to the custom of writing with a stilus on palm-leaves, which a series of straight lines would inevitably have split along the grain. In Hala-kannada is preserved an ancient form of the language, analogous to that of literary Tamil, and nearly as artificial. Up to the sixteenth century Kanarese was free from any admixture of foreign words, but since then the vocabulary has been extensively mixed with Sanskrit. During the supremacy of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan, Urdu words were largely imported into it from Mysore, and it has also borrowed from Marāṭhī on the north-west, and from Telugu on its north-east.

Kanarese literature.

Kanarese is interesting from the fact that sentences in that language have been discovered by Professor Hultzsch in a Greek play preserved in an Egyptian papyrus of the second century A.D. Its literature proper originated, like Tamil literature, in the labours of the Jains. It is of considerable extent, and has existed for at least a thousand years. Nearly all the works which have been described seem to be either translations or imitations of Sanskrit works. Besides treatises on poetics, rhetoric, and grammar, it includes sectarian works of Jains, Liṅgāyats, Śaivas, and Vaishṇavas. Those of the Liṅgāyats appear to possess most originality. Their list includes several episodes of a *Basava Purāṇa*, in glorification of a certain Basava who is said to have been an incarnation of Śiva's bull Nandī. There is also an admired *Śataka* of Sōmēśvara. Modern Kanarese rejoices in a large number of particularly racy folk-ballads, some of which have been translated into English by Mr. Fleet. One of the most amusing echoes the cry of the long-suffering income-tax payer, and tells with considerable humour how the 'virtuous' merchants carefully understate their incomes. Dialects of Kanarese are Baḍagą, Kurumba, and Gōlari.

KANARESE.

	Survey.
Standard	9,669,163
Baḍaga	30,656
Kurumba	19,390
Gōlari	3,614
TOTAL	9,710,832

The first two are spoken in the Nilgiri Hills. The Baḍaga tribe, called by our early historians the *Burghers*, speak a language which closely resembles old Kanarese. Kurumba or Kurumvārī is the dialect of the forest tribe of Kurumbas or Kurubas, and is said to be a corruption of Kanarese with an admixture of Tamil. The Gōlars or Gōlkars are a tribe of nomadic herdsmen and the Hōliyās are a caste of leather-workers and musicians, both hailing from the Central Provinces. They both speak the same dialect of Kanarese, which is called indifferently Gōlarī or Hōliyā. Other Golars, who speak a form of Telugu, will be referred to later on.

Koḍagu or Coorgi is the main language of Coorg, and is described as standing midway between old Kanarese and Tuḷu. Some authorities look upon it as a dialect of Kanarese.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Koḍagu	37,218	39,995

Tuḷu, immediately to the south-west of Kanarese, is confined to a small area in or near the district of South Canara in Madras. The Chandragiri and Kalyānapūrī rivers in that district are regarded as its ancient boundaries and it does not appear ever to have extended much beyond them. It is a cultivated language, but has no literature. It uses the Kanarese character. Bishop Caldwell describes it as one of the most highly developed of the Dravidian tongues. It differs more from its neighbour Malayāḷam than Malayāḷam does from Tamil, and more nearly approximates to Koḍagu. It is said to have two dialects, Koraga and Bellara.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Tuḷu	491,728	592,326

Koraga, Bellara.

The remaining languages of the Draviḍa group are Toda and Kōta, both spoken by wild tribes in the Nilgiri Hills. By some they are considered to be dialects of Kanarese, but Bishop Caldwell maintains that they are distinct languages. Toda has received a good deal of attention, mainly because its speakers are within easy reach of Ootacamund. The Kōtas are another tribe lower in position and occupation than the Todas. Todas and Kōtas are said to understand each others' languages. The number of speakers of each is very small, and the tongues have survived only through the secluded positions of the tribes.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Toda	736	663
Kōta	1,201	1,192

The languages of the Intermediate Group are all spoken further north than those of the Draviḍa Group. Most of them are spoken in the Central Provinces and Berar, but a few in Orissa and Chota Nagpur. One, Malto, is found even so far north as Rajmahal on the bank of the Ganges. They are all spoken by more or less uncivilized hill tribes. By far the most important of them is Gōṇḍī, spoken mainly in the Central Provinces, but overflowing into Orissa, north-eastern Madras, the Nizam's Territories, Berar, and the neighbouring

INTERMEDIATE GROUP.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Gōṇḍī	1,322,190	1,616,911
Kōlārī	23,295	23,989
Kandhi	118,592	482,668
Kurukh	503,980	668,722
Malhar	.	344
Malto	12,801	65,964
TOTAL	2,180,858	3,056,598

Gōṇḍī.

tracts of Central India. The Linguistic Survey shows that it has a common ancestor with Tamil and Kanarese, and that it has little immediate connexion with its neighbour Telugu. The word 'Gōṇḍī' means 'the language of Gōṇḍs,' but, as many Gōṇḍs have abandoned their proper tongue for that spoken by their Aryan-speaking neighbours, it is often impossible to say from the mere name alone what language is connoted by it. For instance, there are many thousands of Gōṇḍs in Baghelkhand, who have been reported to the Linguistic Survey as speaking Goṇḍī, but this, on examination, turned out to be a broken form of Baghēlī. Similarly, the Gōṇḍ Ōjhās of Chhindwara, in the heart of the Gōṇḍ country, speak what is called the Ōjhī dialect, but this is also a jargon based on Baghēlī. Until, therefore, all the various forms of alleged Gōṇḍī have been systematically examined, great reserve must be used in speaking of the Gōṇḍī language as a whole. The Linguistic Survey has done its best with the materials at its command, and its results may be taken as broadly correct at the present time, but there are no doubt several small, scattered, groups of Gōṇḍs the minutiæ of whose speech it has not had an opportunity of examining. That there is such a language as Gōṇḍī proper, and that it is Dravidian, and that it is spoken by at least a million and a quarter people, there is not the slightest doubt. It has received considerable attention in late years, and has been given an excellent grammar, vocabulary, and reading book from the pen of Mr. Chenevix Trench. The language is said to have numerous dialects, of which the principal are given on the margin. Gaṭṭu or Gotte, the former being said to be the correct spelling, and Kōi or Kōyā are found in Chanda, Vizagapatam, and Godavari, and Kōi also in the Bastar State and in the Nizam's Territories. They differ little, if at all, between themselves or from the standard dialect,—indeed, the name Kōi is that by which all Gōṇḍs call themselves. Māṛī or Maṛiā and Parji are also spoken in Bastar. The names, however, indicate tribal rather than linguistic differences, and, so far as the information available entitles us to give an opinion, none of these names connote any real dialects. The true Gōṇḍī seems to be the same everywhere, with local variations of pronunciation, and the most that can be said is that as we go east and south it is more and more mixed with the neighbouring Telugu. Gōṇḍī has no written character of its own, and no literature, but portions of the Bible have been translated into it, and Mr. Trench, in his reading book, has preserved an interesting collection of traditions and folktales.

Ōjhī.

GŌṆḌĪ DIALECTS.	Survey.
Standard and Unspecified	1,147,303
Gaṭṭu	2,033
Kōi	61,127
Maṛiā	104,340
Parji	17,387
TOTAL	1,322,190

The Kōlāms are an aboriginal tribe of east Berar and of the Wardha District of the Central Provinces. They are usually classed as Gōṇḍs, but they differ from them in personal appearance, and both they and the Gōṇḍs repudiate the connexion. Their language differs widely from that of the neighbouring Gōṇḍs. In some points it agrees with Telugu, and in other respects with Kanarese and the connected forms of speech. There are also some interesting points of analogy with the Toda of the Nilgiris, and the Kōlāms must, from a philological point of view, be looked upon as remnants of an old Dravidian tribe that have not been

Kōlāmī

involved in the development of the principal Dravidian languages, or of a tribe that has not originally spoken a Dravidian form of speech. There are two other forms of speech, spoken by petty tribes, which are closely allied to Kōlāmī, and which can most conveniently be looked upon as dialects of that language. In the Basim District of Berar there are three or four hundred Bhīls. Most of these speak Bhīlī, which will be discussed under the head of the Indo-Aryan languages, but in the Pusad Taluqa of that District there are some of these Bhīls who speak a language almost identical with Kolāmī. Whether these people are really Bhīls or not we must leave to ethnologists to decide. Suffice it to say here that they are locally called 'Bhīls,' and that their language, like that of any other language spoken by the tribe, is locally known as 'Bhīlī.' How many of the Basim Bhīls speak this particular dialect is unknown, their language having been returned as the same as that of the other Bhīls of the District. It was not till the language specimens had been received that the existence of this Dravidian dialect was discovered by the Linguistic Survey. The other dialect is Naikī, the language of a few Darwe Gōṇḍs of Chanda District in the Central Provinces. It is almost extinct. It differs from Gōṇḍī and agrees with Kōlāmī in many important points. The name 'Naikī' is not confined to this dialect. In the Central Provinces and in Berar it is commonly used as a synonym of Banjārī, and in the Bombay Presidency 'Naik°ḍī' is the name of a Bhīl dialect. These are both Indo-Aryan.

Kōlāmī Dialects.	Survey.
Standard	23,100
Bhīlī of Basim	?
Naikī	195
Total	23,295

Bhīlī of Basim.

Naikī.

Kandhī, as the Oriyās call it, or Kuī (compare the meaning of the term 'Kōi' explained above), as its speakers call themselves and their language, is commonly called Khond by Europeans. It is the language of the Khonds of Orissa and the neighbourhood, well known to ethnologists for their custom of human sacrifices. It is unwritten and has no literature, but portions of the Bible have been translated into it, the Oriyā character being used to represent its sounds. The language is much more nearly related to Telugu than is Gōṇḍī, and has the simple conjugation of the verb which distinguishes the Dravidian languages of the south. Kandhī is spoken not only in Orissa, but also in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts of Madras and in the neighbourhood. With these latter the Survey was not concerned, and no information is available as to whether they use any dialectic peculiarities. The Kandhī of the Linguistic Survey has two dialects, an eastern, spoken in Gumsur of Madras and the adjoining parts of Orissa, and a western, spoken in Chinna Kimedi.

Kandhī.

Further north, in the hills of Chota Nagpur, and in Sambalpur and Raigarh to their south, scattered amid a number of Muṇḍā languages, we find the Dravidian Kurukh or, as it is often called, Orāŏ. Still further north, on the Ganges bank, we find the closely related Malto spoken by the Maler of Rajmahal. According to their own traditions, the ancestors of the tribe speaking these two languages lived originally in the Carnatic, whence they moved north up

Kurukh

the Narbada River, and settled in Bihar on the banks of the River Sōn. Driven thence by the Musalmāns, the tribe split into two divisions, one of which followed the course of the Ganges and finally settled in the Rajmahal Hills, while the other went up the Sōn and occupied the north-western portion of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The latter were the ancestors of the Kurukhs and the former of the Maler. This account agrees with the features presented by the two languages, which show that (like Gōṇḍī) they must be descended from the same Dravidian dialect that formed the common origin of Tamil and Kanarese.

In the Central Provinces Kurukh is usually called Kisān, the language of cultivators, or Kōḍā, the language of diggers. The latter name should not be confused with the name Kōḍā, which in Chota Nagpur is sometimes given to one or other dialect of the Muṇḍā Kherwārī. Kurukh has no literature, and is unwritten, save for translations of the parts of the Bible and a few small books written by missionaries. It has no proper dialects, but a corrupt form, known as 'Berga Orāõ,' is found in the Native State of Gangpur The Kurukhs near the town of Ranchi have abandoned their own language, and speak a corrupt Muṇḍārī called 'Hōrōliā Jhagar.' After the Survey had been completed, there turned up a new language spoken in Chota Nagpur, registered for the first time in the Census of 1901 under the name of Malhar. Like Berga Orāõ, it turns out, so far as we can judge from the specimens received, to be merely corrupt Kurukh.

Berga Orāõ.

Hōrōliā Jhagar.

Malhar.

The last of these intermediate languages is Malto or Maler, spoken by the Maler tribe inhabiting the hills near Rajmahal on the Ganges. The traditions regarding it, and its relationship to Tamil and Kanarese, have been told above, under the head of Kurukh. In its grammar it is closely related to that language, but it has borrowed much of its vocabulary from the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in its neighbourhood. It also appears to have borrowed to a small extent from the neighbouring Santālī. It must be remarked that the term 'Malto' is also used to denote the corrupt Bengali spoken by the Aryanized hillmen of the Rajmahal Hills. The Maler also call themselves Sauriā, and their language is also known to Europeans by the name of 'Rājmahālī.' Malto possesses no literature, except that portions of the Bible have been translated into it.

Malto.

The Andhra Group is a group of dialects, for it contains only one language,—Telugu. As a vernacular, this is more widely spread and has a greater number of speakers even than Tamil. In the north it reaches to Chanda in the Central Provinces, and, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, to Chicacole, where it meets the Indo-Aryan Oṛiyā. To the west it covers half of the Nizam's dominions. The district thus occupied was the Andhra of Sanskrit geography, and was called Telingana by the Musalmāns. Speakers of the language also

Andhra Language.
Telugu Dialects.

	Survey.
Standard and Unspecified	19,735,840
Kōmṭsu	3,837
Sālēwārī	3,660
Golarī	25
Rāradī	1,250
Vaḍarī	27,090
Kāmṭhī	12,200
Dēsarī	?
TOTAL	19,783,901

appear in the independent territory of Mysore and in the area occupied by Tamil. Only on the west coast are they altogether absent. The Telugu or Telinga language ranks next to Tamil among the Dravidian languages in respect of culture and copiousness of vocabulary, and exceeds it in euphony. Every word ends in a vowel, and it has been called the Italian of the East. It used to be named the Gentoo language from the Portuguese word meaning 'gentile,' but this term has dropped out of use among modern writers. It employs a written character nearly the same as that used for Kanarese, and having the same origin, as explained under the head of that language. Its vocabulary borrows freely from Sanskrit, and it has a considerable literature. The earliest surviving writings of Telugu authors date from the twelfth century, and include a *Mahābhārata* by Nannappa; but the most important works belong to the fourteenth and subsequent centuries. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the court of Kṛishṇa Rāya of Vijayanagar was famous for its learning, and several branches of literature were enthusiastically cultivated. Allasāni Peddana, his laureate, is called 'the Grandsire of Telugu poetry,' and was the pioneer of original poetical composition in the language, other writers having contented themselves with translating from Sanskrit. His best known work is the *Svarōchisha-Manucharita*, which is based on an episode in the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*. Kṛishṇa himself is said to have written the *Āmuktamālyada*. Another member of his court was Nandi Timmana, the author of the *Pārijātāpaharaṇa*. Sūrana (flourished 1560) was the author of the *Kalāpūrṇōdaya*, which is an admired original tale of the loves of Nalakūbara and Kalabhāshiṇī, and of many other works. The most important writer was, however, Vēmana (sixteenth century), the poet of the people. He wrote in the colloquial dialect, and directed his satires chiefly against caste distinctions and the fair sex. He is to-day the most popular of all Telugu authors, and there is hardly a proverb or a pithy saying that is not attributed to him.

Literature.

Telugu did not fall completely under the operations of the Survey, and no information has been received as to the existence of any dialects. So far as I have been able to ascertain it has no proper dialects, unless we can call by that name a few tribal corruptions of the standard language. Such are Kōmṭāu, Sālēwārī, and Gōlarī, all reported from the District of Chanda in the Central Provinces. Kōmṭāu is the Telugu spoken by Kōmṭis or shopkeepers; Sālēwārī that spoken by Sālēwārs or weavers; and Gōlarī that spoken in Chanda by Gōlars, a class of nomadic herdsmen. Elsewhere the Gōlars are reported to speak a dialect of Kanarese. Bēraḍī is the Telugu spoken by the Bēraḍs of Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency. They are notorious thieves, and also faithful village watchmen, protecting the inhabitants from the more enterprising members of the tribe. Their language is ordinary Telugu, with a slight admixture of Kanarese. Vaḍarī is the dialect of a wandering tribe of quarrymen found in the Bombay Presidency. It is simply vulgar Telugu. Kāmāṭhī is a similar dialect used by the brick-layers of Bombay and the neighbourhood, and similar again is the Dāsarī of the Dāsarus. These last are wandering beggars found in Belgaum, some of whom speak Kanarese and others Telugu.

Dialects.

Kōmṭāu.
Sālēwārī.
Gōlarī.

Bēraḍī.

Vaḍarī.
Kāmāṭhī.
Dāsarī

It is not necessary to do more than register the names of Ladhādī and Bharia, two mongrel dialects of the Central Provinces. They are both dialects of people who in former time spoke Gōṇḍī. They have become Aryanized, and now speak corrupt Hindī.

Ladhādī and Bharia.

Turning now to the extreme north-west, far away from all other Dravidian languages, in the heart of eastern Baluchistan, we come to Brāhūī. Its speakers, the Brahūīs, somewhat below the medium height, with oval face, round eyes, and high slender nose,[1] have no physical characteristics entitling ethnologists to class them as members of the Dravidian race of India proper, but that their language is in its essence Dravidian, though it has freely absorbed words from the vocabularies of the neighbouring Persian, Balōchī, and Sindhī, cannot be doubted. All controversy on the subject has been finally settled by Mr. Bray's works on the people and their language, which appeared after the publication of the Dravidian section of the Survey. The people lead a pastoral life, subsisting on the produce of their herds, and are generally inoffensive, sociable, and given to hospitality. They intermarry freely with non-Brāhūī tribes, and owing to the mixed character of the race nearly every Brāhūī is bilingual. According to Mr. Bray, the present Khan of Kalat used to talk Brāhūī to his mother and Balōchī to his father and brothers. Some of the Brahūī tribes hardly speak Brāhūī at all; thus the Mīrwārīs, true Brāhūīs as they are reputed to be, speak Balōchī almost to a man. The language has no written literature. When written, the Persian character is generally employed, although in books written by Europeans the Roman character is preferred.

Brāhūī.

---

[1] See Bray, *The Brahui Language*, p. 4.

Reg. No. 305 E.P.A. - 750

CHAPTER VIII.—THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY. THE ARYAN SUB-FAMILY.

Original Home.

The original home from which the populations, whom we now group together under the name of Indo-Europeans, spread over Europe and parts of western and southern Asia, has been the subject of long discussion extending over many years. We English are probably most familiar with the cautious opinion expressed by the late Professor Max Müller that it was 'somewhere in Asia,' although his oft-repeated warning that the existence of a family of Indo-European languages does not necessarily postulate the existence of one Indo-European race, has too often been ignored by writers who should have known better. The earliest enquirers based their conclusions in the main on philology, and in former times it was universally assumed that the original seat should be sought for either on the Caucasus or on the Hindūkush. Since then other sciences have been made the handmaids of the problem. History, Anthropology, Astronomy, Geography, and Geology have all been pressed into the service. For a time philology fell into discredit, and a later opinion, based in the main on anthropology, asserted with equal decision that the locality must be looked for in north-western Europe. Still more recently a theory based on astronomy has placed it in the Arctic regions, while a school of patriotic Indian writers claims its own country as the Indo-European nidus. Later speculations have led us back to the old theory, and we have had Armenia and the country round the Oxus and Jaxartes pointed out to us as the place of origin. During the past twenty years, the opinion of Professor Otto Schrader was very generally accepted. According to him, the domicile to which we could trace back the oldest speakers of the form or forms of speech which ultimately developed into the modern Indo-European languages was probably to be sought for on the common borderland of Asia and Europe in the steppe country of southern Russia. Here they were a pastoral people; here some of their number gradually took to agriculture; and from here they wandered to the east and to the west. A later hypothesis, based on the distribution of vegetables and animals the names of which have survived from the most ancient times, on geological history, and on discoveries lately made in Asia Minor, is that put forward by Professor P. Giles in the Cambridge History of India.[1] According to him, the centre of dispersion must have been farther to the north and west than the locality proposed by Professor Schrader, that is to say it was most probably a tract which may roughly be considered as equivalent to the modern Austria-Hungary. Finally, the late J. de Morgan, in a book that appeared while these pages were passing through the press, placed the original home in Siberia, though he admitted Austria-Hungary as a secondary centre of dispersion.

***Centum*- and *satem*-speakers.**

The first great linguistic division of the people was into the so-called *centum*-speakers and *satem*-speakers. Most[2] of the former, who used some word cognate to the Latin *centum* (i.e. *kentum*) for the numeral 'hundred,' wandered westwards, and their language became the parent of that spoken by the Greek, Latin, Keltic, and Teutonic races. The latter, with whom

[1] Vol. I, pp. 66 ff.

[2] Not all. Remains of an old language of the *centum*-group have lately been discovered in the desert country of Central Asia.

we are immediately concerned, and who expressed the idea of 'hundred' by some word corresponding to the hypothetical form *satem*, in the main settled in the east, and from their language are descended the speech-groups which we call Aryan, Armenian, Phrygian, Thracian, Albanian, and Balto-Slavonic. We have to do only with the first of these six.

Meaning of the word 'Aryan.'

It is a matter for regret that this term 'Aryan' is frequently used, and especially by the English, in an extended sense, as equivalent to 'Indo-European.' It is really the name of one of the tribes of these *satem*-people, as used by these people themselves. In the following pages it will be used only with this meaning, and it will not be applied to other *satem*-people, or to languages, such as English, Latin, or German, which are sometimes called 'Aryan languages' in England. This word 'Aryan' is an Aryan word, originally used by the Aryan people, and among other suggested interpretations is said to mean 'of good family,' 'noble.' Indians and Iranians who are descended from an Indo-European stock have a perfect right to call themselves Aryans, but we English have not.[1]

Aryan wanderings.

According to Professor Schrader's theory, at some time unknown to us these Aryans wandered forth from the Russian steppes, probably by a route north of the Caspian Sea. Thence as a united people, passing through Turkestan, they finally reached the country round the modern Khokand and Badakhshan, where they split up, one party entering India *viâ* the Kabul Valley, and the other proceeding westwards into what is now Merv and Eastern Persia. The great difficulty in accepting this route consists, as Professor Giles points out, in the geological history of the country north of the Caspian. He says[2]:—

> The Caspian is an inland sea which is steadily becoming more shallow and contracting in area. Even if it had been little larger than it is at present, the way into Turkestān between it and the Aral Sea leads through the gloomy desert of Ust Urt which, supposing it existed at the period when migration took place, must have been impassable to primitive men moving with their families and their flocks and herds. But there is good evidence to show that at a period not very remote the Caspian Sea extended much further to the north, and ended in an area of swamps and quicksands, while at an earlier period which, perhaps, however, does not transcend that of the migration, it spread far to the east and included within its area the Sea of Aral and possibly much of the low-lying plains beyond. Turkestān in primitive times would therefore not have been easily accessible by this route. There is in fact no evidence that the ancestors of the Persians, Afghāns, and Hindūs passed through Turkestān at all.

Assuming, on the other hand, that a centre (whether primary or secondary) of dispersion was what is now Austria-Hungary, a natural route from there to the East,—one which we know from history has been followed by other waves of migration,—would be over the Dardanelles[3] across Asia Minor from west

[1] No completely satisfactory name has yet been found to connote the whole family of speeches which I call above 'Indo-European'. 'Indo-Germanic,' 'Indo-Teutonic,' 'Indo-Keltic,' 'Indo-Classic,' 'Japhetic,' 'Mediterranean,' 'Aryan,' and (for the speakers) 'Wires,' have all been suggested, and some, especially 'Indo-Germanic,' are used at the present day. Something may be said for and against each of these names. I have selected 'Indo-European' as to me the least objectionable. Some well-known scholars maintain that the word 'Aryan' belongs to the common stock of all the Indo-European languages, and that in Europe it has survived in Keltic languages in the Old Irish word *aire*, a prince. That may be, but I know of no reason for believing that the word was ever employed to signify the speakers of Indo-European,—the 'Wires' of Professor P. Giles,—as a whole. It is a convenient word, and that is really all that can be said for its extended sense of 'Indo-European.'

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

[3] Here also there would be an obstacle to the passage of flocks and herds, but there is no reason for assuming that these necessarily accompanied the migration. It is far more likely that these people who crossed the Dardanelles appeared as wave after wave of barbarian invaders from the north, who lived by rapine and plunder. If, by origin, they were a pastoral people, there would have been no difficulty in their acquiring new flocks and herds as plunder along their eastward route.

to east, and into Persia through northern Mesopotamia. Such a migration would not have been an affair of a single movement of a single body of people, but would have been in wave after wave, and the Wiros,—as Professor Giles calls these speakers of the original parent of the Indo-European languages,—before they won through must have had many hard struggles with populations already existing The earlier waves, perhaps beginning about 2,500 B. C., would, according to him, represent the ancestors of the Aryans, and the later those of the Armenians, Phrygians, Mysians, and Bithynians.

The Manda.

About 2,500 B. C. we find an Indo-European people called Manda in possession of northern and north-western Persia, or approximately what we now know as Media. These were *satem*-speakers. To their west lay the country of Subartu, inhabited by a non-Indo-European population, corresponding to the country north and north-west of Babylon, and including the kingdom of Mitanni in North Syria. Still further west, in Cappadocia of Asia Minor, was the Hittite capital near the present Boghazkeui, which about 2,000 B. C. was conquered by another wave of Indo-European invaders, known as Hatti[1], who were *centum*-speakers. We thus find that at about this period of ancient history there were two settlements of Indo-Europeans in the Near East, one, an earlier, the Manda,—*satem*-speakers,—in Media, and the other, a later, the Hatti,—*centum*-speakers,—in Cappadocia, the two being separated by the non-Indo-European Subartu.

About 2,000 B. C. the Manda conquered Subartu, including Mitanni, and came into relations, more or less hostile, with the Hatti. Through the kingdom of Mitanni they also came into contact with the Egyptians, and correspondence between them and the Pharaohs has been found on the bank of the Nile at Tel el Amarna. In this correspondence (dating about 1400 B. C.) we find mention of several Mitanni princes bearing distinctly Indo-European names. On the other hand, among the relics of the Hatti of Boghazkeui, we find references to the gods of Mitanni, —whose names reappear later in India as Mitra, Indra, Varuṇa, and the two Nāsatyas,—and also, in connexion with chariot-races, Mitanni words of undoubted Indo-European origin, and in the forms which would be employed by *satem*-speakers. Finally, the Hatti were wiped out about 1200 B. C. by another wave of Indo-European invaders, — that of the Thraco-Phrygians, —and at about the same period, Mitanni was conquered by Assyria, and our interest in both here ceases[2].

Let us now return to the Manda in their earliest seat known to us, in and about Media. We have no information as to how they reached that locality, but, as stated above, Professor Giles looks upon these *satem*-speakers as the descendants of a very early swarm of Indo-European invaders, who, starting from Austria-Hungary, crossed the Dardanelles and pushed eastwards along Asia Minor and North Mesopotamia into Media. The Hatti would then represent a later swarm which did not get much farther than Cappadocia.

Digression on the origin of the Mandas.

Here, I may be pardoned for making a digression, to tell of other theories put forward to account for the origin of these Mandas. Above, I have given the explanation of Professor Giles. If we accept his grounds for assuming that the original centre of dispersion was the Danubian plain,

[1] Or Hittite. The language of the original inhabitants, which was altogether different, may be called 'Protohatti' or 'Protohittite'.

[2] Part of the above is based on Professor A. Ungnad's *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens* Breslau, 1923.

and that these Mandas were the Aryans, or one of the Aryan tribes, who in later times took possession of Persia and invaded India, it is most likely that their route was the same as that taken subsequently by the Hatti, and that, after reaching Asia Minor, they crossed Mesopotamia to the seat where we find them mentioned in the earliest written documents. An alternative route round the north and east of the Black Sea has been suggested, but here the Caucasus would have presented a formidable barrier hardly passable to a pastoral people.

These Mandas, if not mentioned by name, but simply called Indo-Europeans of North Persia, have been accounted for in other ways.[1]

The theory of Asiatic origin.

Professor Keith, following Professor E. Meyer, agrees that these Indo-European names and words found in Mitanni and the neighbourhood, are Aryan words, that is to say neither Indo-Aryan or Eranian, but belonging to the original Aryan language from which both are derived. If I may venture an opinion on such a subject, it seems to me to be certain that this was actually the state of affairs, and I would go further and say that it is quite possible that some of the oldest hymns of the Ṛig Vēda, which are usually looked upon as having been composed in India, may have been originally composed in this Aryan language, and handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth till they received in India the form in which we have them at present.[2] But Professor Keith differs from Professor Giles in fixing the centre of dispersion. He maintains that this was in Asia, and that these *satem*-speaking Aryans came to Media from the East, not from the West, while the other speakers of Indo-European, most of whom were *centum*-speakers, went into Europe by a route north of the Aral and the Caspian. Before this is accepted, Professor Giles's arguments based on a vocabulary which points to the Danubian plain as the original centre of both *centum*- and *satem*-speakers must be considered.

The theory of Siberian origin.

A still later theory, founded not on language or ethnology, but on the history of the glacial period of Europe, has been put forward by the late J. de Morgan.[3] He would put the original centre of dispersion in Siberia, which was a semi tropical region, at a time when North Europe was covered with ice. Owing to climatic changes at the end of the glacial period, Europe became habitable while Siberia became unable to support life, and its inhabitants were forced to migrate in various directions. The ancestors of the Indo-Europeans gradually wandered off at least in two directions—one body, mostly *centum*-speakers, going west into Europe, where (much as Professor Giles maintains) the Danubian plain became a secondary centre of dispersion. Most of the others, who were *satem*-speakers, went south-west and peopled Persia and the neighbouring countries. In this way he would explain the presence of the Mandas in Media, and of the ancestors of the Persians on the Persian plateau, and it was these two closely related, but independent bodies of immigrants that together formed the Aryans. These were only cousins, not brothers, of

[1] A summary of the more important of these will be found in Professor Keith's article "Indo-Iranians" in the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 81ff. Compare also the controversy between Professors Jacobi, Oldenberg, and Keith in J. R. A. S. 1909, pp. 726ff., 1095ff., 1100ff., and 1910, pp. 456ff., 464ff.

[2] For the original language of the oldest Vedic hymns, see footnote[1] to page 115.

[3] In his Article "Des Origines des Sémites et de celles des Indo-Européens" in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, Vol. XXXIV. Nos. 100-102, reprinted in Gauthier's *Éphémérides Bibliographiques* for June-July 1923. The question is discussed at much greater length on pp. 173ff of the same author's *Préhistoire orientale* which appeared while these lines were passing through the press. It is too late to do more here than draw attention to this important work.

the Hittites who came from the Danube valley, across the Dardanelles, into Asia Minor. The theory is attractive but has not, as yet, been thoroughly discussed by other scholars.[1]

The Aryan progress from the Manda country.

The above digression is however, hardly relevant to the history of Indo-Aryan languages. What is relevant, is the identification of the Mandas as Indo-Europeans twenty-five centuries before our era. It is agreed by writers who differ in other respects that these Mandas were Aryans. We therefore have here one firm chronological fact,—that there were Aryans settled, and powerful, in North and North-West Persia in 2500 B. C. Wherever they originally came from, we can find no sign that they had come from the South or from the South-East, and there is no evidence that they had come up there from Southern Persia, or (as some writers have thought) from India. We find them first in and about Media, and there they waxed powerful, and, as we have seen, conquered Subartu. To us, the immediate point of interest is that they had gods whose names we meet subsequently in India, and that they spoke a *satem*-language closely connected with the ancient Vedic Sanskrit. We have seen that, in the West, they were ultimately wiped out by the Assyrians, but, in Media, they maintained themselves side by side with brethren who had settled on the Persian plateau, and whose remains have lately been discovered by de Morgan. It is at this stage of history that we hear of the united Medes and Persians as Aryans. Some of these Aryans remained in Persia, while others continued their progress, entered India as the ultimate limit in one direction of the Great Adventure, and there became to a certain extent isolated from their brethren by the mountainous country of Afghanistan and the Hindūkush.

As has happened over and over again in similar cases [2], the language of those Aryans who became isolated in India among a strange population retained an archaic form, which was lost at a comparatively early period by those who remained in Persia. We have just seen how the early Indo-Aryans still called their gods by names which were in use while the joint Aryans were still within touch of Boghazkeui in Cappadocia, but which soon became obsolete in Persia. Thus, in the two countries the languages of each section of the Aryans developed on independent lines and at different rates, the rate of development in India being slower than that in Persia. The language of those that arrived in India became the parent of the Indo-Aryan languages, while the languages of the Aryans that remained in Persia developed into the modern Eranian (or, as it is often called, the 'Iranian') family of languages[3].

Indo-Aryan and Eranian.

As for the latter, at the time that their brethren set out in wave after wave on the further migration into India, their language was of course the same as theirs; but in

[1] In Vol. IV (1926), pp. 147ff of the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies Dr. Charpentier states his agreement with de Morgan's conclusion that Central Asia was the original home of the Indo-Europeans. A passing reference may also be made here to the suggestion that a relationship existed between Sumerian, the ancient language of Mesopotamia, and the early speech of the Aryans, contained in C. Autran's important article entitled *La Grèce et l'Orient asiien* in 'Babylonica,' Vol. VIII (1924), pp. 129ff.

[2] Professor Giles quotes the parallel cases of the Spanish spoken in Mexico and Peru, where the isolation of the speakers amid a more numerous native population has tended to conserve a dialect much more archaic and much more like the Spanish of the sixteenth century than is the language now spoken in Spain. To take another example nearer home, it is well known that much of the English spoken by the lower classes in Ireland is not a corrupt form of modern English, but is the English of Elizabethan days.

[3] Strictly speaking, as we employ the term 'Indo-Aryan', we should also call the other linguistic sub-family the 'Erano-Aryan'. It is, however, shorter to use 'Eranian' without the addition of 'Aryan', and the use of the word will lead to no confusion. In the case of India it is different, for there are many Indian languages which are not Aryan. Hence, in order to connote the Aryan languages which have developed in India, we must use the term 'Indo-Aryan'.

Persia, after they had been left behind, it gradually developed into Eranian. In the earlier stages of this development, when they spoke what we may call 'Proto-Eranian', *i.e.*, while the language still retained much of the characteristics of the original Aryan joint language which had already been carried towards India, but had also shown tendencies towards some of the characteristics of Eranian, other waves of the Persian population also wandered like their predecessors towards the East, but took a more northerly course, north of the Hindūkush, into the Pāmir region. There they crossed the Hindūkush, and descended into what is now the Dard country, where they probably found the ancestors of the modern speakers of Burushaski. These they either conquered and displaced, or else settled amongst, imposing on them their language. In this inhospitable country, separated from their home in Persia by tremendous mountain ranges, their Proto-Eranian tongue developed independently into the modern Dard languages, which still present features partly Eranian and partly Indo-Aryan[1].

Dardic.

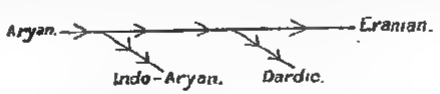
As in the other cases, this first wave or set of waves of Proto-Eranian was in course of time followed by others which also took the same route north of the Hindūkush. By this time the Proto-Eranian of Persia had become fully developed into Eranian, and the language of these later migrants has survived in the Ghalchah languages of the Pāmirs which, as we shall see, are thoroughly Eranian in character. But they did not confine themselves to the Pāmirs, for some of these early Eranian speakers wandered on even further east into Central Asia. These last have disappeared as speakers of Eranian tongues, but traces of their old language have been discovered as one of the results of the explorations in Central Asia carried out by Sir Aurel Stein[2].

Ghalchah.

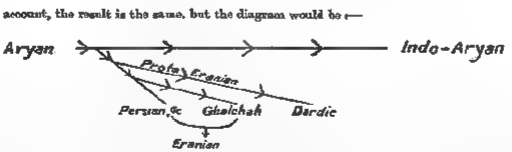
	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Eranian	4,617,890	1,987,943
Dardic	1,195,902	1,304,319
Indo-Aryan	226,060,611	229,560,555
Total for Aryan languages in India .	231,874,403	232,852,817

We thus find the Aryan languages ultimately divided into three branches, —the Eranian, the Dardic, and the Indo-Aryan.

[1] This account of the development of Dardic differs from that given on pp. 72f. of Vol. VIII, Pt. ii of the Survey. The latter was written on the older assumption of an Aryan settlement in Khokand and Badakhshan, and of the division there into two nationalities, one marching southwards into India, and the other westwards into Persia. The language of the former developed into Indo-Aryan and of the latter into Eranian. According to that account, the Dardic languages branched off from the Eranian after the split, but before Eranian had fully developed. I illustrated it by the following diagram :—



In the present account, the result is the same, but the diagram would be :—



[2] Here again, for the reasons given in the preceding footnote, the explanation of the development of the Eranian languages differs from that given on page 1 of Vol. X of the Survey. But, as before, the results are the same in this case also.

Omitting the Dardic languages for the present from consideration, we return to the Eranians and the Indo-Aryans. As in the case of the western Indo-Europeans, wherever these two Aryan branches wandered, they found themselves in the presence of aboriginal populations, who were either driven by the invaders into the mountainous tracts of their own country, or else,—and this in the majority of cases,—were conquered, and compelled to adopt an Aryan form of speech. Nevertheless, as Professor Justi remarks, the ethnical character of the Aryans, who had immigrated in comparatively small numbers, and probably with an insufficient number of women, became so altered, partly by intermixture with the numerically superior aborigines, and partly owing to climatic influences, that, anthropologically speaking, they have developed into races alien to those of Europe, with whom they are connected by a relationship of language. Just as, speaking generally, the inhabitants of Southern Europe have sprung from a stem which is not that of the Swedes or Frieslanders, so, from the point of view of anthropology, the Hindūs are a race altogether different from the Teutons, whose language is, nevertheless, related to Sanskrit, and the Persians of the present day show a far closer resemblance to Orientals of other stocks than they do to the linguistically related fair complexioned sons of the sea-coasts of the north.

Race mixture with Aborigines.

CHAPTER IX.—THE ERANIAN BRANCH.

Eranian Branch.

We have left the Eranian Branch of the Aryans in Persia, after noting that some of them spread eastwards north of the Hindūkush. These last are now represented by the inhabitants of the Pāmīrs, who still speak Eranian languages, and, farther east, even in Yarkand, we find tribes of Aryan build and complexion who have adopted the Tartar of the nations that have conquered them in later times. We may therefore take the Sarīkol country on the east of the Pāmīrs as the eastern limit of the Eranian languages spoken at the present day. The Eranians who remained in Persia occupied Merv, the whole of Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan. In the latter tracts, the eastern limit of Eranian speech may be taken as coinciding roughly with the river Indus, although a good deal of the country west of that river was once occupied by Indo-Aryans, and Indo-Aryan languages are still found there. It does not appear that the Eranians ever occupied the country now known as Kafiristan or the Laghman country between Kafiristan and the Kabul river. That tract seems to have been occupied before their arrival by Dardic tribes.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Western (Persian) . .	7,579	6,268
Eastern	4,610,311	1,981,675
Total in India .	4,617,890	1,987,943

Limits of Eranian speech.

Persic and Medic.

At the earliest period for which we have documentary evidence we find Eranian speech divided into two not very dissimilar languages, commonly called Persic and Medic, though Persic and Non-Persic would be better names[1].

Persic, Old Persian.

The oldest form of the Persic language that we are acquainted with is the 'Old Persian' of the Achæmenides, of which the best known example is found in one of the versions of the inscription of Darius I or Dārayavahush (B. C. 522-486) at Behistūn. It was the official language of the court of Persepolis, and as such was used over the whole of Erān, being employed not only in government documents, but also, inevitably, as a common means of communication between the inhabitants of different provinces, much as Hindōstānī is used in India at the present day. The next stage of this Persic language which we meet in a written form is the "Middle Persian" or Pahlavī (*i.e.*, Parthian) of the Sassanides (third to seventh centuries A. D.), which bears much the same relation to modern Persian that the Prakrit languages do to the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Finally, we have modern Persian, which developed into a language of literature and polite society, and thus became fixed at an early period. Save for the admixture of Arabic

Middle Persian.

Persian.

[1] The characteristic features of the 'Medic' language were, and are, found not only in Media, which corresponds to the modern North-Western Persia and Kurdistan, the ancient Manda, but also in tracts far to the east. They are, moreover, characteristic of the language of the Avesta, which is East Eranian in origin. The term 'Medic' is, however, a convenient one as describing the tribe which was most important politically among those who used the non-Persic language. At the same time it should be carefully noted that although the Avesta is written in 'Medic', that is no ground for assuming that its birthplace was Media or anywhere in the neighbourhood. This view, it is true, is held by some scholars, but the question may not be begged by the wrong use of the word 'Medic'.

words, it has been on the whole the same language for a thousand years. Under Musalmān dominion it became one of the great vehicles of Indian literature, and some of the most famous Persian books, including the greatest lexicographical works, have been composed in India. It is nowhere a vernacular of that country, but is one of the languages of *belles lettres* among the educated Musalmāns. As stated by Mr. Baines in the Census Report for 1891, 'In Bengal and Rangoon there are remnants of the old ruling families of Delhi and Lucknow; in the Panjab, traders and immigrants are found, and the refugees from Afghanistan, and in Bombay, horse-dealers and emigrants from Persia who have settled down in the chief towns. Beyond these centres there is hardly any real Persian spoken, and a good deal of what is returned as such is but the better sort of Urdū.' In addition to the above we may mention a Persian colony in Baluchistan. Here we find 7,579 people speaking a Persian dialect locally known as Dēhwārī. These, however, are not by any means the only people of Eranic origin who have made India their home. In the times of the Greek successors of Alexander the Great and of the Indo-Scythians who followed them, adherents of the old Eranian sun-worship entered India as missionaries. Together with the elements of their religion, they were adopted into the ranks of the Brahmans themselves, and still survive as Śākadvīpīya Brāhmans. In later times votaries of the rival and more orthodox cult of Zarathustra settled in Western India, in order to escape Islamitic persecution in their native land, and are now represented by the flourishing community of Parsees. But, in both cases, these immigrants have abandoned their Eranian vernacular and at the present day speak languages of India. The Persian of the Afghan refugees closely resembles the Badakhshī dialect of that form of speech, and contains a number of Paṣhtō words.

Medic.

The group of dialects which are classed together under the name of the 'Medic' language was spoken in widely separated parts of Erān. Media itself was in what is at the present time Western Persia, yet the Medic word for "dog," *spaka*, which Herodotus has preserved to us, can claim the Ormuṛī *spuk*, and the Paṣhtō *spāe*, both spoken nowadays in distant Afghanistan, among its descendants, but not the neighbouring Persian *sag*. In fact the one literary monument of ancient Medic that we possess, the Avesta, had its home, according to most authorities, not in Media, but in East Erān. The oldest parts of the Avesta probably date from about the sixth century before our era, and although large portions of it belong to a period many centuries later, we have no documents to illustrate the mediæval Medic, as Pahlavī does for Persic. All that we have are the modern languages that have developed from it. These are the Ghalchah languages of the Pāmīrs, Paṣhtō, Ormuṛī, Balōchī, and a number of dialects (of which the best known is Kurdish) spoken all over Persia and beyond. As the most important of these languages are spoken in the eastern portion of the ancient Erān, they are conveniently classed under the name of the Eastern Group of the Eranian languages[1] The dialects

Eastern Eranian.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Afghanistan-Baluchistan Sub-Group.	4,610,311	1,981,675
Ghalchah Sub-Group . .	...	...
Total . .	4,610,311	1,981,675

[1] This name 'Eastern' must be taken with the same reservation as that with which 'Medic' is here employed. The minor dialects are spoken not only in Central Persia, but even in the far north-west on the shores of the Caspian.

AFGHANISTAN-BALUCHISTAN SUB-GROUP.

	Survey.	Census of 1921
Balōchī . . .	704,585	485,408
Ormuṛī . . .	.	...
Paṣhtō . . .	3,905,725	1,496,267
Total .	4,610,311	1,981,675

spoken in Persia do not concern us. Those more immediately connected with India may, on purely geographical grounds, be put under two sub-groups,—the Afghanistan-Baluchistan and the Ghalchah. I shall deal with them in this order, beginning from the south.

Balōchī.

The home of the Balōchī language is, as its name implies, Baluchistan, but it extends considerably beyond the usually recognized limits of that province. On the east it reaches to the Indus, as far north as Dera Ghazi Khan, although the country along the banks of that river is mainly inhabited by Indians whose language is either Lahndā or Sindhī. Northwards, in British Baluchistan, it extends to near Quetta, or, say, the thirtieth degree of north latitude, and, as we go westwards, it is found even further than this, up to the valley of the Helmand, where Paṣhtō becomes the main language of the country. Still further west, where the lower course of the Helmand runs south to north, we come to the Persian province of Sīstān. Here Balōches are found mixed with Persians, and the language of the tract is partly Balōchī and partly Persian. Indeed nomadic Balōches are found still further north, in Karmān and as far as central Khurāsān. South of Quetta, Balōchī is the language of the greater part of British Baluchistan. It extends westwards as the principal language of the country over Persian Baluchistan as far as Bampur, and is spoken by at least a part of the population so far west as Jask, or, say, the fifty-eighth degree of east longitude. This large tract of country contains also another nationality, non-Eranian, namely the Brāhūis, who have a language of their own. Brāhūī is spoken in the central part of British Baluchistan, and separates Balōchī into two clearly distinguished dialects, *viz.*, Eastern Balochi and Western Balōchī or Makrānī. The figures given for the Survey on the margin are, so far as the western dialect is concerned, estimates, and include 200,000 as the probable number of speakers of the language in Persian territory. Each of the dialects has several minor sub-dialects, but the main division into Eastern and Western Balōchī is sufficient for our present purpose. Besides phonetical and grammatical differences, the former is much richer in words borrowed from India. As in Paṣhtō, both dialects freely borrow Arabic and Persian words. Unlike their Afghān neighbours, the Balōches have found difficulties in pronouncing certain of the Arabic letters, so that some of the words taken from that language have been quaintly transformed.

BALŌCHĪ.

	Survey.
Eastern Dialect . . .	376,822
Western Dialect	324,899
Unspecified	2,865
Total .	704,586

Balōchī has but a small literature, most of which consists of folk-songs, tales, and the like, that have been collected by the late Mr. Dames and other scholars. We have grammars and vocabularies of both dialects, and several books of the Bible have been translated into it. For writing, both an adaptation of the Arab-Persian alphabet and the Roman alphabet are employed. Of all the East Eranian languages, Balōchī is the one that has most conserved archaic forms. Its consonantal system in some respects

stands on the same stage as that of the medieval Pahlavī. According to Professor Geiger, it still preserves unchanged letters which fifteen hundred years ago had begun to lose their original sound in the language which is now modern Persian. In its grammatical inflexions, also, several ancient forms are preserved. East of the Indus, Balōches, still using their native tongue, are found in some Native States as personal retainers and treasure-guards of the chiefs. These are usually Makranīs. The Indian census does not record nearly all the speakers of the language, as those belonging to Afghanistan and Persia were necessarily omitted from enumeration. As stated above, an estimate for these has been included in the figures of the Survey.

Órmuṛî.

The number of speakers of Órmuṛî is unknown. It is an isolated speech, also called Bargistā or Barg^{a}stā from the name of Mīr Barak, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, and is the tongue of a few thousand people settled near Kanigoram in Waziristan and in the Logar Valley in Afghanistan, localities outside the census area. Although thus spoken in the heart of Afghanistan, except for borrowed words it has no connexion with the Paṣḥtō of the surrounding Wazirī Paṭhāns, and though belonging to what we have named (with reservations) the East Eranian group of languages, it seems to me to be perhaps related to Kurdish. The tribe has an impossible tradition that they came from Yaman in Arabia, and that their language was invented for them by a very old and learned man named 'Umar Labān' some four hundred years ago. There are also a good many Órmuṛs settled in the North-West Frontier Province and in the Bahawalpur State, but they have all abandoned their own tongue. The language does not appear to possess any literature, but the Arab-Persian alphabet as adapted for Paṣḥtō has once or twice been employed for writing it.

Paṣḥtō is spoken in British territory in the trans-Indus districts as far south as Dera Ismaīl Khan. Northwards it extends into the Yūsufzai country, Bajaur, Swat, and Buner, and through the Indus Kohistan at least as far as the river Kandia, where the Indus takes its great turn to the south. In the northern parts of Swat, Buner, and the Kōhistān, many of the inhabitants speak in their homes languages of Dardic origin, but Paṣḥtō is universal as a means of general intercommunication. In British territory its eastern boundary may roughly be taken as coinciding with the course of the Indus, although there are Paṣḥtō-speaking colonies in the Hazara and Attock Districts, and in Mianwali it is spoken on both banks of the river. After entering the district of Dera Ismaīl Khan, the eastern boundary gradually slopes away from the Indus, leaving the lower parts of the valley in possession of Lahndā, and some thirty miles south of the town of Chaudhwan it meets Balōchi, and turns to the west. The southern boundary passes south of Quetta and through Shorawak, till it is stopped by the desert of Baluchistan. Thence it follows the eastern and northern limits of the desert, with colonies down the rivers which run south through the waste, to nearly the sixty-first degree of east longitude. It then turns northwards up to about fifty miles south of Herat, where it reaches its limit to the north-west. The northern boundary runs nearly due east up to the Hazara country, in which the

Paṣḥtō.	Survey.
North-Eastern Dialect	306,974
South-Western Dialect	676,402
Unspecified	63,349
Estimated number of speakers outside British Territory	2,859,000
Total .	3,905,725

inhabitants do not employ Paṣhtō but either Persian or a language said to be of Mongolian origin. Skirting the west, south, and east of the Hazara country, and just avoiding the town of Ghazni, it finally goes northwards up to the Hindūkush. Leaving Kafiristan to its east and north, it roughly follows the Kabul River up to Jalalabad, whence it runs up the Kunar so as to include Bajaur and Swat as already stated[1]. In this irregularly shaped area the population is by no means entirely Paṣhtō-speaking. In British territory the Hindūs speak Lahnda, and in the dominions of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan there is a great admixture of races, including Tājiks, Hazārās, Kizilbāshīs, and Kāfirs, who speak the languages of the countries of their several origins. Roughly speaking, we may say that the country in which the majority of the population use Paṣhtō as their language is Southern and Eastern Afghanistan, the country to the west of the Indus from its southward bend down to Dera Ismail Khan, and a strip of Northern Baluchistan.

If the identifications of the names are correct, Paṣhtō speakers have occupied at least a portion of their present seat for more than two thousand five hundred years. They have been compared with the *Paktyes* of Herodotus, and with the *Pakthas* of the Vēdas, while the *Aparytai* of the Father of History are probably represented at the present day by the Afrīdīs, or, as they call themselves, the Aprīdīs. Their subsequent history does not concern us here, and it will suffice to record the fact that they have several times invaded India, that numbers are now settled in that country, where they are known as Paṭhans (a corrupt form of 'Paṣhtāna' or 'Paḳhtāna'), and that Shēr Shāh, the Emperor of Delhi, was of Afghān origin. Another class of Afghāns comes into India each autumn, and wanders over the country during the cold weather, usually as pedlars or horse-dealers, but sometimes for less reputable pursuits.

Paṣhtō has a literature of respectable extent and possessing works of merit, which are written in a modification of the Persian alphabet. It has received considerable attention from scholars both in India and in Europe. The rugged character of its sounds suits the nature of its speakers and of the mountains that form their home, but they are most inharmonious to the fastidious ears of other oriental lands. I have already[2] referred to the traditional Linguistic Survey of King Solomon's days, in which Asaf's specimen of Paṣhtō consisted of the rattling of a stone in a pot, and I may add here a well-known proverb, according to which Arabic is science, Turkī is accomplishment, Persian is sugar, Hindōstānī is salt, but Paṣhtō is the braying of an ass! In spite of these unfavourable remarks, though harsh-sounding, it is a strong, virile language, which is capable of expressing any idea with neatness and accuracy. In its general characteristics, it is much less archaic than Balōchī, and has borrowed not only a good deal of its vocabulary, but even part of its grammar from Indian sources. As a whole, it is a singularly homogeneous form of speech, although two dialects are recognized, a North-Eastern or Paḳhtō, and a South-Western or Paṣhtō. They differ little except in pronunciation, of which the two names are good and typical examples of the respective ways of uttering the same word. Each has several tribal sub-dialects, which also differ only in points of pronunciation. Nothing like the total number of Paṣhtō speakers has been recorded in any Indian census, which was necessarily confined to settled British territory.

---

[1] All the above is clearly shown in the map facing page 5 of Vol. X of the Survey.

[2] See Note [1] on page 2.

Ghalchah Sub-Group.
Wakhī.
Shighnī.
Ishkashmī
Munjānī.

Leaving Afghanistan and passing northwards over Kafiristan and the Chitral country we come to the Ghalchah sub-group of the Eastern Eranian languages. They are all spoken in or near the Pāmīrs, and are closely connected with each other. They are Wakhī, spoken in Wakhan, Shighnī or Khugnī in Shighnan and Roshan, with its dialect Sarīkolī, spoken in the Taghdumbash Pāmir and Sarikol; Ishkashmī, with its dialects Sanglīchī and Zêbakī, spoken in the country round Ishkāshm and Zêbak; Munjānī or Mungī of Munjān, with its dialect Yūdghā; and, according to some authorities, Yaghnōbī, spoken some way to the north of the Pāmīrs round the head waters of the Zarafshan river. Of these the only one that immediately concerns us is Yūdghā or Leoṭkuh-i-wār, which has overflowed from the Pāmīrs across the ridge of the Hindūkush by the Dorah Pass, and is spoken in the 'Ludkho' Valley leading from that pass to Chitral. The others are also heard in Chitral and its neighbourhood, but only in the mouths of visitors. None of them except Yūdghā and some Wakhī spoken by a colony of immigrants which has settled in the Northern Hunza country (Guhyāl) is vernacular in any territory immediately under British influence, and even for these two the Survey has failed to gather any statistics. Our knowledge of Wakhī and of Shighnī is mainly based on the researches of Shaw, and Sir Aurel Stein has given us materials regarding Ishkāshmī which have been incorporated with the Survey results of my inquiries into Zêbakī in a book published by the Royal Asiatic Society. Of Munjānī and its dialect Yūdghā very little is known. Of the latter General Biddulph has given us a short grammatical sketch and vocabulary, which was the foundation of all subsequent writings till the Survey put further materials for it and a first account of Munjānī at the disposal of students. To the philologist, the Ghalchah languages are of importance. They possess some grammatical forms in common with the Dardic languages to the south, and thus appear to be a link connecting the latter with the Eranian languages.

CHAPTER X.—THE DARDIC, OR PIŚĀCHA, BRANCH.

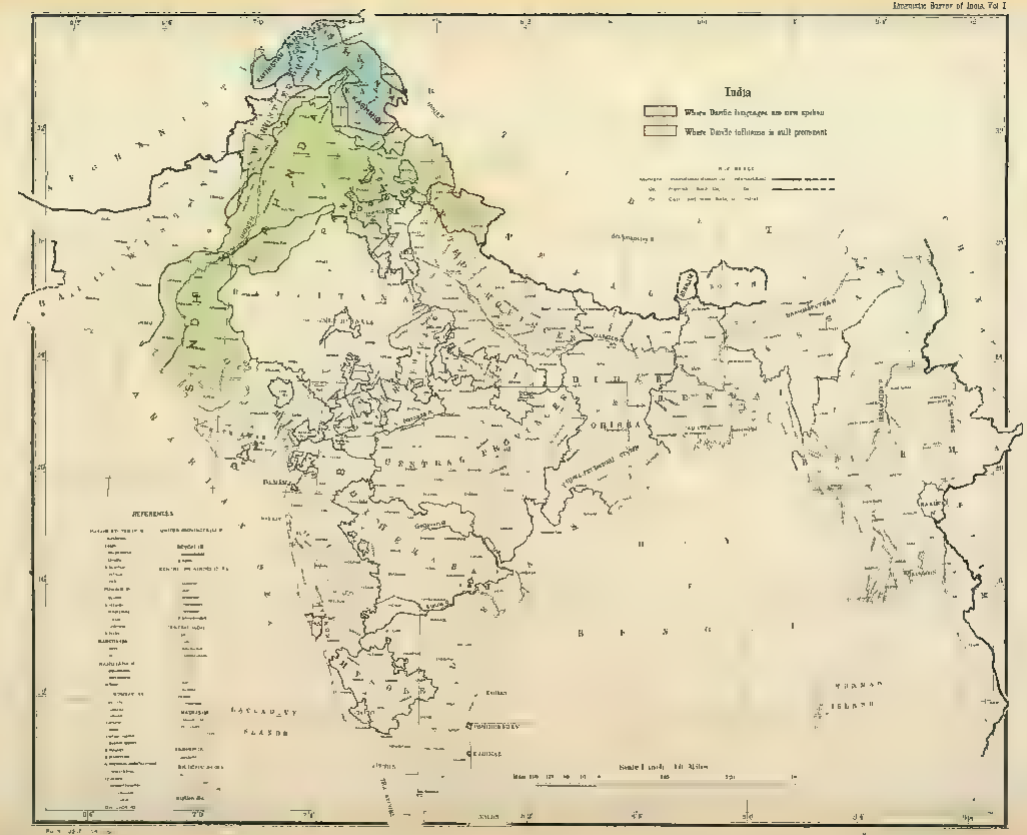
We have seen above that the speech of those Aryans who remained in Persia developed in the ordinary course into what we have called the Eranian languages, while the speech of those Aryans who advanced into India, and there became isolated, developed at a slower rate, and retained for a longer period the characteristics of the original joint Aryan language. At an early period of the development of the Proto-Eranian language,—*i.e.* while the speech of the Persian Aryans still retained much of this original Aryan speech, and therefore still possessed much that was common to it and to the Indo-Aryan languages,—some of these Persian Aryans migrated eastwards north of the Hindūkush, occupied the Pāmīrs, and thence crossed the Hindūkush southwards, in one or more waves, into the country now known as Dardistan.[1] This country appears at that time to have been inhabited by the ancestors of the tribe now found in Hunza-Nagar speaking the non-Aryan Burushaski, who were quite possibly remnants of the old inhabitants of north-western India driven thither by the arrival of the first Indo-Aryan invaders. In this rugged and inhospitable country the speech of the Aryan invaders from the north, influenced, no doubt by the non-Aryan tongue of the previous inhabitants, developed on its own lines,—neither Eranian nor Indian, but something between both. Other later Eranian speakers followed them to the Pāmīrs and there settled, becoming the ancestors of the speakers of the Ghalchah languages just described. We thus, at the present day, find the Hindūkush separating two not distantly related languages,—on the north, in the Pāmīrs, the Ghalchah languages, which are true Eranian, and on the south the semi-Eranian Dardic languages. The linguistic conditions of Dardistan moreover lead us to the conclusion that, in addition to what we may call the original Aryan immigration, there were subsequent Ghalchah invasions into the more accessible tracts, for the Khōwār language of the Chitral Valley,—easily accessible from the Pāmīrs,—has much closer connexion with the Ghalchah languages than have the other Dardic languages spoken in the more inaccessible Gilgit and Kafiristan.

Route.

The inhabitants of Dardistan are frequently mentioned in ancient literature. In Sanskrit literature they are spoken of as 'Dārada' or 'Darada,' which name is often met with not only in geographical works, but also in the epic poems and the Purāṇas. Herodotus refers to them, though not by name, in his famous description of the gold-digging ants (III, 102ff.). They are the Daradrai of Ptolemy, the Derdai of Strabo, the Dardæ of Pliny and Nonnus, and the Dardanoi of Dionysios Periēgētēs. Together with all the other inhabitants of North-Western India they were spoken of by Indian writers as barbarians, or as degraded (*sashta*) Aryans. Their customs were looked upon with abhorrence. Stories were current of cannibalism being rife among them, and, amongst other opprobrious names, they were dubbed 'Piśāchas,' a word which was also used to signify a demon who lived upon raw flesh. Whether Piśācha was really a tribal name, later extended to denote such a demon, or whether the term 'raw-eating demon' was given as a nickname to the tribes inhabiting the Dard country, we cannot say; but we do know that their

Nomenclature.

[1] Or we may put it another way, avoiding questions of the stage of development; *viz.*, that there were certainly tribal dialects among the original Aryans in Persia, and that some of these dialects tended to develop in the direction of Eranian more than others. The ancestors of the Dards would, in that case, be a tribe, or group of tribes whose dialect, while resembling, was not the same as that of the tribes that migrated directly into India.


India
Where Dardic languages are now spoken
Where Dardic influence is still prominent
REFERENCES
ORISSA
BASTAR
BASSEIN
ISLAND
KASHMIR
KASHMIR
KASHMIR
Scale 1 inch = 100 Miles

language was the subject of some study[1], and that Indian grammarians have given us accounts of it under the name of 'Paiśachī'. For this reason, in the earlier volumes of the Survey, I have given these Dardic forms of speech the collective name of the 'Piśācha Languages', but, as the double connotation of the word 'Piśācha' was liable to give offence, in the later volumes I have abandoned that name, and now call them 'Dardic'.

Dardistan.

Dardistan, the present home of the Dardic languages, includes, from East to West, Gilgit and Kashmir, the Indus and Swat Kohistans, Chitral, and Kafiristan. Kafiristan does not fall within British territory, but, for the sake of completeness, an attempt has been made to describe the languages of that country. Dardic forms of speech are also found in other adjoining parts of Afghanistan, Laghman and Nigrahar, and Tirāhī, the Dardic language of the last named country, was once spoken in the Tīrā Valley, now inhabited by Afrīdī Pathāns. In earlier times, the Dardic languages were much more widely extended. They once covered Baltistan and Western Tibet, where the inhabitants now speak Tibeto-Burman languages.[2] Philology also shows us that they must once have covered nearly the whole of the Panjab, for Panjābī and Lahndā, the present languages of that province still show traces of the earlier Dardic language that they superseded. Similarly, in western Afghanistan, south of the Afrīdī country, we find relics of Dardic in Ormurī, although, as we have seen, this is itself an Eranian tongue. Dards therefore must have been in Waziristan when the Ormurs first settled there. Further south, the tribe known as Khetrān in the Laghari Hills speak a curious mongrel form of Lahndā mixed with many Dardic forms. Still further south, we find traces of Dardic in Sindhī, -not so much in the literary language as in the rude patois of southern Sind known as Lārī. Turning to the North, the Indo-Aryan languages of the lower Himalaya from Chamba to Nepal show clear traces of Dardic. The Khaśas were a Dardic tribe, and they occupied all this tract and influenced its speech[3]. But this is not all. In the Bhīl languages of western Central India, and even so far south as in the Kōnkaṇī Marāthī of Goa, we find stray peculiarities for which it is difficult to account unless we assume early Dardic influence[4]. Finally, it is well known that the Gipsies of Europe and their congeners of Armenia and Syria found their way to their present abodes from India, which they left from the North-West, and it is certain that Romani still retains many forms which can best be explained by a Dardic origin.

The Dardic languages of the present day fall into three groups, the Kāfir, Khōwār, and the Dard. Of these, Khōwār consists of a single language, standing, as we shall see, somewhat apart from the others. For the Survey no figures were available for any of them, except for a portion of the Dard group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Kāfir Group . . .	...	...
Khōwār . . .	...	121
Dard Group . . .	1,195,802	1,304,198
TOTAL .	1,195,802	1,304,319

[1] It is, however, possible that the language studied by the Hindī grammarians was not the native language of these Proto-Dards, but represented the Āryan language of North-West India as mispronounced by them.

[2] They extended at least as far east as Khalatse beyond Leh in Ladak. See A. H. Francke, *A Language Map of West Tibet*, J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXIII, Pt. i, (1904), pp. 362 ff., and *The Dards of Khalatse in Western Tibet*, M.A.S.B., 1906, pp. 413 ff.

[3] Vol. IX, Pt. iv, pp. 2ff.

[4] Vol. IX, Pt. iii, p. 2; Vol. VII, p. 168.

Kāfir Group.

The Kāfir group includes four languages spoken in Kafiristan, the Land of the Unbeliever, a mountainous tract lying immediately to the west of Chitral, in Afghan territory. Here there is no such language as 'Kāfirī,' though it has often been written about.[1] The country is divided up by a number of tribal languages, of which four,—Bashgalī, Wai-alā, Wasī-veri or Veron, and Ashkund are discussed in the Survey. Besides this, there are five other languages closely allied to the true Kāfir languages, but not spoken in Kafiristan itself. These form the Kalāshā-Pashai sub-group, and are Kalashā, Gawar-bati or Narsātī, Pashai, Laghmānī or Dēhgānī, Dirī, and Tirāhī. No statistics are available for any of these. The Bashgal River of Kafiristan takes its rise in the southern face of the Hindūkush, and joins the Chitral River near Narsat. Its valley is the home of the Bashgalī Kāfir language, which is the speech of the Siāh Pōsh (black raiment) Kāfirs generally. All the tribes who wear the dark-coloured raiment seem at once to understand each other, and to be able to converse fluently and without hesitation. Besides the information collected for the Survey, we have a grammar of this interesting language from the pen of Colonel Davidson.

Kalāshā-Pashai Sub-group.

Bashgalī.

The Sufēd Pōsh (white raiment) Kāfirs occupy the centre and south-east of Kafiristan, and consist of three tribes, the Wai, the Prēsun or Veron, and the Ashkund. The language of the Wai is 'closely related to Bashgalī.' It is spoken in the lower valley of the Waigal, a river which takes its rise in the interior of Kafiristan, and, after receiving the Wezgal (in whose valley Wasī-veri is spoken) enters the Kunar near Asmar. The Prēsuns inhabit an inaccessible valley in the heart of the country, to the west of the Bashgal area. Their language is called Wasī-veri or Veron, and differs widely from Bashgalī, the speakers of the two languages being mutually unintelligible to each other. Wai and Wasī-veri are described for the first time in the Survey. The specimens of the latter were obtained with considerable difficulty. All that we know about it is based on the language of one wild and frightened Prēsun shepherd, whom the diplomacy of our frontier officers enticed to Chitral. This was interpreted by a Bashgalī Shaikh, who knew a little of his language. The remaining language, Ashkund, is spoken to the south-west of the tract inhabited by the Prēsuns. We know nothing about it except its name, its locality, and the fact that it is not understood by the other Kafirs.[2] All the speakers of this group inhabit countries beyond the frontier of British India,—most of them, indeed, are subjects of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan.

Wai.

Wasī-veri.

Ashkund.

The Kalāshā Kāfirs inhabit the Dōāb between the Bashgal and Chitral Rivers. They are not 'Kāfirs' in the strict sense of the term, as they have adopted the Musalmān religion, and are subject

Kalāshā.

[1] One ingenious gentleman has even given a specimen of it in an account of the country. But on examination it turns out to be Amazulu Kāfir of South Africa!

[2] Since the above was written Dr. Morgenstierne has had an opportunity of examining the Ashkund language when he was in Kabul. He tells me that, while partly resembling Bashgalī, on the whole it is most closely related to Wai. In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1863, pp. 1 ff., Professor E. Trumpp gave an account of the 'Language of the so-called Kāfirs of the Indian Caucasus'. This is referred to in Vol. VIII, Part ii, p. 81 of the Linguistic Survey, where I stated that the language there described as in some respects resembled Bashgalī. Dr. Morgenstierne now informs me that it is essentially identical with one dialect of Ashkund.

to the Chitrālīs, although the Bashgalīs claim them as slaves. Previous to the Linguistic Survey, our only authority regarding the language of this tribe was contained in the works of Dr. Leitner. Lower down the Chitral River, at its junction with the Bashgal, in and about the country of Narsat, dwell the Gawars, who also have a language of their own, known as Gawar-bati, or 'Gawar speech,' of which a vocabulary was given by General Biddulph under the name of Narisati. Further east lies the territory of the Nawab of Dīr. Here, in the year 1838, Leech discovered a language called Dirī, of which he published a short list of words. Since then it appears to have died out, either being superseded by Pashtō or becoming merged into the neighbouring Gārwī of the Swat Kohistan. Lower down the Chitral River, which has now become the Kunar, on its right bank, dwell the Pashai. Previous to the Survey, the only information which had been available regarding their language had been based on short lists of words collected by Burnes and Leech. Pashai, properly speaking, is the speech of the Dēhgāns of Laghman and of the country to the east of it as far as the Kunar. It is also called Laghmānī, from the tract where it is spoken (the abode of the Lambagai of Ptolemy) and Dēhgānī, because most of its speakers belong to the Dēhgān tribe. The boundaries of the language are said to be, roughly, on the west the Laghman River, on the north the boundary of the Kāfirs, on the east the Kunar River, and on the south the Kabul River, although the riverain villages on the left bank of the Kabul speak Pashtō. It has two well-marked dialects, an eastern and a western. South of Pashai, across the Kabul, in the Nigrahar country we find Tirahi spoken by a tribe which as the result of a feud abandoned its original home in the Tirā (commonly spelt Tirah) Valley. The people have a bad reputation among their neighbours, and habitually deny their origin to outsiders. Leech, in 1838, succeeded in collecting a few of their words, and all the resources of the Survey failed to obtain any further information. After the Survey was concluded, thanks to the ever kind help of Sir Aurel Stein, I have become possessed of sufficient materials to give a brief account of this form of speech, which is published in the supplement. Here it is sufficient to say that these materials show clearly that Tirāhī is closely connected with Pashai and Gawar-bati. The presence of these two Dardic languages in the heart of Afghanistan is of more than ordinary interest to the ethnologist and the philologist.

Gawar-bati.

Dirī.

Pashai.

Tirāhī.

Khōwār is the language of the Khōs, the most important tribe of the State of Chitral. On its west it has the Kāfir languages, and on its east the Shiṇā spoken in Gilgit and the neighbourhood. This last belongs to the Dard Group, and it is to be noted that the Kāfir and Dard groups are much more nearly related to each other than either is to Khōwār. On the other hand Khōwār shows traces of connexion with the Ghalchah languages spoken north of the Pāmīrs which are wanting in the other two groups. It thus resembles a somewhat alien wedge inserted between the other two groups and thrusting them apart, coming into the country subsequently to the other two after it had developed some of the Ghalchah characteristics. This is borne out by the traditions of the Khōs themselves, which point to a later immigration. In spite however of its somewhat independent character, Khōwār is nowadays certainly a Dardic language, and

Khōwār.

cannot, like the Chalchah languages, be classed as Eranian. It is also called Chatrārī, a word usually pronounced 'Chitrālī' by Europeans. It is the principal language of Chitral and of that part of Yasin called 'Arinah' by the Shiṇs. From the latter word the language was called Arnyiá by Dr. Leitner. It extends down the Chitral River as far as Drosh, and is bounded on the north by the Hindūkush. No dialects have been recorded. Leitner, Biddulph, and O'Brien are our principal authorities for this language.

The word 'Dard' properly belongs to the tribes immediately to the north of Kashmir, but has in modern times been extended to include all the inhabitants of Dardistan. I have followed this by giving the term 'Dardic' to all the languages of Dardistan, while I reserve 'Dard' for its proper use as indicating the group of languages of eastern Dardistan, *viz.*, Shiṇā, Kāshmīrī, and Kōhistānī. Shiṇā is the language of the Gilgit Valley, and of the Indus Valley from Baltistan to the River Tangir. It also extends to the south-east of the last-named river, and occupies a large block of mountain country between Baltistan and the Valley of Kashmir. It is thus spoken in the original Dard country, and is far the purest language of the group. As explained on page 109, in former times it extended far beyond its present boundaries and covered Baltistan and Western Tibet, where it has now been superseded by Tibeto-Burman dialects. It has several well-defined dialects, the most important being Gilgitī of the Gilgit Valley. Besides the dialects spoken in the Shiṇā country proper there are also dialects called by the Baltīs 'Brokpā' or 'Highlanders speech.' These are the Brokpā of Dras, which differs little from the Shiṇā spoken in Gurēz, the Brokpā of Skardu which is the same as the Shiṇā of Astor, and the curious isolated colony of Shiṇā, spoken near the frontier line between Baltistan and Ladakh, called the Brokpā of Ḍāh and Hanū, which is a relic of the Dard language once spoken still further east. This dialect, spoken in the heart of a Tibetan-speaking country, far from the Dard country proper, differs so widely from the other two Brokpās, that the respective speakers are unintelligible to each other, and have to use the Tibetan Baltī as a means of intercommunication. Shiṇā has been written about by several authorities, of whom the earliest are Leitner and Biddulph. Since then, it has been very fully dealt with by Colonel Lorimer and Dr. Grahame Bailey. The Ḍah-Hanū dialect has been described by Shaw.

DARD GROUP.

	Survey.	Census of 1912.
Shiṇā	...	28,482
Kāshmīrī . . .	1,195,902	1,238,854
Kōhistānī . . .	...	6,862
Total Shiṇā. .	1,195,902	1,304,198

Kāshmīrī.

Kāshmīrī has its home in the Valley of Kashmir and the contiguous valleys to its south and east. Beyond these limits it is not used as a national language. In the Panjab it is spoken by immigrants, either Paṇḍits or colonies of weavers or of carpenters. There is also a small settlement in the United Provinces which is permanent, and consists principally of educated Hindūs. Kāshmīrī is a mixed form of speech. Its base is a Dard language closely akin to Shiṇā, and many of its commonest words, not to mention its complicated system of pronunciation, are certainly of Dardic origin. But the Happy Valley has received numerous immigrants from India proper; for centuries it has been one of the most celebrated homes of Sanskrit study, and its indigenous literature has grown up

under the influence of Sanskrit models. It thus, to a casual observer, and indeed to the learned Kāshmīris themselves, presents the appearance of a language as truly Indian as Marāṭhī or Hindōstānī. Moreover all the civilization of the country has come from India and it is the only language of Dardistan that has received literary cultivation. No one has a higher appreciation of the learning and genius which have adorned Kashmir from very early times than the present writer. It has legends that the Valley received its population from India, and this is very probably true so far as regards the upper classes, but that the Kāshmīrī language has a Dardic basis is a matter of which no philologist can have any doubt. Kāshmīrī has been studied for the past thirty years, and we have now a complete grammar, and a dictionary is in progress of compilation. To the philologist it is of great interest, for we see in it a language which is, so to speak, caught in the act of transforming itself from the analytic to the synthetic stage. Owing to the extensive use of epenthesis, its pronunciation is as difficult to foreigners as English is, and it possesses many broken vowel sounds that are not easily reduced to writing. Besides slight variations in the Valley itself, it has one distinct dialect, Kashṭawārī spoken in Kishtwar to the south-east of the Valley proper. South of the Valley there are also three or four mixed dialects leading into Pañjābī. A more important division is that into the Kāshmīrī of the Musalmāns (who are many, and uneducated) and that of the Hindūs (who are few and educated). Musalmani Kāshmīrī abounds in foreign words borrowed from Persian, often in distorted forms. Hindū Kāshmīrī is very free from admixture with Persian, and, although the home language of Paṇḍits, is singularly free from Tatsamas. Most of its copious vocabulary is composed of honest Tadbhavas[1].

Kāshmīrī.	Survey.
Standard . . .	1,039,964
Kashṭawārī . .	7,464
Mixed Dialects . .	45,316
Unspecified . .	103,158
Total .	1,195,902

Most of the literature of Kashmir is written in Sanskrit, and is deservedly famous. A few works, including a remarkable series of Śaiva verses by an old poetess named Lal Dĕd, a Rāmāyaṇa, and a history of Krishṇa, have been written in Kāshmīrī itself. It has two alphabets, a modification of the Persian used by Musalmāns, and the ancient Śāradā alphabet akin to Nāgarī, which is still used by Hindūs. The Serampur Missionaries published a Kāshmīrī version of the Scriptures in the Śāradā character early in the last century. Modern translations have been in the Persian script.

Kōhistāni.

The River Indus, after leaving Baltistan, flows pretty nearly due west through the Chilas country, till it receives the River Kandia, which takes its rise not far to the north in the maze of mountains between Chilas and Chitral. From this point to its entry into British territory, the Indus runs in a southerly direction through groups of hills known collectively as the Indus Kōhistān, and inhabited by a number of wild tribes who all speak varieties of a Dard language allied to Shiṇā, but mixed with Lahndā and Pashtō, which is called Indus-Kohistōnī or Maiyã. To the west of the Indus Kōhistān lie in order the valleys of the Swat, Panjkora, and Kunar rivers. Those of the first two are known as the Swat and as the Panjkora Kohistāns respectively. Here the language of the bulk of the people was formerly a Dard dialect allied to Maiyã, but is now, owing to Paṭhān domination,

Maiyã.

[1] Regarding the terms 'Tatsama' and 'Tadbhava,' see p. 127, below.

almost invariably Paṣhtō. Only a faithful few still cling to their ancient language, though they have abandoned their Aryan religion, and the dialects they speak are known as Gārwī and Tōrwālī. The tribes who speak these Kohistānī dialects have never been famous for devotion to the politer arts, and Kōhistānī has no literature of any kind. No statistics are available as to the number of speakers.

Gārwī, Tōrwālī.

CHAPTER XI.—INDO-ARYAN BRANCH. INTRODUCTORY.

We have seen above that the Aryans reached Persia as a united people, and that at an early period, before their language had developed into Eranian, some of them had continued their eastern progress into India. We are not to suppose that this took place all at once, in one incursion. Wave after wave advanced, the people first establishing themselves in Afghanistan, and thence, in further waves, entering India through the Kabul Valley[1]. We see traces of this gradual advance in the Vēdas themselves. If Professor Hillebrandt[2] is right in his conclusion, the tribe over which King Divōdāsa ruled inhabited Arachosia (Kandahar), while under his descendant Sudās its members are found on the Indus, and have already turned into legend the martial exploits of his ancestor. This is a thing for which generations are required. It will readily be understood, therefore, that at the earliest period at which we have any cognizance of India the Panjab was in the possession of a number of Indo-Aryan tribes, not necessarily on good terms with each other, and sometimes speaking different dialects. As each new tribal wave came from the west, it pushed the earlier settlers before it or to one side, or else went round them.

The gradual immigration.

The earliest documents that we possess to illustrate the language used by the Indo-Aryans of this period are contained in the Vēdas, although we know that they still worshipped some gods by the same names as those which were known to their Aryan ancestors while yet in the Manda country. The hymns forming the collection known as the Vēdas were composed at widely different times and in widely different localities, some in Arachosia[3], in what is now Afghanistan, and some in the country near the Jamna; but owing to their having undergone a process of editing by those who compiled them into their present arrangement, they now show few easily recognizable traces of dialectic differences. Attempts, it is true, have been made to discover such, but they are of small importance compared with the fact that dialects appear to be mentioned in the hymns as in actual existence[4].

Earliest documents.

Evidence of early dialects.

---

[1] This is the usually accepted account. At the time of writing, Mr. Pargiter, in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, has put forward a new and somewhat startling theory that the Aryans entered India not through the North-West Frontier, but through the Mid-Himalayan region. This is a proposition that will certainly demand considerable discussion,—which it has not yet received,—before it can be finally decided one way or the other. It is primarily a question for ethnologists and historians rather than for philologists, and therefore, without venturing to prejudge the question, I here follow the account of the Indo-Aryan invasion of India which has hitherto been generally accepted. See also *Note* [1] on p. 17.

[2] *Vedische Mythologie*, I, 107, etc. Cf. also his *Aus Alt- und Neuindien*, pp. 1ff.

[3] Professor Hertel maintains that the older hymns of the Rig Vēda were even composed in Persia, before the migration of the Aryans into India, and that they were sacred hymns of the Aryans before the great split. See 'Das Brahman' in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XLI, p. 188. This is quite possible, and agrees with the discovery of the names of Aryan (Manda) gods in Mitanni (see p. 97 above).

[4] The language of the hymns, as we have them now, is necessarily that of the time when the text was fixed by the editors, or a little more antiquated. Before that they had been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and, as time went on, each generation, without being aware of the fact, had slightly altered the sounds of the language. The change from the language of one generation to that of the next was very slight, but the sum of the changes over several hundred years must have been considerable. Even if we admit that the sacred character of the hymns tended to conservatism, and, more especially, to preserve unchanged particular words which were either specially holy or which had become unintelligible, the original language in which the oldest hymns were composed must have been very different from, and in a much older stage of development than, even the antique mould in which they have been preserved. On this point, compare Professor H. Oldenberg's *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, Vol. I, pp. 370 ff., Professor Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. X, and W. Petersen's article "Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit", in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXII (1912), p. 419. We have a striking parallel in the hymns of the Kashmir poetess, Lal Dēd, who composed her hymns in the 14th century A. D. These have been carefully preserved as sacred songs by generations of professional reciters, but, during the five hundred years that have elapsed since their composition, they have been handed down to us only by word of mouth. The result is that, as we now have them, they, sacred as they are, are in modern Kāshmiri, with a few antique forms which strangeness or unintelligibility has preserved. Fortunately, however, in this case, we have also other Kāshmiri works composed by learned men at about Lal Dēd's time, and preserved in writing in their original form. We have therefore actual specimens of the language really used by Lal Dēd and her contemporaries, and can estimate the extent to which her original words have been transformed in the course of oral transmission. See Grierson and Barnett, *Lalla Vākyāni*, page 128.

Theory of earlier and later migrations.

While it is impossible to discriminate between each successive wave of these migrations it is easiest to distinguish between the earliest and the latest. In the year 1880 Hoernle[1] suggested that the evidence of the modern vernaculars of India and their predecessors justified the idea of there having been two Indo-Aryan invasions of India, one preceding the other, by tribes speaking different but closely connected languages. I am not prepared myself to accept this theory[2] of that great scholar in all its details, as it seems to me to be unnecessary to explain the difference of language by postulating two distinct invasions. It is easier to explain it by what is an undoubted fact,—that the invasion or, if we prefer the term, the immigration, was a gradual process extending over a very long period of time. Whether we distinguish between the languages of two separate invasions, or between the languages of the earliest and of the latest immigrants, the result is the same. The earliest comers spoke one dialect, and the new comers another. Hoernle, however went further. He looked upon the second invaders as entering the Panjab like a wedge, into the heart of a country already occupied by the first immigrants, and forcing the latter outwards in three directions, to the east, to the south, and backwards to the west. Here again, while not denying it, I am not prepared, in our present state of knowledge, to accept this 'wedge-theory' as necessarily correct. It is equally possible that the latest comers may have found their way opposed and have gone round their predecessors, down the Indus Valley, and thence, in later times, across India to their south and ultimately behind them on the east. In either case the political result would be very similar. There would be a central people surrounded on the west, south, and east, by another. If the wedge theory is correct, it would be the central people, and if it is not, it would be the outer people who would be the latest arrivals. The political state of affairs is borne out by Indian tradition. In the Vēdas themselves we have records of wars between king Sudās, whose kingdom lay to the west,—on the Indus,—and the Bharatas, against the Pūrus, an Aryan tribe which his poet called *mṛdhravāch*, *i.e.*, speaking a barbaric tongue[3], far to his east in the neighbourhood of the Ravi and the Jamna; and the contest between the rival priest-poets of the Sarasvatī and of the Indus forms one of the best known episodes of that collection. Similarly, the great Bhārata war, between the Kurus and the Pāñchālas gives us hints of much value. Since Lassen's time it has been recognized that the latter were older settlers than the former. Speaking very roughly, they occupied the country to the east of the upper course of the Ganges and the central Dōāb, or the heart of what in after years was called the 'Madhyadēśa' or 'Midland'. Putting accidental alliances to one side, this war, as Mr. Pargiter has well shown[4], was from the broadest point of view a war between Pañchāla and the south of the Midland on the one side against the rest of India, to their west, south, and east, on the other. The chief allies of the Pāñchālas were the Pāṇḍavas, a mountain tribe, who practised polyandry and were on friendly terms with other clans that dwelt in the Himalaya. Nay, Lassen goes even further, and maintains that so long had the Pāñchālas

[1] *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, p. XXXI.

[2] I am compelled to state this clearly, because my name has more than once been associated with Hoernle's as a thorough supporter of his argument. In fact it has even been called 'Hoernle and Grierson's two-invasion theory.' While fully admitting my indebtedness to Hoernle's deductions, I have always been of opinion that it is not necessary to postulate two distinct invasions.

[3] So translated by Professor Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, 90, 114. See Ṛig Vēda, VII, xviii, 13.

[4] See J. R. A. S. 1906, pp. 383 and 602.

preceded the Kurus that their complexion had been altered by the Indian climate, and that the war was really between a dark and a fair-complexioned race. The Mahābhārata itself, which, as we now have it, is an epic written in praise of the Paṇḍavas, calls tribes settled on the Indus, which were undoubtedly Aryan, by the opprobrious name of 'Mlēchchha', thus denying them even their common Aryanhood. Many similar items could be taken from the same work did space permit[1].

The 'Midland'.

It is reasonable to suppose that the central group of tribes should have expanded as time went on, and should have thrust out in each direction the tribes that surrounded them. The only alternative would have been extinction. In mediæval Sanskrit geography we find one tract of country continually referred to as the true, pure, home of the Indo-Aryan people. The name given to it, *Madhyadēśa* or 'Mid land', is noteworthy in this connexion. It extended from the Himalaya on the north to the Vindhya Hills on the south, and from what is now Sirhind (properly 'Sahrind') on the west to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna on the east. According to legend, from end to end of this Mid-land, there ran, unseen to men, the holy stream of the Sarasvatī, on whose bank, in Vedic times, was the principal seat of these central tribes. Now, the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars fall at once into two main sub-branches, one spoken in a compact tract of country almost exactly corresponding to this ancient *Madhyadēśa*, and the other surrounding it in three quarters of a circle beginning in Hazara in the Panjab, and running through the Western Panjab, Sindh, the Marāṭhā country, Central India, Orissa, Bihar, Bengal and Assam. Gujarat we know to have been conquered from Mathurā (which was in the *Madhyadēśa*), and this is the only part of India in which we find at the present day that the Inner sub-branch has burst through the retaining wall of the outer.

Inner and Outer Sub-branches.

Comparison of the two Phonetics.

Between these two sub-branches there is a remarkable series of antithetic facts. In pronunciation they are sharply opposed; each has preferences which will at once occur to every philologist. The most remarkable difference is in the treatment of the sibilants, which has existed since the time of Herodotus. The inner sub-branch hardens them; every sibilant is pronounced as a hard dental *s*. The outer languages (like those of the Eranian branch) seem, almost without exception, to be unable to pronounce an *s* clearly. In Persia the Greeks found an *s* pronounced as *h* or even dropped altogether. The representation of the river 'Sindhu' by 'Indus' is a familiar example. In the

[1] It has been suggested more than once that the later immigrants need not necessarily have entered India by the same route as that followed by their predecessors. Dr. Spooner (J. R. A. S. 1915, pp. 426, 430) has proposed that they were ancient Magians, who came by sea to Gujarat and thence spread over the south of the Midland and over eastern India. Mr. Pargiter (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 295ff.), taking a much wider view, maintains that the Aryans, as a whole, entered India over the central Himalaya, and not at all by the north-west. As I have said above (p. 115, note[1]) this is a theory which has not yet been discussed, and on which it would be premature to base any philological conclusions; but, even at the present stage, it may be admitted that it is not impossible that the tribes represented in the Bhārata war by the Pañchālas and their allies, from their locality, may have represented an immigration independent of a main immigration by the north-west. The latter would, in that case, represent the ancestors of the speakers of the modern outer languages. It is equally not impossible that the outer tribes may have come over the Hindūkush by the same route as that followed by the ancestors of the Dardic tribes and may have formed a kind of vanguard of the latter which spread west, south, and east round the Aryan tribes whom they found settled in the Panjab and beyond. But at present these are all suppositions, and no decisive proof can be offered for any of them; though it must be admitted that the languages of the modern representatives of the outer tribes show points of resemblance with Dardic languages which are wanting in the languages of the descendants of the central tribes. On this last point, see Hillebrandt, *Aus Alt- und Neuindien*, p. 11.

east the old Prakrit grammarians found *s* softened to *sh*. At the present day we find the same shibboleth of nationality; in Bengal and part of the Marāṭhā country *s* is weakened to *sh*, and in Eastern Bengal and Assam it is softened till its pronunciation approaches that of a German *ch*. On the other hand, on the North-Western Frontier and in Kashmir, it has become an *h*, pure and simple.[1]

Declension.

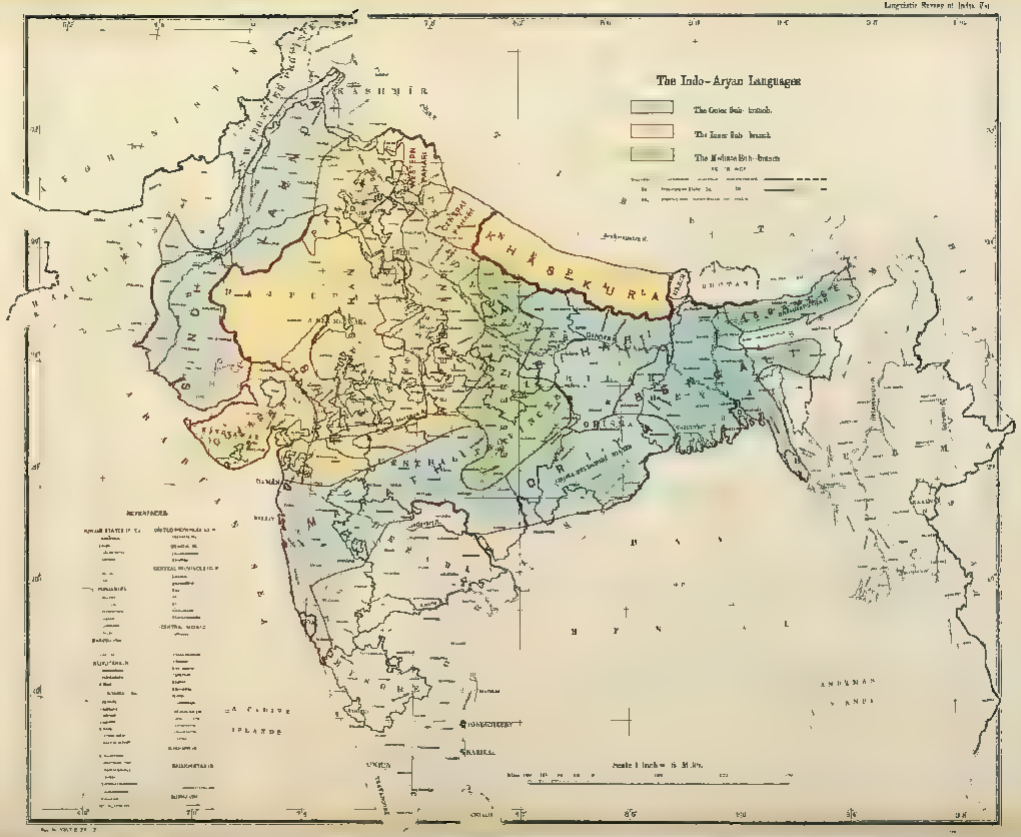
In the declension of nouns there are also differences. The Inner sub-branch is, in the main, a set of languages which are in the analytic stage. The original inflexions have mostly disappeared, and grammatical needs are supplied by the addition of auxiliary words which have not yet become parts of the main words to which they are attached. Familiar examples are the case suffixes, *kā*, *kō*, *sē*, etc. of Hindī. The languages of the Outer sub-branch have gone a stage further in linguistic evolution. They were once, in their old Sanskrit form, synthetic; then they passed through an analytic stage—some are passing out of that stage only now, and are, like Sindhī and Kāshmīrī, so to speak, caught in the act,—and have again become synthetic by the incorporation of the auxiliary words, used in the analytic stage, with the main words to which they are attached. The Bengali termination of the genitive, *-ēr*, is a good example.

Conjugation.

The conjugation of the verb offers very similar peculiarities. Here, however, it is necessary to go into greater detail. Broadly speaking, two tenses and three participles of Old Sanskrit have survived to modern times. These are the present and future tenses and the present active and past and future passive participles. The Old Sanskrit past tense has disappeared altogether. The old present tense has survived in every modern language, and, allowing for phonetic growth, is the same in form everywhere, although its meaning has frequently changed; for instance, in Kāshmīrī it has become a future indicative, and in Hindī it is generally used where we should employ a present subjunctive. The old future has survived, but only here and there, and principally in western India. Others of the modern languages use instead a periphrasis based on the Old Sanskrit future passive participle, and when they wish to say 'I shall strike', their speakers really say, without knowing it, 'it is to be struck by me'. The original past tense has universally disappeared and all the modern languages employ in its place a similar periphrastic form based on the old past participle passive. Instead of saying 'I struck him', they all, without exception, say 'he (was) struck by me'. Here it is that we see the great contrast in the treatment of the verb between the inner and the outer families. It will be noticed that in the tenses formed from passive participles, the subject of the verb, 'I' has been put into the ablative, or, as it is in these circumstances called, the agent case. 'I' has become 'by me'. Now in the old Sanskrit, 'by me' could be represented in two ways[2]. We could say *mayā*, which was a separate distinct word, or we could employ the syllable *mē*, which could not stand by itself, but could only be attached enclitically to a preceding word. In just the same way there was a twofold

[1] It may be objected that this weakening of *s* is due to different causes in different languages. So it is, but the same causes were in operation in the Midland, and there had not this result. In other words, the Outer languages did not defend their sibilants, while the Inner languages did.

[2] Sanskrit scholars will recognize that this is not literally true, as, according to the grammarians, the enclitic *mē* belonged to the dative and genitive, not to the instrumental. They will also recognize that owing to the interchange of case-forms which took place at an early stage in the linguistic history of India, the point is of no importance. Compare Pischel in ZDMG. XXXV (1881), p. 714.


The Indo-Aryan Languages
The Outer Sub-branch.
The Inner Sub-branch.
The Midland Sub-branch.
KASHMIR
KHASA KURA
BHUTAN
ASSAM
BURMA
ORISSA
CENTRAL PROVINCES
BOMBAY
MADRAS
CEYLON
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
PONDICHERRY
YANAON
MAHE
KARIKAL
REFERENCES
Scale 1 inch = 8 M. Km.

series of enclitic and non-enclitic forms for the second personal pronoun, and for both in both numbers. These enclitic pronouns are familiar to Europeans. In Latin, 'give to me' was 'date mihi'; in Italian, it is 'datemi', in which *mi* is an enclitic pronoun, Similarly we have an enclitic pronoun when Mr. Punch makes a tipsy man say 'gimme' for 'give me'. Now the modern Indo-Aryan languages show most clearly that the Outer sub-branch is derived from a dialect or dialects of the Old Sanskrit which freely used these enclitic pronouns with passive participles, while the Inner is descended from a dialect or dialects which did not use them in such cases. The result is that in the Inner sub-branch the bare participles are used for every person without change of form, —*mārā* means alike 'I struck', 'thou struckest,' 'he struck', 'we struck', 'you struck' and 'they struck', -while in the Outer, the enclitic pronouns have generally become permanently fixed to the participle, and have developed into personal terminations like what we have in Latin and Greek. In these languages, 'I struck', 'thou struckest', 'he struck', and so on, are all different words, each of which tells by its termination who the striker was. This important distinction is at the bottom of the altogether different appearances which the two sub-branches present. The grammar of each of the Inner languages can be written on a few leaves, while, in order to acquire an acquaintance with one of the Outer languages, page after page of more or less complicated declensions and conjugations must be mastered.

Geographical position of Inner languages.

The limits of these two sub-branches of the Indo-Aryan languages may be defined as follows:—The Inner sub-branch is bounded on the north by the Himalaya, on the west by, roughly speaking, the Jhelum, and on the east by the degree of longitude which passes through Benares. The western and eastern boundaries are widely apart and include a good deal of debatable ground in which the two families meet and overlap. If these limits are narrowed so as to include only the purer languages of the Inner sub-branch, the western boundary must be placed at about the meridian of Sirhind in Patiala, and the eastern at about the meridian of Allahabad in the United Provinces. Between Sirhind and the Jhelum the language is Pañjābī, which contains many forms, increasing as we go westwards, for which the only explanation is that west of Sirhind, or, we may say, to the west of the Sarasvatī, the country was originally inhabited by tribes partly Dardic, and partly belonging to the Outer family (if the two are not different ways of saying the same thing), who were conquered and absorbed by members of the Inner, whose language gradually superseded theirs, just as Hindōstānī is now superseding Pañjābī. Pañjābī is one of the Inner languages, but it contains many forms which have survived either from Dardic or from an Outer dialect. Between Allahabad and Benares, or, in other words, in Oudh, Baghelkhand, and the Chattisgarh country, the language is Eastern Hindī, which is an intermediate form of speech, possessing the characteristics of both sub-branches. To the south, the boundary of the Inner sub-branch is well defined, and may roughly be taken as corresponding to the southern watershed of the Narbada River. On the west, the sub-branch merges into the Outer Sindhī through Rājasthānī, and into Lahndā (also Outer) through Pañjābī. As stated above, it has burst through the retaining wall of Outer languages and reached the sea in Gujarat, though Gujarātī, the language of the last-named country, still shows traces of the old Outer language which it has superseded. The remaining Indo-Aryan languages belong to the Outer sub-branch.

Resultant grouping of the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.

Taking the Indo-Aryan languages as a whole, they fall into the following groups :—A North-Western, a Southern, and an Eastern (belonging to the Outer Sub-branch); a Mediate Sub-branch (intermediate between the Outer and the Inner); and a Central and a Pahāṛī (belonging to the Inner Sub-branch). We thus arrive at the following list of languages with the number of speakers of each :—

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
(*Sanskrit*)	...	(356)
A.—Outer Sub-branch	**117,778,342**	**123,328,825**
I.—North-Western Group	*10,162,251*	*9,025,972*
1. Lahndā or Western Pañjābī	7,092,781	5,652,264[1]
2. Sindhī	3,069,470	3,371,708
II.—Southern Group	*18,011,948*	*18,797,831*
3. Marāṭhī	18,011,948	18,797,831
III.—Eastern Group	*89,604,143*	*95,507,022*[2]
4. Oṛiyā	9,043,525	10,143,165
5. Bihārī	37,180,782	34,342,430[3]
6. Bengalī	42,933,284	49,294,099
7. Assamese	1,447,552	1,727,328
B.—Mediate Sub-branch	**24,511,647**	**22,567,882**[2]
IV.—Mediate Group	*24,511,647*	*22,567,882*[2]
8. Eastern Hindī	24,511,647	22,567,882[2]
C.—Inner Sub-branch	**83,770,622**	**83,663,492**[4]
V.—Central Group	*81,665,821*	*81,745,955*[2]
9 Western Hindī	38,013,928	41,210,916[2]
10 Pañjābī	12,762,639	16,233,596[3]
11 Gujarātī	10,646,227	9,551,992
12 Bārīī	2,591,701	1,855,617
13 Khāndēśī	1,253,066	213,272
14 Rājasthānī	16,298,260	12,680,562
VI—Pahāṛī Group	*2,104,801*	*1,917,537*
15 Eastern Pahāṛī or Naipālī	143,721	279,715
16 Central Pahāṛī	1,107,612	3,853[4]
17 Western Pahāṛī	853,468	1,633,915
Unspecified	...	54
Total	226,060,611	229,560,555

Of the above, Marāṭhī and Eastern Hindī are groups of dialects, not of languages. The languages of the Pahāṛī Group are those spoken in the lower Himalaya. Eastern Pahāṛī or Naipālī is called Khas-Kurā by those who speak it. Central Pahāṛī includes the hill dialects spoken round Naini Tal and Mussoorie. They are Kumaunī and Garhwālī. Western Pahāṛī means the group of dialects spoken in the hills north of the Panjab, such as Jaunsārī, Sirmaurī, Kiūṭhalī, Kuluhī, and Chamēāli.

The total number of speakers of Indo-Aryan languages is considerably more than half that of the estimated population of Europe (400,000,000).

[1] In the Census, many speakers of Lahndā are shown under Pañjābī.

[2] These figures are adjusted estimates. In the Census returns, nearly all the speakers of Bihārī and Eastern Hindī are shown as speaking Western Hindī, the unadjusted Census figures being :—

Bihārī	7,331
Eastern Hindī	1,399,528
Western Hindī	96,714,369

[3] This includes many speakers of Lahndā.

[4] In the Census, most of the speakers of Central Pahāṛī are shown as speaking Hindī.

CHAPTER XII.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES.

Development of the modern vernaculars.

As stated above, the earliest specimens of the actual Aryan vernaculars of India are to be found in the hymns of the Ṛig Vēda. Most of these hymns were undoubtedly originally composed in the actual spoken language of their authors, a natural, unartificial language, as compared with the more artificial language subsequently developed in Brahmanical schools and called Classical Sanskrit. Although they have been edited, so as to obscure dialectic peculiarities, by the Brāhmans who compiled them into one collection, these hymns furnish invaluable evidence as to what was the house-language of the earliest Aryan inhabitants of India.

From the inscriptions of Asōka (*circ.* 250 B. C.) and from the writings of the grammarian Patañjali (*circ.* 150 B. C.), we learn that by the third century before our era an Aryan speech (in several dialects) was employed in the north of India, and, having gradually developed from the ancient vernaculars spoken during the period in which the Vedic hymns were composed, was the ordinary language of mutual intercourse. Parallel with it, the so-called Classical Sanskrit had developed, from one of these dialects, under the influence of the Brāhmans as a secondary language, and had achieved a position much the same as that of the Latin of the Middle Ages. For centuries the Aryan vernacular language of India has been called Prakrit, *prākṛita*, *i. e.*, the natural, unartificial language, as opposed to Sanskrit, *saṁskṛita*, the polished, artificial, language. From this definition of the term 'Prakrit', it follows that the vernacular dialects of the period of the Vedic Hymns, as compared with the comparatively artificial *saṁskṛita* language of these hymns as they have been preserved by the Brāhmans who compiled them, were essentially Prakrits, and as such they may be called the *Primary Prakrits* of India. The vernaculars which developed from them and which continued developing[1], alongside of the Sanskrit whose growth was arrested by the grammarians of the Brahmanical schools, until they became the modern Sanskritic Indo-Aryan vernaculars, may be called the *Secondary Prakrits;* while the final development, these modern vernaculars themselves, as they have existed for the past nine hundred years, may be called *Tertiary Prakrits.* It is with these Tertiary Prakrits that we are immediately concerned.

Primary Prakrits.

Secondary Prakrits.

Tertiary Prakrits.

Border line between each stage.

It stands to reason that no distinct border line can be drawn between the Primary Prakrits[2] and the Secondary Prakrits, or between the Secondary Prakrits and the Tertiary. We have no positive information regarding the earliest condition of the Secondary Prakrits. They appear to us first in their vigorous youth in the Asōka inscriptions. We know, on the other hand, that the change from the Secondary Prakrits to the Tertiary

[1] Mr. Petersen in 'Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit' (JAOS. XXXII (1912), pp. 423ff.) maintains that the Prakrits represent Sanskrit as mispronounced by the enslaved aborigines of India, and compares this with the Negro English of the Southern States of America, and with the mispronunciation of children. The suggestion is fascinating, but I am unable to accept it. The change from Sanskrit to Prakrit is so clear an example of regular linguistic development, and is paralleled so exactly by the change of Latin to the Romance languages, that I cannot conceive the necessity of any other explanation. Of course it is quite possible that the broken Sanskrit of the aborigines may have had some influence, but it cannot, in my opinion, have been the cause of the development.

[2] It is quite certain that, even during the Vedic period, the vernaculars in actual use already contained many words in the same stage of development as Pali, which is a Secondary Prakrit.

was, as might be expected, so gradual that, at or about the approximate border line, it is impossible to state whether the language belongs to the Secondary or Tertiary stage. At the same time there is no difficulty in recognizing the main distinctive peculiarities of each group. In the primary stage the language is synthetic and has no objection to harsh combinations of consonants. In the secondary stage the language is still synthetic, but diphthongs and harsh combinations of consonants are eschewed, so much so that, in its latest artificial literary developments, it arrives at a condition of almost absolute fluidity, becoming a mere collection of vowels hanging for support on an occasional consonant. This weakness brought its own Nemesis, and in the tertiary stage we find the hiatus of contiguous vowels abolished by the creation of new diphthongs, declensional and conjugational terminations, consisting merely of vowels, worn away, and a new kind of language coming into existence, no longer synthetic, but analytic, and again reverting to combinations of consonants under new forms, which three thousand years ago had existed, but which two thousand years of attrition had worn away. Nay more, in some of the modern vernaculars, mainly those which I have called the 'Outer' ones, we see the analytic form of language again disappearing, and being replaced by a new synthetic form of language, similar in its course of development to that of the Indo-European *Ursprache* of the pastoral tribes in Central Europe or Siberia.

Characteristics of Primary Prakrit.

Characteristics of Secondary Prakrit.

Characteristics of Tertiary Prakrit.

As to whether the very earliest form of the Secondary Prakrit language had any dialects we are not in a position to say positively, but, as we know that there were dialects in the Vedic times, there is every reason to believe that it possessed them too. It covered a wide extent of country, from the Indus to the Kosi, and it would be surprising if there were no local variations of speech. Moreover, two hundred and fifty years before Christ, we find the edicts of Asôka written in this language, and here we see that the then existing Aryan vernacular of India did contain at least two main dialects, a Western and an Eastern Prakrit. The particular stage of their development at which the Secondary Prakrit had by this time arrived, was crystallized by the influence of Buddhism, which used it for its sacred books. It is now known as the Pāli language. As a vernacular it, however, continued its course of development, and, in later stages in various dialects, is known as the Prakrit *par excellence*. When we talk of Prakrits, we usually mean this later stage of the Secondary Prakrits, when they had developed beyond the stage of Pāli, and before they had arrived at the analytic stage of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

[illegible] of Secondary Prakrit.

Pāli stage.

Stage of Prakrit *par excellence*.

These Prakrits became, in later times and under the influence of religious and political causes, the subject of literary study. Poems and religious works were written in them, and they were freely used in the drama. We have grammars of them written by contemporaries or by men who lived only a short time after they had become dead languages. It may be taken as a convenient date for fixing the memory, that these Prakrits were dead languages by, in round numbers, 1000 A.D. All that we know about them is founded on the literature in-

Prakrit in literature.

which they have survived, and in the grammars written to illustrate that literature. Unfortunately we cannot accept this literature as illustrating the actual vernaculars on which it was founded. To adapt them to literary purposes the writers altered them in important particulars, omitting what they considered vulgar, reducing wild luxuriance to classical uniformity, and thus creating altogether artificial products suited for that artificial literature which has ever been so popular in India. These literary Prakrits cannot, therefore, be considered as representing the actual speech of the people at any epoch, although they are based upon it, and a veil is drawn by them between us and it which it is not always easy to lift. We are able, however, to distinguish (as in the Asōka Inscriptions) that there was a Western Prakrit and an Eastern Prakrit, each possessing distinctly marked characteristics. The principal form of the Western was called *Śaurasēnī*, the language of Śurasēna or the middle Gangetic Dōāb and its neighbourhood, and of the Eastern, *Māgadhī* or the language of Magadha, the present South Bihar. Between these two there was a kind of neutral ground, the language of which was called *Ardha-māgadhī*, or Half-Māgadhī, which partook of the nature of both languages. Its western boundary was somewhere near the present Allahabad, but we cannot say certainly how far east it extended. According to tradition, it was the language in which Mahāvīra, the Jain apostle, preached (he belonged to this side of India), and a language based on it was used in the older Jain scriptures. Closely connected with it, but leaning rather to the Eastern than to the Western, was the *Maharashṭrī*, or language of Mahārashṭra, *i.e.*, the Berars, and the country adjoining. It became the main language of Prakrit poetry. On the other hand, in the extreme north-west of India, bordering on the Eranian tongues of what are now Afghanistan and Baluchistan, there must have been an unnamed speech, whose existence is vouched for by the next stage of the Prakrits, to be presently described, and which was a development of the particular dialect of Old Sanskrit spoken on the banks of the Indus.

Western Prakrit.
Eastern Prakrit.

While the Prakrits, by being reduced to writing, became fixed, exactly as Sanskrit had become fixed in the Brahmanical schools, and remained unchanged as a literary form of speech for many generations, the true vernaculars on which they were founded continued their own course of development. The earliest specimens of the literary Prakrits which have come down to us are contained in dramatic works (subject to strict conventional rules as regards language) and lyric poetry, the work of accomplished artists. Narrative poems do not appear in Prakrit till a much later period. But nevertheless, among the less literate, narrative poems which have not survived did exist[1]. Such poems were written, not under the rules of any learned school, but for the general public; and, unlike the works in contemporary literary Prakrit, they borrowed freely from the spoken language of the people for whose benefit they were composed. In this way, a work written, say, in Oudh, although in Prakrit, would differ widely in its vocabulary and its methods of expression from one written, say, in Gujarāt. The popular words,—known as *dēśya*, or

Apabhraṁśa.

[1] See Professor Jacobi's edition of the *Sanatkumāracaritam*, pp. xviii ff. We know of one of these narrative poems called the *Taraṅgavatī*, written in Oudh by a man called Padalipta. The date of this was not later than the 5th century A.D. Owing to the number of provincialisms contained in it, it gradually became unintelligible, and a thousand years later was translated into literary Apabhraṁśa under the name of the *Taraṅgalōlā*, by an anonymous writer. The *Taraṅgavatī* itself has been lost, but the *Taraṅgalōlā* survives, and has been admirably translated into German by Professor Leumann in the "Zeitschrift für Buddhismus", III, pp. 183ff., 372ff. It is a most interesting and charming romance.

'local',—used in such Prakrit works had no literary authority and were not as a rule admitted into the literary Prakrits. They hence had no permanence,—their meanings became gradually forgotten as the local speeches changed,—fell into disuse, and were superseded by others, so that, as time went on, these narrative poems became unintelligible and required translation, for which purposes vocabularies were compiled of the *dēśya* words used in them These local variations of Prakrit were named 'Apabhraṁśas' a word meaning 'corrupt speech' or 'decayed speech', and, as explained above, they varied from country to country.

Literary Apabhraṁśa.

As these works in the local Apabhraṁśas became more and more popular, a tradition of style developed, and one particular Apabhraṁśa, called the Nāgara Apabhraṁśa, received, like the Prakrits, fixation as a literary dialect, in which, in western India, works in Apabhraṁśa were henceforth composed. Having gained general acceptance, this became recognized over the greater part of India as a vehicle for literary work. As so used, it varied slightly from place to place, but these variant forms,—they can hardly be called dialects,—were, it must be understood, by no means the same as the several independent local Apabhraṁśas or other languages spoken by the people among whom each was employed for literature. They were each a local variation, not of the local dialect, but of the one language which we call literary Apabhraṁśa. Indian grammarians have given us a list of no less than twenty-seven of these forms of literary Apabhraṁśa, with brief notices of the peculiarities of each, and each named after the country in which it was employed[1]. As so fixed, the language (with due regard for phonetic development) closely agreed with literary Prakrit in its vocabulary, while its grammar was that of the Dēśya of the time of its petrifaction[2]. While therefore literary Apabhraṁśa cannot be taken as representing the speech of any part of India, or even as representing one particular phase of linguistic development, it does, on the whole, give us a very fair picture of a stage of language considerably later than that of the literary Prakrits, and, at least as regards grammatical forms, serves as a link between them and the earliest stage of the Tertiary Prakrits. Once recognized as a language worthy of being used for polite literature, Nāgara Apabhraṁśa remained fixed with comparatively little change for some centuries,—long after it had become a dead language and after the Tertiary Prakrits had become fully established. The grammarian of western India who gave the fullest account of it was Hēmachandra, who flourished in the 12th century A.D., and to whom it was a classic as much as Sanskrit itself. He described what was in his time a dead language, preserved only in the schools of literary men. It was based on the Apabhraṁśa once spoken in Gujarat and western Rajputana, and in his grammar he gives numerous verses as examples of the literary form of the dialect. It is an interesting fact that some of these verses have survived almost word for word, with the necessary phonetic changes, in the modern language of western Rajputana, and are still current in popular speech.[3]

---

[1] That they were not actual vernaculars of the countries after which they were named is plain from these descriptions. These Apabhraṁśas were found even in countries of which the local language was Dravidian.

[2] This is only to be taken as a broad statement, for the vocabulary also contained a certain amount of Dēśya words, old and new, while grammatical forms belonging to literary Prakrit are also occasionally employed.

[3] See the important series of articles by the late Paṇḍit Chandradhar Śarmā Gulēri entitled *Purānī Hindī* in Vol. II (New Series, Samv. 1978) of the 'Nāgarī Pracharinī Patrikā'. Especially pp. 18ff. and 44.

Chronology of Apabhraṁśa, and of the Tertiary Prakrits.

As to when the local Apabhraṁśas lost currency owing to their being superseded by the literary dialect, it is impossible to make any definite statement. Poems in the *Bhāshā*, *i.e.*, probably in some local Apabhraṁśa, are mentioned as having been written in the sixth century A.D.[1], and in the tenth century Apabhraṁśa is recognized as a literary language standing beside Sanskrit and literary Prakrit. The date of the adoption of Apabhraṁśa as a classical form of speech must therefore lie between these two extremes On the other hand, the Tertiary Prakrits were employed for literary purposes by at least the beginning of the thirteenth century. Allowing the time necessary for any language to gain such favour as to be deemed worthy of employment in literature, we may safely consider that the speech of modern India had left the Prakrit stage, and had reached the stage of the Tertiary Prakrits, *i.e.*, of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, by the year 1000 A.D., the year in which Maḥmūd of Ghaznī made the first of his fifteen invasions of India.

Apabhraṁśa dialects.

It is, therefore, to Apabhraṁśa rather than to the literary Prakrits, and much more rather than to Sanskrit, that we must look for explanations of the developments of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Sanskrit and, specially, the literary Prakrits will often throw valuable side-lights on our inquiries, but the immediate foundation of our investigations must be Apabhraṁśa. It is true that only one form[2], the literary Nāgara, spoken in western India, has been preserved to us by literature, but with the aid of the Prakrit grammarians it is not difficult to reconstruct the chief features of the local Apabhraṁśas from which the modern languages are descended. It will be sufficient to give a list of these local Apabhraṁśas together with the modern languages which correspond to them at the present day. The Apabhraṁśa of the country round the lower Indus was known as Vrāchaḍa. This we can directly connect with the modern Sindhī and Lahndā, the latter being spoken in the ancient country of the Kaikēyas, although the tracts in which these two languages are now vernacular must once have had, as part of their population, a considerable number of speakers of Dardic languages, who have left behind them on the existing forms of speech traces of their former existence. South of the Narbada River, running nearly across India from the Arabian Sea to Orissa, there must have been spoken a number of dialects all related to the Vaidarbha or Dākshiṇātya Apabhraṁśa, whose head-quarters were Vidarbha, the modern Berar, known in Sanskrit as the 'Great Kingdom',—Mahārāshṭra. It, and allied Apabhraṁśas, represent the parent of the modern Marāṭhī. To the east of Dākshiṇātya, and reaching to the Bay of Bengal, was the Auḍra or Autkala Apabhraṁśa, from which was descended the modern Oṛiyā. North of Auḍra, and covering the greater part of the present provinces of Chota Nagpur and Bihar, together with the eastern half of the United Provinces up to about the meridian of Benares, was the important Māgadha Apabhraṁśa, the parent of the modern Bihārī, one of whose dialects, Magahī, still bears the ancient name. It was the principal dialect which corresponded to the old Eastern Prakrit, and not only Auḍra, already mentioned,

[1] According to the *Śrīharshacharita* of Bāṇa (6th cent.), one of the author's friends is specially mentioned as a poet in the *Bhāshā*.

[2] A striking proof of the existence of dialects in Vedic times is conveyed by the fact that Apabhraṁśa, and indeed all the Secondary Prakrits, contain forms which cannot be explained by any reference to Classical Sanskrit. Such is the locative termination *ā*, derived immediately from the Pāli and Old Sanskrit (but not the literary Sanskrit) *dhi*. This corresponds to the Greek termination -θι, and must (as *dhi*) have been used in the Vedic period, although excluded from the standard dialect from which the Classical Sanskrit is derived. See Professor Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, p. XX.

but also Gauḍa is a further development of it These three are all representatives of the old Eastern form of speech. East of Māgadha, lay the Gauḍa or Prāchya Apabhraṁśa, the head-quarters of which were at Gaur, in the present district of Malda. It spread to the south and south-east, and here became the parent of modern Bengali. Besides spreading southwards, Gauḍa Apabhraṁśa also spread to the east keeping north of the Ganges, and is there represented at the present day by Northern Bengali and, in the valley of Assam, by Assamese. Northern Bengal and Assam did not get their language from Bengal proper, but directly from the west. Māgadha Apabhraṁśa, in fact, may be considered as spreading out eastwards and southwards in three directions. To the north-east it developed into Northern Bengali and Assamese, to the south into Oṛiyā, and between the two into Bengali. Each of these three descendants is equally directly connected with the common immediate parent, and hence we find Northern Bengali agreeing in some respects rather with the Oṛiyā spoken far away to the south than with the Bengali of Bengal proper, of which it is usually classed as a subordinate dialect.

We have now concluded our survey of those Apabhraṁśa dialects which belong to what I have called the Outer Indo-Aryan languages. Between the eastern and the western Prakrits there was, as already stated, an intermediate Prakrit called Ardha-māgadhī. The modern representative of the corresponding Apabhraṁśa is Eastern Hindī, spoken in Oudh, Baghelkhand and the Chhattisgarh country. The eastern limit of Eastern Hindī may roughly be taken as the meridian of Benares, and, to the west, it passes a short way beyond Allahabad, its furthest point being in the district of Banda.

As regards the Inner languages, the principal Apabhraṁśa is that which has been preserved to us in a literary form. This was known as Nāgara Apabhraṁśa, and, as its name suggests, it was the Apabhraṁśa of Gujarāt, and the neighbouring countries, where the Nāgara Brāhmans still form an important part of the community. In various dialects,—and it certainly had local variations,—it must, if we are to accept the evidence of the modern vernaculars, have extended over the whole of western India north of the Deccan, excepting the extreme north-west. Amongst them was the Śaurasēna Apabhraṁśa of the middle Dōāb[1], which was the parent of Western Hindī.

Closely connected with it were the Ṭākka Apabhraṁśa of the North-Central Panjab and the Upanāgara Apabhraṁśa, probably of the Southern Panjab, which were the parents of the various dialects of Pañjābī. Another dialect of this Apabhraṁśa, the Āvantya, whose head-quarters were in the country round the modern Ujjain, was the parent of Rājasthānī, and yet another, Gaurjara, of the modern Gujarātī. Both these last were certainly very closely related to the standard Nāgara Apabhraṁśa dialect.

There remain the modern languages of the Northern Group. These are spoken in the Himalaya from the Eastern Panjab to Nepal, and we know of no Prakrits or

[1] It is not quite certain that the Śaurasēnī Prakrit (distinguished from the Śaurasēna Apabhraṁśa), as it has been preserved to us in literature, really represents a language founded on an early vernacular of the Dōāb. It may be an artificial literary production founded on the general linguistic peculiarities of a much wider area of Western India than this comparatively small tract. One thing is certain, that the literary Śaurasēnī had peculiarities (*e.g.* the form of the future tense) which do not, at the present day, appear in the language of the Gangetic Dōāb, but which do appear in Gujarātī. There are, however, explanations of this fact which it is not necessary to give here. On the other hand, Śaurasēnī Prakrit more nearly approaches Sanskrit in its vocabulary than any of the other Prakrits. It has fewer of those so-called 'Dēśya' words which are to be explained as descended from dialects of Old Sanskrit, different from that dialect on which Classical Sanskrit is mainly based. This is entirely consonant with the fact that, according to tradition, that dialect was the one which, in Vedic times, and later, was spoken on the banks of the Sarasvatī and in the Upper and Middle Dōāb. Even the Greeks recognized Muttra (Mathurā), the chief town of Śurasēna as *Μάδουρα ἡ τῶν Θεῶν.*

Apabhraṁśas peculiar to this tract. The basis of the population of most of it is Tibeto-Burman, but has been in later times largely mixed with Aryan elements. North of the Panjab, the Ṭākka Apabhraṁśa no doubt influenced the language. Then there were incursions of Khaśas and other tribes speaking languages of Dardic origin, and of Gurjaras from Central Asia, also probably bringing an Aryan form of speech. Finally there were immigrants from Rājputānā, whose language mingled with that of their predecessors, and on the whole prevailed. The languages of this group therefore possess a very mixed character, though their most prominent features recall features closely connected with those of the forms of speech found in Rajputana. We may therefore say that, on the whole, they can be referred to Āvantya Apabhraṁśa as their most important progenitor.

Classical Sanskrit.

Concurrent with this long development of the modern vernaculars, we have the Classical Sanskrit, also derived from one of the Primary Prakrit dialects, but fixed in its existing form by the labours of grammarians—that may be said to have culminated in the work of the famous Pāṇini in about the fourth century B. C. This sacred language, jealously preserved by the Brāhmans in their schools, had all the prestige that religion and learning could give it. It borrowed freely from the Secondary Prakrits, and they in turn borrowed freely from it, and, as at the present day, the more highly educated Prakrit-speaking population freely interlarded their conversation with Sanskrit words. These words, once borrowed, suffered a fate similar to that of the ancient Primary Prakrit words which came down to them by direct descent. They became distorted in the mouths of the speakers, and finally became Prakrit in form, though not by right of origin.

Tatsamas and Tadbhavas.

These borrowed words were called *Tatsamas* or 'The same as "that" (*i.e.* Sanskrit)', while the original Prakrit words, which had come by direct descent from the Primary Prakrit were called *Tadbhavas* or 'Having "that" (*i.e.* Sanskrit, or more correctly the Primary Prakrit, from one of the dialects of which Classical Sanskrit was descended) for its origin'. To these may be added a third class, the Tatsamas which had become distorted in the mouths of the Prakrit-speaking population, but which were still unmistakably borrowed words. These are usually known to European scholars as *semi-Tatsamas*. It is evident that, in the natural course of events, the tendency must have been for all Tatsamas to become semi-Tatsamas, and for the latter ultimately to become so degraded as to be indistinguishable from Tadbhavas. Another class of words is also to be mentioned, the so-called '*Dēśya*', or 'Local', words of the Indian grammarians. It included all words which the grammarians were unable to refer to Classical Sanskrit as their origin. Many such words were included in this group simply through the ignorance of the writers who catalogued them. Modern scholars can refer most of these to Sanskrit like any other Tadbhavas. A few others are words borrowed from Muṇḍā or Dravidian languages. The great majority are, however, words derived from dialects of the Primary Prakrit which were not that from which Classical Sanskrit has descended. They are thus true Tadbhavas, although not in the sense given to that word by Indian grammarians, in whose philosophy the existence of such ancient dialects was not dreamed of. These Dēśya words were local dialectic forms, and, as might be expected, are found most commonly in literary works hailing from countries like

Dēśyas.

Gujarat, far away from the natural home of Classical Sanskrit, the Madhyadéśa. For our purpose they may be considered as identical with Tadbhavas.

Tatsamas and Tadbhavas in the modern vernaculars.

We find an exactly similar state of affairs in the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Omitting foreign words (such as those borrowed from Muṇḍā or Dravidian languages, from Arabic, Persian, or English), their vocabularies may each be divided into the three classes, Tatsamas, semi-Tatsamas, and Tadbhavas. The last class consists of words which the modern vernaculars have received by descent from the Primary Prakrits, or from Classical Sanskrit through the Secondary Prakrits. From the point of view of the present day, their ultimate origin is immaterial. In the stage of the Secondary Prakrits, they may have been Tadbhavas or Tatsamas, but the fact that they have come down to us through that stage is sufficient to make them all Tadbhavas in the stage of the Tertiary Prakrits. On the other hand, the Tatsamas and semi-Tatsamas of the present day are loan-words, borrowed in modern times by the modern vernaculars (not by their Secondary Prakrit progenitors) from Sanskrit. To take examples, the modern vernacular word *ājñā*, 'a command', is a Tatsama loan-word borrowed direct from Classical Sanskrit. Its semi-Tatsama form, which we meet in some languages, is *āgyā*, and one of its Tadbhava forms is the Hindī *ān*, derived from the Secondary Prakrit *aṇṇā*. So also, *rājā*, 'a king', is a Tatsama, and *rāy* or *rāo* is the corresponding Tadbhava. Of course complete triplets or pairs of every word are not in use. Frequently only a Tatsama or a Tadbhava occurs by itself. Sometimes we even find the Tatsama and the Tadbhava forms of a word both in use, but each with a different meaning. Thus, there is a Classical Sanskrit word *vaṁśa*, which means both 'family' and 'bamboo', and connected with it we find in Hindī the Semi-Tatsama *bans*, meaning 'family' and the Tadbhava *bāṁs*, meaning 'a bamboo'[1].

Influence of Classical Sanskrit on the modern vernaculars.

We thus see that for many hundred years Classical Sanskrit has been exercising, and is still exercising, a potent influence on the vocabularies of the modern vernaculars. It is only on the vocabularies that its influence has been directly felt. Their grammars show few traces of it. These have continued steadily in the course of their development since Vedic times. The influence of Sanskrit may have retarded this development, and probably did so in some cases, but it never stopped it, and not one single Sanskrit grammatical form has been added to the living grammars of these languages in the way that Sanskrit words have been added to their vocabularies. Nay, more, all these borrowed Tatsamas are treated by the vernaculars exactly as other borrowed foreign words are treated, and very rarely change their forms in the processes of grammatical accidence. For instance, in Hindōstānī, *ghōṛā*, a horse, has an oblique form *ghōṛē* because it is a Tadbhava, but *rājā*, a king, does not change in the oblique cases, because, and only because, it is a Tatsama. Now in all the modern vernaculars the verb must change its form in the process of conjugation, while nouns are not necessarily changed in the course of declension. Hence Tatsamas are as a rule never treated as verbs. If it is

[1] Tatsamas and Tadbhavas occur also in European languages. Thus, 'lapsus' in 'lapsus calami' is a Tatsama, and 'lapse' is a semi-Tatsama, both meaning literally 'a falling', while 'lap' is the Tadbhava form of the same word, with the different meaning of 'the hanging part of a garment'. Similarly 'fragile' and 'redemption' are semi-Tatsamas, while 'frail' and 'ransom' are the corresponding Tadbhavas, and the French 'cause' is a semi-Tatsama corresponding to the Latin 'causa' while the Tadbhava form is 'chose'.

found necessary to do so, it must be done with the help of another Tadbhava verb. For instance, the word *darśan*, seeing, is a Tatsama, and if we wish to use it in the phrase 'he sees', we cannot say *darśanē*, but must employ the periphrasis *darśan karē*, he does seeing On the other hand, in all the modern vernaculars nouns need not be declined synthetically. Borrowed nouns can always be declined analytically. Hence Tatsama nouns (which are necessarily declined analytically) are common, and, in the high literary styles of all the vernaculars, very common. Thus, although there are sporadic exceptions to the broad rule, it may be laid down as a universal law that Indo-Aryan Vernacular nouns may be either Tatsamas (including semi-Tatsamas) or Tadbhavas, but that Indo-Aryan Vernacular verbs *must* be Tadbhavas.

During the last century, the introduction of printing and the spread of education have, in the case of some languages, induced a fashion of using Tatsamas with which the wildest Johnsonese may almost be compared as a specimen of Saxon English. It has been shown by actual counting that in a Bengali work written in the early part of the nineteenth century eighty-eight per cent. of the words used were pure Sanskrit, every one of which was unnecessary and could have been represented by a vocable of pure home growth. In such cases the result has been most lamentable. The language has been split up into two sections,—the tongue which is understanded of the people, and the literary dialect, known only through the press and not intelligible to those who do not know Sanskrit [1]. Literature has thus been divorced from the great mass of the population, and to the literary classes this is a matter of small moment, for 'this people, who knoweth not the law, are cursed.' As Sir Athelstane Baines said in the Census Report for 1891, the Sanskritized form of literary Bengali is the product of what may be called the revival of learning in Eastern India consequent on the settlement of the British on the Hooghly. The vernacular was then found rude and meagre, or rather was wrongly considered to be such, owing to the absence of diffused scholarship and the general neglect of the country during Mughul rule. Instead of strengthening the web from the same material, every effort was made in Calcutta, then the only seat of instruction, to embroider upon the feeble old frame a grotesque and elaborate pattern in Sanskrit, and to pilfer from that tongue whatever in the way of vocabulary and construction the learned considered necessary to satisfy the increasing demands of modern intercourse. He who trusts to the charity of others, says Swift, will always be poor; so Bengali, as a vernacular, has been stunted in its growth by this process of cramming with a class of food it is unable to assimilate. The simile used by Beames is a good one. He likens Bengali to an overgrown child tied to its mother's apron-string, and always looking to her for help, when it ought to be supporting itself. Happily, of late years, some of the most influential Bengali writers have shown signs of recognizing this weakness of their language, and many works written during the last quarter of a century avoid the luxuriance of learned Sanskritisms which had hitherto choked it. This is a hopeful augury, but still much remains to be done. Although Bengali still displays the greatest weakness in this

---

[1] And don't confound the language of the nation.
With long-tailed words in *osity* and *ation*.
J. H. Frere, *The Monks and the Giants*.

The newly appointed minister to a Scotch parish had made a round of visits to his people. "He's a rale fine, edicated man, the new meenister", said an enthusiastic wife. "Ay, he's a' that", returned the husband. "Ye dinna ken the meaning o' the hauf o' the words he uses".—*St. James's Gazette*.

respect, and cannot hope to develop a vigorous literature racy of the soil until some great genius rises and sweeps away the enchantment under which it labours, other Indian vernaculars, especially Hindī, show signs of falling under the same malignant spell. The centre of Hindī literature is nowadays Benares, and Benares is in the hands of the Sanskritists. There is no necessity, as may possibly have existed in the case of Bengali, for Hindī to have recourse to the classical tongue. In themselves, without any extraneous help whatever, the dialects from which it is sprung are, and for five hundred years have been, capable of expressing with crystal clearness any idea that the mind of man can conceive. It has an enormous native vocabulary, and a complete apparatus for the expression of abstract terms. Its old literature contains some of the highest flights of poetry and some of the most eloquent expressions of religious emotion which have found their birth in Asia. Treatises on philosophy and rhetoric are found in it, in which the subject is handled with all the subtilty of the great Sanskrit writers, and this with the use of hardly a Sanskrit word that is not a technical term sanctioned by centuries of employment in the schools. Yet, in spite of Hindī possessing such a vocabulary and a power of expression not inferior to that of English, it has become the fashion of late years to write books, not to be read by the millions of Upper India, but to display the author's learning to a comparatively small circle of Sanskrit-knowing scholars. Even when two learned men converse, they use one language, and when either of them writes to the other he uses another. As one of the best of the writers of the latter part of the last century,—himself a most learned professor of Benares, but nevertheless a strong opponent of this excessive Sanskritization,—said in one of the best known and most criticized of his works, 'when a Hindī writer takes his pen in his hand, he ceases to be sober, and becomes Sanskrit-drunk.' Unfortunately, the most powerful English influence was for long on the side of the Sanskritists. This Sanskritized Hindī has been largely used by missionaries, and up to a few years ago all translations of the Bible were made into it. The few Indian writers who, like the professor just quoted, have stood up on the side of Hindī pure and undefiled have had small success in the face of so potent an example of misguided efforts. Arguments may be brought forward in favour of using Classical Sanskrit words for expressing technical terms in science and art, and I am willing to admit their force. I am not one of those who (to quote a well-known example) prefer 'the unthroughforcesomeness of stuff' to 'the impenetrability of matter,' but there the borrowing from the parent language should stop. There is still time to save Hindī from the fate of Bengali, if only a lead is taken by writers of acknowledged repute, and much can be done, and, I rejoice, is being done, by the use of a wide discretion on the part of the educational authorities of the provinces immediately concerned.

Influence of Dravidian languages.

The Aryans who entered India from the north-west were at an early stage brought into contact with Dravidian tribes. The new-comers intermarried with them and adopted many of their gods and many of their customs. In the matter of language they borrowed a portion of their vocabulary. Half a century ago it was generally considered that these borrowings were large. Then the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme, and it was vigorously maintained that there were hardly any at all. My own opinion is that the borrowings have been much more considerable than has been admitted by many scholars of late years, but that they were nothing like so universal as was once contended. The discussion has

centred mainly round what are known as the cerebral letters of the alphabet. These letters did not occur in the original Aryan (*i.e.* Indo-Eranian) language, and, in Indo-Aryan languages, came into being on Indian soil. They are common in Dravidian, as well as in Muṇḍā, languages, and in them were certainly not borrowed from Indo-Aryan The point in discussion was whether the Indo-Aryans borrowed them from the Dravidians or whether they did not. Neither contention was entirely correct. These letters occur with frequency in words of purely Aryan origin. It would be more accurate to say that in many cases the pronunciation of Aryan words became changed under the influence of the example of the surrounding non-Aryan tongues, whose speakers many times exceeded the Indo-Aryans in numbers. Analogy did the rest, save that a certain number of words (such, for instance, as names of things of which the Aryans had no previous experience in their Central Asian home, or words of very common occurrence and in everyday use) were directly borrowed[1]. This is borne out by the fact that, where we have reason to believe that Dravidian influence was least strong, the use of these cerebral letters is most fluctuating. Thus, in Assamese, although the distinction is maintained in writing, there is practically no distinction in pronunciation between the dental and the cerebral letters. It is probable, also, that in other cases the Dravidian languages have had an indirect influence on the development of the vernaculars. When there were two or three ways of saying the same thing, the tendency would be to employ the idiom which was most like in sound to an expression meaning the same thing used by the surrounding non-Aryan tribes. Thus, in the Prakrit stage, there were many ways of expressing the dative. One of them consisted in suffixing the Aryan word *kahũ* (derived from the Old Sanskrit *kṛitē*), and it had most chance of surviving, because it resembled the Dravidian dative suffix *ku*, or the old Dravidian suffix from which the modern *ku* is descended. And so, owing to the existence of the suffix *ku*, this Aryan suffix *kahũ* did survive to the exclusion of other dative suffixes in some of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and now appears in Hindī under the form of the familiar *kō*. Other similar instances of this non-Aryan influence on the Aryan languages of India could easily be quoted. Two will suffice. In the progress of a word through the stage of the Secondary Prakrits, a medial hard consonant first became softened, and then disappeared. Thus the Old Sanskrit *chalati*, 'he goes,' first became *chaladi*, and then *chalaï*. Some of the Secondary Prakrit dialects remained for a much longer period than others in the stage in which the softened consonant is still retained. Nay, this softened consonant has in some cases survived even in the modern vernaculars. Thus the Old Sanskrit *śōka*, 'grief,' is *sōga*, not *sōa*, in Hindī. The occasional retention of this soft medial consonant can be explained by the influence and example of the Dravidian languages, in which it is a characteristic feature. In some Dardic languages, and in some Indo-Aryan languages of the Outer Circle, especially in Kāshmīrī, Sindhī, and Bihārī, a final short *i* or *u* is not dropped, as is usual in the Inner languages, but is, so to speak, only half-pronounced, the mere colour, as it were, of the vowel being given to the final consonant. Thus the Sanskrit *mūrti*, 'an image,' becomes *mūrat* in the Inner Hindī, but is pronounced *mūrat'* in the Outer Bihārī. This is also characteristic of Dravidian tongues.

[1] Such borrowed words are often given a contemptuous meaning which they did not originally possess. For instance, there is a Dravidian word *pillai* meaning 'a son.' When borrowed by an Indo-Aryan language the meaning is degraded, and the word becomes *pillā*, a cub. This is just what we should expect under the circumstances.

Influence of Muṇḍā languages.

The influence of Muṇḍā languages on the Indo-Aryan tongues is not so evident. These languages appear to have been superseded on the Gangetic plain of India by Dravidian before the Aryans had occupied that tract, but a few ancient Muṇḍā, or Austro-Asiatic, words appear in Sanskrit. Such are the names of things like betel, cotton, cotton cloth, or bamboo arrows, which were new to the invaders,[1] or else geographical names taken over by them, such as Kōsala, Tōsala, Kaliṅga, Triliṅga, and several others [2]. At present the Muṇḍā languages are confined to the forest country south of the plain, although, as explained above[3], traces of them can be recognized as surviving in the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Central Himalaya as far west as Kanawar in the Panjab. As another Muṇḍā survival in the Indo-Aryan languages we may note the occasional counting by scores. While the Indo-Aryan numeral system is essentially decimal, the word *kōṛī*, probably itself a Muṇḍā word, is commonly used for 'score', and the uneducated people of the Ganges Valley use this in the formation of the higher numerals. Thus 'fifty-two' would be expressed by them as 'two-score twelve', *dō kōṛī bārah*. This counting by twenties is a Muṇḍā peculiarity. The Muṇḍās were strongest in the eastern portion of the Gangetic plain, and apparently exercised another kind of influence on the eastern dialects of Bihārī. Here the conjugation of the verb is much complicated by changes depending on the number and person of the object. The word, for instance, 'beating' is represented by one form in 'I am beating you', and by another in 'I am beating him'. These changes are Aryan in origin, and have parallels in the languages of north-western India, but the system is that of the Muṇḍā verb [4].

Influence of Indo-Chinese languages.

In vocabulary, the influence of Indo-Chinese languages upon those of the Indo-Aryans has been small. It is apparent only in Assamese and the corrupt Bengali of Eastern Bengal, in which a few Tibetan and Āhom words can be recognized. In Assamese, Tibeto-Burman influence has also been at work to prevent the use of the Dravidian pronunciation of cerebral letters. In the same language, the employment of pronominal suffixes with certain nouns, though undoubtedly of Aryan origin, is probably due to Tibeto-Burman influence. Their use with nouns has been dropped in the neighbouring Aryan languages, but the example of Tibeto-Burman forms of speech (which use prefixes, not suffixes, with the same class of nouns) accounts for their survival in Assamese. I think that another and more widespread example of the influence exercised by Tibeto-Burman languages may also be traced. It is an important point of idiom. In Sanskrit, there were two ways of expressing the past tense. We might either say 'I struck him' or 'he was struck by me', 'I went' or 'I am gone'. In the modern languages only the second, the passive, construction survives. No modern Indo-Aryan language ever says 'I struck him' or 'I went', but all say 'he was struck by me' or 'I am gone'. In Sanskrit there was a third way, which was used only with intransitive verbs. It was an impersonal construction, as in the phrase 'it is gone by me' for 'I went'. This construction could not, in Sanskrit, be employed with transitive verbs, but it is common with them in the modern vernaculars, as in the Hindī sentence, *maĩ-nē us-kō mārā*; by me,

[1] See Dr. J. Przyluski, in the 'Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris' XXIV (1924), pp. 255 ff. and XXV (1924), pp. 66 ff.
[2] See Professor Sylvain Lévi, *Pré-aryen et pre-dravidien dans l'Inde*, in J. A. CCIII (1923), pp. 1 ff.
[3] Pp. 35 and 55 ff.
[4] Compare the remarks on the Muṇḍā verb on p. 27 *ante*.

with reference to him, striking was done. Now, this impersonal construction is one of the most prominent peculiarities of Tibeto-Burman syntax, and it is possible that the Indo-Aryan tribes borrowed it at a very early period of their migration into India although it was not admitted to the standard speech which developed into Classical Sanskrit.

Influence of non-Indian languages.

The Indo-Aryan languages have also been influenced by languages altogether strange to India. Contact with the tongues of foreign nations has affected their vocabularies to varying extents. The one which has had most influence is Persian, not the old Eranian language of pre-Musalman times (though that has also contributed a small quota), but the Arabicized Persian of the Mughul conquerors. Thus, through Persian, the Indo-Aryan vernaculars have also received an important contribution of Arabic, and even some few Turki, words. The influence of the religion of Islām has opened another door for the entry of Arabic, and a few words have also been imported on the west coast from Arab traders. In the main, however, the Arabic element in all the Indian vernaculars, whether Aryan or not, came in with Persian, and as a part of that language. The pronunciation of the Persian words so imported is that of the Mughul times, and not the effeminate articulation of the Land of the Lion and the Sun at the present day. The extent to which Persian has been assimilated varies greatly according to locality and according to the religion of the speakers. Everywhere there are some few Persian words which have achieved full citizenship and are used by the most ignorant rustic, and we find every variation between this and the Urdū of a highly educated writer of Lucknow, who uses scarcely a single Indo-Aryan word except the verb at the end of his sentence. Under all circumstances, however, it is the vocabulary and but rarely the syntax that is affected. Only in the Urdū of the Musalmāns do we find the Persian order of words in a sentence. There has been no other introduction of Persian construction, nor (except by euphuists) are the Arabic words inflected according to their own rules, being obliged to conform to the grammatical system of their host. So strong is the native instinct against the use of foreign constructions that Hindū writers class a dialect as Urdū,—*i.e.* the Persianized form of Hindostānī, not on the basis of its vocabulary, but on the order of words employed by it. A well-known work was issued in the last century entitled 'Tales in Pure Hindī'. It does not contain a single Persian word from cover to cover, and yet Hindū writers class it as Urdū, because the writer orders his sentences in the Persian fashion. He was a Musalmān, and could not shake off the habit of using idioms which had been taught him by Maulvīs in his schooldays.

Other foreign languages have also contributed to the vocabularies of the Indo-Aryan languages. They are principally Portuguese, Dutch, and English. The influence they have had is small, although some very common words are borrowed from these tongues. The use of the English vocables is growing, mainly owing to their use by employés on the railways, and by soldiers of the Indian army. The influence of a cantonment on language spreads far and wide.

CHAPTER XIII.—INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES. OUTER SUB-BRANCH.

Outer Sub-Branch. North-Western Group.

We now proceed to consider the Indo-Aryan languages in detail, following the order of the list given on p. 120. We begin with the languages of the Outer Sub-branch, and, among them with those belonging to the North-Western Group.

This group may be looked upon as consisting of the Indo-Aryan languages of, roughly speaking, the Indus Valley from Peshawar to the sea, *i.e.* the Western Panjab and Sindh. From Peshawar it has also spread to the north-east over the district of Hazara and the country to its east. To its north and north-east it is in contact with Dardic languages. On the west it has the Eranian Paṣhtō, and on the south it meets the Arabian Sea. Only on the east is it in contact with other Indo-Aryan languages, and these are, in order from north to south, Pañjābī, the Marwārī dialect of Rājasthānī, and Gujarātī, all three belonging to the Inner Sub-branch. Dardic languages were once spoken over the whole of this tract, and have left their traces on both Lahndā and Sindhī, but, notwithstanding this infection of Dardic speech, both are clearly Outer languages, and present points of relationship with the Outer languages of Eastern India, which are wanting in Pañjābī and Rājasthānī.[1]

North-Western Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Lahndā . .	7,092,731	5,652,264
Sindhī . .	3,069,470	3,371,708
Total .	10,162,251	9,023,972

The country which corresponded to the Western Panjab of the present day was described in the Mahābhārata as rude and barbarous, and as almost outside the pale of Indo-Aryan civilization. It and the present Sindh included three kingdoms,—the most northern being Gandhāra, with Kēkaya lower down the Indus, and still lower the country of the Sindhus and Sauvīras. In spite of this evil character,—a character no doubt based on religious animosity, for the Western Panjab was from very early times an important centre of Buddhist teaching,—it is certain that Takshaśila, the capital of Gandhāra, was, so long ago as six centuries before Christ, the home of the greatest university of India. It was at Śalātura, close to this university, that Pāṇini, the most illustrious of Sanskrit grammarians, was born in the fifth or fourth century B. C. In those early days, the land of Kēkaya also was famous for its learning. We are told in the *Chhāndōgya Upanishad* (V. xi) how five great theologians came to a Brāhman with hard questions, which he could not answer for them. He sent them on to Aśvapati, the Kshatriya king of Kēkaya, who, like a second Solomon, solved all their difficulties.

The Western Panjab has always been exposed to conquerors from the north and from the west. According to the usually accepted account, it was through it that the Aryans entered India. The next recorded invasion was that of Darius I of Persia (521-485 B. C.) shortly after the time of the Buddha. According to Herodotus he conquered it and divided it between two satrapies, one of which included Gandhāra (Herodotus iii, 91), while the 'Indians,' *i.e.* the inhabitants of the Indus Valley, formed by themselves the 20th Satrapy (iii, 94).[2] Beyond this the authority of Darius did not extend (iii, 101). Herodotus adds (iii, 94) that these 'Indians are more numerous than

[1] For a full discussion on this point, see *Bulletin* of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. I, Part iii, pp. 78ff.

[2] See also Rawlinson's note to his translation of Herodotus iii, 93.

any other nation with which we are acquainted, and paid a tribute exceeding that of any other people, to wit, 360 talents of gold dust.' Darius had such complete authority over this part of India, or rather over what was to him and to Herodotus 'India,' that he sent a fleet down the Indus to the sea, whence they sailed homewards towards the west. The huge army that his successor Xerxes led (480 B. C.) against Greece contained men from Gandhāra and from the Western Panjab. The latter, according to Herodotus (vii, 65, 66), wore cotton dresses, and carried bows made of cane, and arrows also of cane with iron tips. The mention of cane arrows reminds us of the fact that arrows made of bamboo (to which Herodotus probably refers) were novelties to the Aryans who invaded India, and that they had to borrow the Austro-Asiatic name for them (see p. 132).

The invasion of Alexander the Great (327-325 B. C.) was confined to the Western Panjab and Sindh. In 305 B. C. Seleucus Nicator invaded India, and after crossing the Indus made a treaty of peace with the famous Chandragupta. In the second century B. C. two Greek dynasties from Bactria founded kingdoms in the Western Panjab. One, that founded by Euthydemus, ended about 156 B. C., and the other, that of Eucratides, about 20 B. C. After them, at various times, other nationalities, Scythians, Parthians, Kushanas, and Huns, invaded India through the north-west, and finally, through the same portal, or through Sindh, came the many Musalmān invasions of India, such as that of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī or those of the Mughuls.

The whole Panjab is the meeting ground of two entirely distinct Indo-Aryan languages,—*viz.*, the old Outer language strongly influenced by Dardic, if not actually Dardic, which expanded from the Indus Valley eastwards, and the old Midland language, the parent of modern Western Hindī, which expanded from the Jamna Valley westwards. In the Panjab they overlapped. In the Eastern Panjab, the wave of Dardic with old Lahndā had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Western Hindī had the mastery, the resulting language being the modern Pañjābī. In the Western Panjab, the old Western Hindī wave had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Lahndā had the mastery, the resulting language being the modern Lahndā. The latter language is therefore in the main an Outer language, strongly influenced by Dardic, but bearing traces of the old Western Hindī. Such traces are much more numerous, and of much greater importance, in Pañjābī. Lahndā may almost be described as a Dardic language infected by Western Hindī, while Pañjābī is a form of Western Hindī infected by Dardic. This linguistic condition leads us to the conclusion that a mixed language, mainly Outer, but partly Dardic, once extended over the whole Panjab, and that the inhabitants of the Midland, through pressure of population or for some other reason, gradually took possession of the Panjab, and partly imposed their own language on the inhabitants. In no other way can the nature of the mixed language of the Eastern Panjab be explained. One result of this mixture is that it is quite impossible to mark any definite boundary-line between Pañjābī and Lahndā, and if, for convenience sake, we take the degree of 74° East longitude as an approximate conventional frontier, it is to be clearly understood that much that is very like Lahndā will be found to its east, and much that is very like Pañjābī to its west.

Sindhī, on the contrary, has much more nearly retained its original character of a language mainly Outer, but partly Dardic. To its east it has Rājasthānī, not Pañjābī, but it is protected from invasion from the east by the physical obstacle of the desert of

Western Rajputana. While modern Lahndā merges imperceptibly into Pañjābī, Sindhī does not merge into Rājasthānī, but remains quite distinct from it. Such border dialects as exist are mere mechanical mixtures, not stages in gradual linguistic change.

Although from very early times the area in which the North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan languages is spoken has been frequently subjected to foreign influence, it is extraordinary how little this mixed Dardic-cum-Outer form of speech has been influenced by it, except that, under Musalmān domination, the vocabulary has become largely infused with Persian (including Arabic) words. In the true Dardic languages a few Greek words have survived to the present day, but I have not met any such either in Lahndā or Sindhī.

Little is known about the linguistic ancestry of these languages. The immediate predecessor of Sindhī was an Apabhraṁśa Prakrit named Vrāchaḍa, regarding which the Indian grammarian Mārkaṇḍēya gives us a few particulars. He moreover mentions a Vrāchaḍa Paiśāchī apparently spoken in the same locality, and lays stress on the fact that the Kēkaya Paiśāchī is the principal form of that Prakrit. We have seen (p. 109) that Paiśāchī was the language of the ancestors of the modern Dardś, so that the fact of the existence of a Dardic influence on the languages of the North-Western Group is borne out by this evidence that Paiśachī was once spoken in this same tract. We have no evidence as to the particular form of Apabhraṁśa spoken in the Lahndā area, except that Mārkaṇḍēya tells us that people who employed literary Apabhraṁśa in that locality, —the ancient Gandhāra and Kēkaya,—were fond of using a word twice over in order to indicate repetition or continuance. But in Gandhāra there were two famous rock inscriptions of the Indian Emperor Aśōka (*circa* 250 B.C.) at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mansehrā which were couched in what was then the official language of the country. This was a dialectic form of Pāli, distinguished by possessing many phonetic peculiarities that are still observable in the Dardic languages and in Lahndā and Sindhī.[1]

Lahndā.

Lahndā is the name of the language of the Western Panjab. As explained above, there is no distinct boundary between it and Pañjābī, which, even more than elsewhere in India, insensibly merge into each other, 74° East longitude being taken as the conventional boundary-line. It is spoken by seven millions of people, or about the same as the population of Austria. Lahndā is known by several other names, such as Western Pañjābī, Jaṭkī, Uchchī, and Hindkī. The word 'Lahndā' itself means '(sun)-setting', and hence 'the west'.[2] 'Western Pañjābī' has the disadvantage of suggesting that Lahndā is a dialect of Pañjābī, whereas it is nothing of the sort. Moreover it leads us into difficulties when we wish to speak of 'North-western Western Pañjābī' and similarly named dialects. 'Jaṭkī' means the language of the Jaṭṭ tribe, which is numerous in the central part of the Lahndā tract; but Lahndā is spoken by millions of people who are not Jaṭṭs, and millions of Jaṭṭs of the Eastern Panjab do not speak Lahndā. 'Uchchī', the language of the town of Uchch (Uch or Ooch of the maps), is really another name for the Mūltānī dialect of Lahndā. 'Hindkī' or 'Hindko', the language of the Hindūs (*i.e.*, non-Paṭhāns), is the name given

[1] See J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 723.

[2] Note that, in this meaning, the word is a substantive, not an adjective, and that hence we cannot use a feminine form *Lahndī*, as some writers contend. The word for 'western' is not *lahndā*, but is *lēhndōchay* or *ḷēlēkhī*. We must take *Lahndā* here as a purely English word,—merely a conventional abbreviation of the phrase *Lahndē-dē kōlē*, or 'the language of the West', spoken from the point of view of the Eastern Panjab.

to Lahndā in the west of the Lahnda tract, in which Musalmān Pashtō-speaking Paṭhāns also dwell.

The number of dialects of Lahndā is very great. Some twenty-two are described, under various names, in the Survey. They fall into two main groups, a southern and a northern, the dividing line being the southern face of the Salt Range. As for the southern group, we must first mention a number of dialects spoken, south of the Salt Range, in the Rechna and Jech Dōābs, *i.e.*, in the Districts of Shahpur, Jhang, Gujranwala, and Gujrat. The Lahndā of Shahpur is the form which has been taken in the Survey as the standard form of the language, and that of the other three districts is closely allied to it. South of the Rechna Dōāb, we come to the Mūltānī dialect (2,342,954 speakers in 1921) which is spoken in the Multan, Muzaffargarh, and Dera Ghazi Khan Districts. In the two last named it generally goes by the name of Hindkī. It is also spoken in the State of Bahawalpur, where it is called Bahāwalpurī. Moreover Mūltānī is spoken by scattered communities all over Sindh, where it is called Sirāikī Hindkī. Mūltānī is a transition dialect between standard Lahndā and Sindhī, and presents several points of similarity with the latter language. Returning north, in the northern half of the Sind Sagar Dōāb, and in the adjacent parts of the District of Dera Ismail Khan, there is Thaḷī, or dialect of the Thal, or Desert. It approaches the standard dialect of Shahpur, but differs in pronunciation, and has several points of connexion with the Dardic languages. Finally, there are two mixed dialects spoken by the Khētrāns and Jāfirs beyond the frontier in the Laghārī and Sulaiman Hills. Khētrānī and Jāfirī are both very similar to the Lahndā of Dera Ghazi Khan, but exhibit many interesting Dardic peculiarities. As may be expected from their geographical position, they both borrow from Balōchī.

Lahndā Dialects.

	Survey.
Standard	1,507,837
Mūltānī	2,176,993
Khētrānī and Jāfirī	14,581
Thaḷī	759,310
North-Western	881,425
North-Eastern	1,752,755
Total	7,092,781

Mūltānī.

Hindkī.

Bahāwalpurī.

Sirāikī Hindkī.

Thaḷī.

Khētrānī.

Jāfirī.

The dialects of the Salt Range and beyond it on the north fall into two sub-groups, a north-western and a north-eastern. These differ not only in vocabulary, but also in grammar. In the latter respect, the most typical point of difference is in the postposition of the genitive. In the north-west, this is *dā*, as in Paṅjābī, and in the north-east, it is *nā*, which connects us with Dardic. The north-western sub-group runs from the centre of the Salt Range nearly due north through the districts of Jhelum, Attock, and Hazara (where it is called Hindkō), and is also used by the Hindūs of Peshawar. The north-eastern is more important. It covers the rest of the Salt Range, not only the eastern end, but also the western end, where it is the dialect of the important tribe of the Awāns and crosses the Indus into Kohat, where, as in Hazara, it is called Hindkō. To the north-east it appears as Pōṭhwārī (423,802 speakers in 1921), and under this name covers

Hindkō.

Awāṅkī.

Hindkō.

Pōṭhwārī.

the District of Rawalpindi and parts of Jhelum and Gujrat. In the Murree Hills and in parts of Hazara it is also spoken with dialectic variations, and finally it is the language of the submontane tract south of Kashmir, where it is the tongue of the Chibh and other tribes and of the State of Punch.

Chibhālī.
Punchhī.

Lahndā differs widely from the better known Pañjābī in vocabulary, more nearly approaching Sindhī in this respect. Some of its words are also found in Kāshmīrī,—a Dardic language,—and it contains even words once used in that form of speech but now no longer current. It is in its grammatical forms that the most characteristic differences from Pañjābī are exhibited. Lahndā has a true future, of which the characteristic letter is *s*, and a true passive formed by suffixing *ī*, the former of which is strange to, and the latter of which is rare in, the speech of the central Panjab. It also employs pronominal suffixes with all the freedom of Sindhī and of the Dardic languages, and has many postpositions which do not occur in Pañjābī. The northern dialects are harsher and more nasal than the southern, and possess characteristic features of their own. Amongst them may be mentioned the use, as already stated, of the postposition *nā* instead of *dā* to form the genitive, the employment of an oblique form in the case of nouns ending in consonants, and the formation of the present participle.

Lahndā compared with Pañjābī.

Beyond ballads and other folksongs Lahndā has no literature. The majority of its speakers being Musalmāns, the Persian character is generally employed for writing it. Some Hindūs employ a character common over the Panjab and Sindh called *Laṇḍā* [1], or 'clipped' This is a most imperfect means of writing It has only two or three characters for the initial vowels, and none for the non-initial. The consonants, too, are far from clear and the script varies from place to place. It is seldom legible to anyone but the writer, and not always to him. In 1819 Carey published an edition of the New Testament in this character, in the dialect of the country round Uchch. He called this dialect the Uchchī language.

Literature and written character.

Sindhī is the language of Sindh, the country on each side of the River Indus, beginning about latitude 29° N. and stretching thence down to the sea. In the north it merges into Lahndā, to which it is closely related, and which, in the Sirāikī Hindkī dialect, is also spoken all over Sindh by scattered communities from the Western Panjab. It is spoken by three and a quarter millions of people or a little more than the population of Denmark. Sindhī has six recognized dialects, Vichōlī, Sirāikī, Lāsī, Lāṛī, Tharēlī, and Kachchhī. The first is spoken in Central Sindh. It is the standard dialect, and that employed in literature. Sirāikī is merely a variety of Vichōlī and is no real dialect. The only difference consists in its pronunciation being more clearly articulated and in slight variations in its vocabulary, and it is frequently confused with the allied

Sindhī.

Sindhī.

	Survey.
Vichōlī . . .	1,375,386
Sirāikī . .	1,112,928
Tharēlī . . .	264,749
Lāsī . . .	42,013
Lāṛī . . .	40,000
Kachchhī . .	491,214
Unspecified .	7,031
Total .	3,274,319

Vichōlī.
Sirāikī.

[1] The word has nothing to do with the word *Lahndā*, which, as we have seen, means 'West.'

Sirāikī Hindkī spoken in the same country. In Sindhī, the word *Sirō* means the 'head' of anything, and *Sirāikī* hence comes to mean 'up-stream' or 'northern,' from the point of view of the Lāṛ[a], or lower Sindh. Sirāikī is considered by Sindhīs to be the purest form of the language, or, as the proverb says, 'a learned man of the Lāṛ[a] is an ox in the Sirō.' It must be remembered that, as the name of a locality, 'the Sirō' or 'the up-stream country' is a relative term, and that its meaning varies with the locality of the speaker. The lower down the Indus a man lives, the larger the extent of the Sirō, and from the point of view of an inhabitant of the Lāṛ[a], the term practically includes the Vichōlō, or Central Sindh. Lāsī is the form of Sindhī spoken in the State of Las Bela. It is a transition dialect between Vichōlī and Lāṛī. The latter is the language of the Lāṛ[a] already mentioned, and is considered to be rude and uncouth, but it retains many old forms, and displays one important feature of the Dardic languages—the disaspiration of sonant consonants—which no longer exists in Vichōlī. Tharēlī and Kachchhī are both mixed dialects. The former is spoken by the hunting and outcast tribes of the Thar[a], or desert, of Sindh, which forms the political boundary between that province and the Marwar country. It is a transition form of speech representing Sindhī shading off into Rājasthānī, through a mechanical mixture of the two languages. Kachchhī, on the other hand, is a mixture of Sindhī and Gujarātī, spoken in Cutch.

Lāsī.

Lāṛī.

Tharēlī.

Kachchhī.

Sindhī has received very slight literary cultivation, and few books have been written in it. Its proper alphabet is Laṇḍā, which, as usual, varies from place to place and is legible with difficulty. The Gurmukhī and Nāgarī alphabets are also employed, but the Persian alphabet, with several additional letters for the sounds peculiar to the language, is the one now in general use.

Literature and written character.

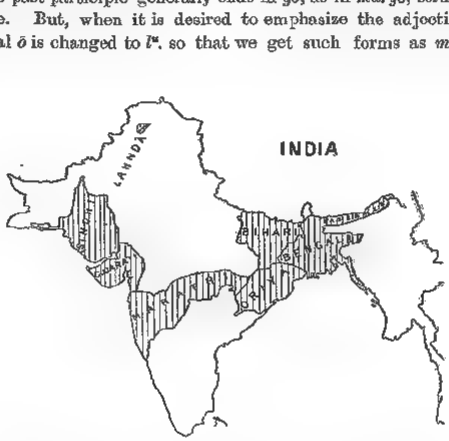
Owing to its isolated position, Sindhī has preserved many phonetic and grammatical peculiarities which have disappeared elsewhere, and is a typical example of the Outer languages. In ancient times Sindh included the old Vrāchaḍa country, and to the present day the language retains special features which were recorded hundreds of years ago as characteristic of the old Vrāchaḍa Apabhraṁśa from which it is descended. As already stated, the Hindū grammarians also recorded a Paiśāchī dialect as spoken in the Vrāchaḍa country. The Piśāchas, therefore, were once found in the country which is now Sindh, alongside of the people who then spoke Vrāchaḍa Apabhraṁśa, and whose descendants now speak Sindhī. One typical peculiarity of Paiśāchī and of Dardic, its modern representative, is that the letter *t* when it comes between two vowels is not elided, as occurs in all Indo-Aryan languages, but is kept without change. In other Indian Prakrits such a *t* first became *d*, and then disappeared altogether. The same phenomenon is to-day observable, though to a less extent, in Lahndā and Sindhī, and even occasionally in Paṅjābī. Paṅjābī, as becomes its mixed origin, usually has both forms, that with the *t* and that without. But Lahndā and Sindhī in such cases prefer to keep the *t* intact. Thus, the word for 'sewn' is *sītā* in Lahndā (Sindhī uses another form), but *sītā* or *sīā* in Paṅjābī; 'done' is in Lahndā *kītā*, Sindhī *kītō*, but Paṅjābī *kītā* or *kariā*; 'drunk' is *pītā* in Lahndā and Paṅjābī and

History of Sindhī.

pītō in Sindhī. In a pure inner language, such as Hindī, the *t* would be dropped in all these cases, and we should have *sīā*, *kīā*, and *pīā*, or some such words.[1]

The l-suffix of the past participle.

In the Dardic languages, the formation of the past participle of a verb calls for no special attention except in one case. In the Maiyā dialect of Kōhistānī it ends in the letter *l*. Thus the verb *kuṭ-*, strike, has *kuṭ-ag-il* for its past participle. We also find occasional instances of this in Shiṇa; but we do not find anything like this in the Inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages or in Lahndā, though the form reappears in Sindhī. Here the past participle generally ends in *yō*, as in *māryō*, struck, from the verb *mār-aṇ*, to strike. But, when it is desired to emphasize the adjectival force of this participle, the final *ō* is changed to *lē*, so that we get such forms as *mār-ya-lē*, meaning



Languages in which l is the characteristic letter of the past participle.

'one who is in the condition of having been struck.' Gujarātī is an Inner language, but, as we shall see, it has been superimposed on another language of the Outer sub-branch, of which traces can still be observed. One of these traces is the existence of this very l-participle, which is used in much the same way as in Sindhī, as in *māryō* or *mārē-l*,

[1] It must not be supposed that I suggest that either Lahndā or Sindhī is derived from any Paiśāchī (*i.e.*, Dardic) dialect. From the fact that both an Apabhraṁśa and a Paiśāchī were spoken in Vrāchaḍa, we are entitled to maintain that the Piśāchas were not the same tribe as those who spoke the local Apabhraṁśa. They were therefore foreigners, and so, by parity of reasoning, were those of Kēkaya. Assuming that the home of the Piśāchas was somewhere in the country at the foot of the Pāmīrs, the natural course for their emigration would have been through the Swat Valley, down the Indus to the Kēkaya and Vrāchaḍa country. This would be in times when the original inhabitants, whom they found *in situ*, were in so early a stage of linguistic development that they still retained the *t* in words like *pītā* and so forth. The influence of the cognate language of the alien Piśāchas would account for the speakers of Sindhī and Lahndā not dropping the *t*, when, in the natural course of development, this had occurred farther east. Such influence would have more effect in the direction of conservation than in the direction of innovation, and hence we find few traces of other Paiśāchī peculiarities (such as the change of *d* to *t*) which were strange to the original dialect. I freely admit that much of this is pure theory, but I do not see my way to admitting the correctness of any explanation, other than the influence of some non-Indo-Aryan form of speech, for the retention of the *t* in these languages. Paiśāchī supplies all the requirements of such a tongue, both in its locality and in its phonetic laws. (Since this was written, Dr. P. Tedesco has given a different explanation of the presence of this *t*, in J. A. O. S. XLIII, p. 385ff. See also the present writer in J. R. A. S., 1925, pp. 222ff.)

struck. Further south, in Marāṭhī, still an Outer language, we find this *l*-participle established as the only form of the past participle, as in *mār-ilā*, struck. So also we find this participle in all the remaining Outer languages, as in the Oṛiyā *mārilā*; Bengali *mārila*; Bihārī *māral*; and Assamese *māril*. This *l*-participle, therefore, is not only current over the whole of East-Aryan India, but reaches, through an unbroken chain of dialects, all imperceptibly shading off into each other, across India to the Arabian Sea, and thence northwards through Gujarātī and Sindhī, but leaping across Lahndā, into the Dardic country of the Indus Kohistān. This is illustrative of the intimate relationship which exists among all these Outer forms of speech, and, although Assamese differs widely from Marāṭhī, and a speaker of one would be entirely unintelligible to the other, a man could almost walk for twenty-eight hundred miles, from Dibrugarh to Bombay and thence to Dardistan, without being able to point to a single stage where he had passed from one language to another. Yet he would have passed through eight distinct tongues of the Indian Continent, Assamese, Bengali, Oṛiyā, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Sindhī, Lahndā, and Kohistānī, and through many dialects.

(Kachchhī).
(Gujarātī).

To the south-east, Sindhī merges into Gujarātī, through its Kachchhī dialect. Gujarātī will be dealt with later on amongst the inner languages. As we now have it Gujarātī is a member of the Inner Sub-branch, although, like Paṅjābī, it occupies territory once held by some member of the Outer Sub-branch. Leaving, therefore, Gujarātī for the present we go on further south along the west coast of the Indian Peninsula, and, about a hundred miles north of Bombay, near the Portuguese settlement of Daman, come to Marāṭhī.

	Survey	Census of 1921.
Marāṭhī .	. 18,011,948	18,797,831

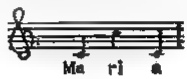
Marāṭhī, in its various dialects, extends nearly across the Peninsula of India. It is spoken by nineteen millions of people, or two millions less than the population of Spain. In the Bombay Presidency it covers the north of the Deccan Plateau and a strip of country between the Ghāts and the Arabian Sea, extending to about a hundred miles south of Goa. It is also the language of most of Berar and of a good portion of the north-west of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's dominions. It stretches across the south of the Central Provinces (except in a few localities in the extreme south, where the language is the Dravidian Telugu), and occupies also a great part of the State of Bastar. Here it merges into Oṛiyā through the Bhatrī dialect of that language. It has to its north, in order from west to east, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, Western Hindī, and Eastern Hindī. The first three are languages of the Inner Sub-branch, and Marāṭhī does not merge into them. On the contrary, there is a sharp border-line between the two forms of speech. On the other hand, its most eastern dialect, Halᵃbī of Bastar, shows such intimate connexion with the neighbouring Chhattīsgaṛhī dialect of Eastern Hindī, that it is a matter of opinion to which language it belongs.[1] In other words, Marāṭhī merges into Eastern Hindī through its Halᵃbī dialect. Further east it gradually shades off into Oṛiyā, which is also a language of the Outer Sub-branch. We have already seen that when, in Sindhī, it is desired to give the past participle of a verb a purely adjectival force the letter *l* is appended to it. In Gujarātī we meet the same form with a more extended, but not universal use.

[1] See the remarks on p. 31 *ante*.

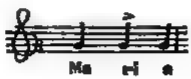
In Marāṭhī, we forthe first time find this *l* the only means of indicating past time, no other form being allowed as an option, and this method is henceforth the sole means which we shall find employed through the remaining languages of the Outer Sub-branch.

Stress-accent in Marāṭhī.

In one point, Marāṭhī differs from all other Indo-Aryan vernaculars. In the language of Vedic times, each word had a tone, just like those of which we found numerous instances in the Indo-Chinese languages. Each word had its own peculiar phonetic pitch, as distinct from the stress-accent with which we are familiar in English. It is as if the speakers of Vedic Sanskrit said



where we say



Marāṭhī retains many traces of these ancient tones, though they are no longer tones, but have been converted into weak stress-accents, much as we say *María* nowadays.[1] The other Indo-Aryan languages have all lost every trace of these ancient tones, and have adopted instead an entirely independent system of stress-accents falling, with one or two exceptions, as much as possible on the antepenultimate of each word, much as if we were to say *Mária*.

Marāṭhī has a copious literature of great popularity. The poets wrote in the true vernacular of the country, and used a vocabulary mostly composed of honest Tadbhavas. The result is that the language of the present day is rich in them, and though the scholars for whom the Marāṭhā country is famous have in later times endeavoured with some success to heighten the style of the language by the use of Tatsamas, these parasites have not obtained that complete mastery over the literary form of speech that they have in Bengali. The country was not invaded by the Musalmāns till a comparatively late period, and was more or less successful in repelling the invasion, so that the number of words borrowed from or through Persian is small. As Mr. Beames says, Marāṭhī is one of those languages which may be called playful. It delights in all sorts of jingling formations, and has struck out a larger quantity of secondary and tertiary words, diminutives, and the like, than any of the cognate tongues. Marāṭhī is usually written and printed in the Nāgarī character, a modification of which is known as *mōḍī* or 'twisted,' and invented by Bālājī Avajī, Secretary to the famous Śivajī (1627-80), is used by some for current correspondence.

Marāṭhī Vocabulary.

Written Character.

The earliest Marāṭhī writers whose works have come down to us are Namadēva and Dnyānōbā, who flourished at the end of the thirteenth century and drew their inspiration from the early Vaishnava reformers. Śrīdhara (end of sixteenth century) is best known for his paraphrases of the Sanskrit Purāṇas, but the most celebrated of all was Tukārāma or Tukōbā, a contemporary of Śivajī, who wrote in the first half of the seventeenth century. His 'Abhangas,' or loosely constructed hymns in honour of the god Viṭhōbā, are household words in the Marāṭhā country. The most famous successor of Tukārāma was Morōpant (A.D. 1720).

Literature.

[1] See Professor Turner, 'The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhī, in J.R.A.S., 1916, 203ff.' The particular example given by me has been suggested by the example given in Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar. Some languages, such as Bengali, throw the stress-accent even further back than the antepenultimate.

As in the case of the other vernaculars of India, nearly all the earlier work is in verse, although there are some prose chronicles of varying importance.

Dialects.

No less than thirty-nine names have been recorded in the Survey as those of dialects of Marāṭhī. Few of these can be called genuine dialects, the majority being merely forms of the standard speech or of one of the real dialects, pronounced in some peculiar way according to locality or to the caste of the speakers. For instance, the Marāṭhī of the Konkan north of Ratnagiri is very nearly the same as the standard, but natives recognize two dialects, one spoken by the Brāhmans, and another spoken by Musalmāns. These minute differences are all investigated in the pages of the Survey, but here would be manifestly out of place. It will be sufficient to mention here the four main dialects, *viz.*, Dēśī, Konkan Standard, the Marāṭhī of Berar and the Central Provinces, and Kōṅkaṇī.

Dēśī Marāṭhī is the standard form of the language spoken in its purity round Poona. It has travelled far with the Marāṭhā conquerors, and there are large colonies of its speakers in Baroda, which is a Marāṭhā State (although geographically in Gujarat), in Saugor, and in other parts of Central India. Konkan Standard is a variety of Dēśī spoken in the northern part of the Konkan, from Daman to beyond Ratnagiri. South of it is the true Kōṅkaṇī spoken in the country round Goa, and Konkan Standard is a form of speech intermediate between it and Dēśī. It varies from place to place, and eighteen different sub-dialects of it are described in the Survey. In the south it more nearly approaches Kōṅkaṇī in such forms as the Bānkōṭī (used by Musalmāns) (1,787)[1] and Saṅgamēśvarī (1,332,800), both spoken in the Central Konkan. Further north, the influence of Gujarātī becomes apparent, and the sub-dialect named Par'bhī (160,000) is the form used by nearly the whole Marāṭhī-speaking population of Bombay and Thana, as far north as Daman. As spoken by the important caste of Kuṇ'bīs (368,000) it is given their name, and similarly the Kōḷī sub-dialect (189,186) is used by the Kōḷis of Bombay Town and Island, of Thana, Kolaba, and Janjira. The Konkan Standard dialect has received a certain amount of literary cultivation, having been employed by the Portuguese missionaries of Salsette, who, in the seventeenth century, wrote a grammar of the dialect as spoken in Thana and an abridged version of the gospels in the same form of speech. The dialect spoken in Berar, Central Provinces, and also in the Nizam's Dominions varies as little from the standard Dēśī as does Konkan Standard. Here the principal difference is a tendency to shorten final vowels, and there are other minor peculiarities which vary from place to place. As we go east, there is a tendency to merge into the cognate Eastern Hindī. The dialect of Berar and the neighbouring parts of the Nizam's Dominions is called Varhāḍī (2,084,023).

Marāṭhī Dialects.	Survey.
Dēśī	6,193,083
Konkan Standard	2,350,817
Dialect of Berar and C. P.	7,677,432
Kōṅkaṇī	1,565,391
Unspecified	224,325
Total	18,011,948

Konkan Standard.

Bānkōṭī

Saṅgamēśvarī.

Par'bhī.

Kuṇ'bī.

Kōḷī.

Berar Dialect.

[1] These figures for sub-dialects are necessarily those of the Survey only.

Historically, it should represent the purest Marāṭhī, for Berar corresponds to the ancient Vidarbha or Mahārāshṭra; but in after centuries the political centre of gravity moved farther west, and with it the linguistic standard. The River Wardha, which separates the Central Provinces from Berar, may also be taken as the linguistic boundary between Varhāḍī and the next sub-dialect, Nāgpurī. The former is, however, also found in the District of Betul, in the Central Provinces, while, on the other hand, the Marāṭhī of the Basim District and of the western part of Buldana, both belonging to Berar, is not Varhāḍī, but more nearly approaches the Dēśī of Poona. The language of the southern half of the Central Provinces is also Marāṭhī, the local form being called Nāgpurī (1,823,475). It is practically the same as Varhāḍī, but, as elsewhere, varies according to locality, diverging further from the standard as we go east. In the Saugor District, the Marāṭhī spoken is not Nāgpurī, but is the standard form of the language. This tract of country passed to us from the Peshwa and not from the Nāgpur Rāj, and the Marāṭhī-speaking population came from Poona, not Nagpur. They regard the true Nagpur people with some contempt in consequence. The same is the case with the scattered Marāṭhā families of Damoh and Jabalpur. In the extreme east of the Nāgpurī area, in the District of Balaghat, the dialect has changed so much that it has a separate name, and is called Marhēṭi. In this part of the Central Provinces, the Districts of Balaghat and Bhandara are the eastern outposts of Nāgpurī. Further east we are met by Chhattīsgaṛhi, which is a dialect of Eastern Hindī. To the south of this area, Marāṭhī covers the north of the District of Chanda (the south is occupied by Telugu), and gradually merges into Hal'bī. Hal'bī, also called Bastarī (104,971), was for long nobody's child in the linguistic classification of India. Our Survey shows that it is a corrupt mixture of several languages, both Aryan and Dravidian, forming a transition tongue between Marāṭhī and Oṛiyā, but generally with a Marāṭhī backbone. The Hal'bī of the State of Bastar is considered by Chhattīsgaṛhī-speakers to be Marāṭhī, and by Marāṭhī-speakers to be Chhattīsgaṛhī, and this well illustrates its mixed nature. It is spoken in the central part of Bastar, having Telugu to its south. In the north-east corner of Bastar we find a form of speech called Bhatrī. This is the link between Hal'bī and Oṛiyā, and is classed as a dialect of the latter language. It might with almost equal accuracy be described as one of the many forms of Hal'bī. Immediately to its east lies Oṛiyā. We have now brought Marāṭhī across India, from the Arabian Sea to within a couple of hundred miles of the Bay of Bengal. Hitherto attention has naturally been fixed upon the particular dialect of it which is spoken in the Bombay Presidency, and it has usually been classed as the most south-western of the Aryan languages of India. It will have been seen that 'Southern' describes it much more completely.

Nāgpurī.

Hal'bī.

Returning to the Bombay Presidency, we must consider the one form of Marāṭhī which is a real dialect, and not merely a corrupt form of the standard form of speech. This is Kōṅkaṇī, spoken in the Konkan, from Malwan in the north to Karwar in the south. It is the language of the Portuguese settlement of Goa, and is widely spoken in the Districts of Belgaum and North and South Kanara and in the State of Sawantwadi. In Goa, it is usually called Goanese. It has several other local names, indicating slight differences of

Kōṅkaṇī.

idiom, which it is not necessary to mention here. As a dialect of Marāṭhī, it branched off from the common parent Prakrit at a relatively early period, so that there are many divergencies from the standard of Poona. Indeed, in some respects, it has preserved an older stage of phonetical development, and shows a greater variety of verbal forms. It has no surviving national literature, the old manuscripts having been destroyed after the Portuguese conquest of Goa as containing pagan doctrines, but a new literature, Christian in character, has sprung up under the care of the Portuguese missionaries. One of these, an Englishman, Thomas Stephens (or Thomaz Estevão) by name, who came to Goa in 1579 and died there in 1619, wrote the first Kōṅkaṇī grammar, and from his hand we also have a poetical paraphrase of the New Testament which is still popular. The old Kōṅkaṇī literature is said to have been written in the Nāgarī character, and this was also used by Carey in his translation of the New Testament. Later on the Kanarese alphabet was introduced, and lastly the Jesuit Fathers of the Christian College at Mangalore have made use of the Roman alphabet in several of their religious books. The modern literature is almost exclusively religious, and is now written in these three characters.

Singhalese.

Opportunity may here be taken to mention Singhalese. This, though an Indo-Aryan form of speech, is not dealt with in the Survey, nor is it the language of any part of India proper. It is spoken in Ceylon, especially in the southern half of that island, whither it was imported, apparently with Buddhism, from the western side of India. Its nearest relative in India is Marāṭhī, but the relationship is distant, and there are few obvious traces of the connexion.

Mahl.

A dialect of Singhalese is Mahl, spoken in the Maldive islands and Minicoy.

The languages of the Eastern Group are Oṛiyā, Bihārī, Bengali, and Assamese. It thus includes all the Aryan languages of India which, roughly speaking, are in use to the east of the meridian of Benares. Oṛiyā or Utkalī is the Aryan language spoken in Orissa and in the country bordering on that Province. To the north it includes a portion of the District of Midnapore, which, together with a part of Balasore, was the Orissa of the phrase 'Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa' found in the Dīwānī grant and in the regulations framed by Government in the last decades of the 18th century. It is also the language of the District of Singhbhum, belonging to the Division of Chota Nagpur, and of several Indian States which fall politically within that Division. On the west it is the language of the greater part of Sambalpur, which has lately been added to the Orissa Division, and of a small portion of the District of Raipur in the Central Provinces, together with the many Native States which lie between these two Districts

Eastern Group.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Oṛiyā	9,042,525	10,143,165
Bihārī	37,180,782	34,342,430[1]
Bengali	41,933,284	49,294,099
Assamese	1,447,552	1,727,328
Total	89,604,143	95,507,022

Oṛiyā.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Standard	8,352,228	...
Mixed Dialects of the North	582,798	...
Bhatrī	17,387	...
Unspecified	90,112	...
Total	9,042,525	10,143,165

[1] In the Census returns, nearly all the speakers of Bihārī are shown as speaking Western Hindī. In the returns, only 7,331 are shown for Bihārī. The figures given above are corrected estimates.

and Orissa proper. On the south it is the language of the north of the District of Ganjam, with its connected Indian States, and of the Jeypore Agency of Vizagapatam. It is thus spoken in four Provinces of British India,—Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, the Central Provinces, and Madras, and covers, say, 82,000 square miles, an area a little less than that of Yugo-Slavia, while the number of its speakers (nine millions) is a little more than that of the combined populations of Norway and Sweden.

Name of Language.

It is called Oṛiyā, Ōḍri, or Utkalī, that is to say, the language of Ōḍra or Utkala, both of which are ancient names for the country known to the English as Orissa. It is sometimes called Uriya, but this name is merely a mis-spelling of the more correct Oṛiyā. The earliest example of the language which is at present known consists of some Oṛiyā words in an inscription of the thirteenth century. An inscription dated a century later contains several sentences which show that the language was then fully developed, and differed little from the modern form of speech either in spelling or in grammar.

Linguistic boundaries.

It is bounded on the north by Bengali, on the north-west by Bihārī, on the west by the Chhattīsgaṛhī dialect of Eastern Hindī, and on the south by Telugu. To the south-west it merges into the Hal'bī dialect of Marāṭhī through Bhatrī. This is the only true dialect.

Dialects.

In the north there are several mixed dialects, half-Oṛiyā and half-Bengali. Of these there are almost as many forms as there are speakers, the two languages being mixed at random according to the personal equation of each. A sentence may begin in Oṛiyā and end in Bengali or *vice versâ*, or the two languages may be mixed clause and clause about, but all this does not constitute any definite dialect. Elsewhere Oṛiyā has local varieties of pronunciation and accent, but the standard is in the main closely followed over the whole Oṛiyā-speaking area. Bhatrī is the transition dialect to Marāṭhī, and the only specimens of it that I have seen were written in the Nāgarī (*i.e.*, the Marāṭhī) alphabet, and not in that peculiar to Oṛiya.

Written Character.

Oṛiyā is handicapped by possessing an exceedingly awkward and cumbrous written character. This character is, in its basis, the same as Nāgarī, but is written by the local scribes with a stylus on a talipot palm leaf. The scratches are themselves legible, but, in order to make them more plain, ink is rubbed over the surface of the leaf and fills up the furrows that form the letters. The palm leaf is excessively fragile, and any scratch in the direction of the grain tends to make it split. As a line of writing on a long narrow leaf is necessarily in the direction of the grain, this peculiarity prohibits the use of the straight top line which is a distinguishing feature of the Nāgarī character. For this the Oṛiya scribe is compelled to substitute a series of curves, which almost surround each letter. It requires remarkably good eyes to read an Oṛiyā printed book, for the exigencies of the printing-press compel the type to be small, and the greater part of each letter is this curve, which is the same in nearly all, while the real soul of the character, by which one is distinguished from another, is hidden in the centre, and is so minute that it is often difficult to see. At first glance, an Oṛiyā book seems to be all curves, and it takes a second look to notice that there is something inside each.

Connexion with Bengali.

On the ground that its grammatical structure in some respects closely resembles that of Bengali, Oriyā has more than once been claimed by Calcutta Paṇḍits as a dialect of that language. They are, however, wrong. It is a sister, not a daughter, and the mutual points of resemblance are due to the fact that they have a common origin in the ancient Māgadha Apabhraṁśa. It has the same dearth of forms for expressing number as Bengali, and when the plural has to be expressed it is done, as in that language, by the aid of a noun of multitude. As in all the Eastern languages, the first and second persons singular of the verb are used only by the uneducated, or when respect is not intended. It has one great advantage over Bengali in the fact that, as a rule, it is pronounced as it is spelt. There are few of those slurred consonants and broken vowels which make Bengali so difficult a language for a foreigner to speak correctly. Each letter in each word is clearly sounded, and it has been well described as 'comprehensive and poetical, with a pleasing sound and musical intonation, and by no means difficult to acquire and master.' In Bengali, the stress-accent is thrown back as far as possible, and, to assist this, the succeeding syllables of the word are contracted or slurred over in pronunciation; but in the best Oriyā every syllable is distinctly pronounced, and the accent is put on the penultimate syllable if it is a long one, and never further back than the antepenultimate. The Oriyā verbal system is at once simple and complete. It has a long array of tenses, but the whole is so logically arranged, and built on so regular a model, that its principles are easily impressed upon the memory. It is particularly noticeable for the very complete set of verbal nouns, present, past, and future, which take the place of the incomplete series of infinitive and gerund that we find in Bengali, and for want of which that language is sometimes driven to strange straits in order to embody what seems to us the simplest idea. When a Bengali wishes to express the idea embodied in what in Latin would be called the infinitive, he has to borrow the present participle for the occasion, and then has to employ it for all tenses, so that the word is used, in the first place, not as a participle, and, in the second place, not necessarily in the present tense. Oriyā, on the other hand, simply takes the appropriate verbal noun, and declines it in the case which the meaning necessarily requires. As every infinitive must be some case of some verbal noun, it follows that Oriyā grammar does not know the so-called 'Infinitive Mood' at all. The veriest beginner does not miss it, and instinctively makes up his 'infinitive' or his 'gerund' as he requires it. In this respect Oriyā grammar is in a more complete stage of development than even Classical Sanskrit, and can be compared only with the old Sanskrit of the Vedic times. This archaic character, both of form and of vocabulary, runs through the whole language, and is no doubt accounted for by its geographical position. Orissa has ever been an isolated country bounded on the east by the ocean, and on the west by hilly tracts inhabited by wild aboriginal tribes, and bearing an evil reputation for air and water. On the south, the language is Dravidian, and belongs to an altogether different family, while, on the north, it has seldom had political ties with Bengal.

Influence of other languages.

On the other hand, Orissa has been a conquered country. For eight centuries it was subject to the kings of Telinga, and, in modern times, it was for fifty years under the sway of the Bhōslās of Nagpur, both of whom have left deep impressions of their rule upon the land. On the language they have imposed a number of Telugu and Marāṭhī words and idioms which still

survive. These are, so far as we know, the only foreign elements of importance that have intruded into Oṛiyā. There are also a few Persian words which have come from the Musalmāns and a small vocabulary of English court terms and the like, which English domination has brought into vogue. Oṛiyā has a fairly large literature, mainly composed of religious poetry, that relating to Krishna being most prominent. As a vernacular, it is almost confined to its proper home, though speakers of the language are found in various parts of India, where they are mainly either domestic servants or pālkī-bearers.

Literature.

The province of Bihar was for centuries much more closely connected politically with the country which is now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh than with Bengal. Even so long ago as the time of the composition of the Sanskrit epic of the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma-chandra, the prince of Ayōdhyā (the modern Oudh), is represented as taking his famous bride, Sītā, from the country of Mithilā, or the present North Bihar. The face of the Bihārī is ever turned to the North-West; from Bengal he has experienced only hostile invasions. For these reasons, the language of Bihar has often been considered to be a form of the 'Hindī' said to be spoken in the United Provinces, but really nothing can be further from the fact. In spite of the hostile feelings with which Bihāris regard everything connected with Bengal, their language is a sister of Bengali, and only a distant cousin of the tongue spoken to its west. Like Bengali and Oṛiyā, it is a direct descendant of the old Māgadha Apabhraṁśa. It occupies the original seat of that language, and still retains nearly all its characteristic features. In one particular of phonetics alone does it depart from its parent, namely in the pronunciation of the sibilants. This is accounted for by the political influence of the North-West. The pronunciation of these letters is a literal shibboleth between Bengal and Central Hindōstān. A man who pronounces his *s*'s as *sh* would at once be known as a Bengali and treated as such. The Bihāris, therefore, in their desire, which has existed for several centuries, to sever all connexion with the people to the east, have striven after the pronunciation of the *s*'s of the west, and have now acquired it; but that it is a comparatively modern innovation is clearly shown by the fact that, although they pronounce *s*, in the Kaithī national character they always write *sh*, and use the very character that the Hindū grammarians employed to illustrate the *sh*-sound which in their time was so characteristic of the tongue of Magadha.

Bihārī.

Bihārī is not the vernacular of Bihar only, but is also spoken far beyond the limits of that Province. To the west it is spoken in the eastern districts of the United Provinces, and even in a small portion of Oudh. Its western boundary may be taken as roughly the meridian passing through Benares, although it really extends a short distance beyond that city. On the south it is spoken in the two plateaux of Chota Nagpur. It extends from the Himalaya on the North to Singhbhum (an Oṛiyā-speaking district) on the South, and from Manbhum on the South-East to Basti in the North-West. The total area covered by it is about 90,000 square miles, or 3,000 more than that of Yugo-Slavia, and the number of its speakers (thirty-seven millions) is a little less than that of the population of Italy. The linguistic boundaries are Bengali to its East, the Himalayan tongues to its North, Eastern Hindi to its West, and Oṛiya to its South.

Where spoken.

Bihārī has three main dialects: Maithilī, Magahī, and Bhojpurī. Each of these has several sub-dialects. Maithilī or Tirhutiā is spoken over Tirhut, a part of Champaran, eastern Monghyr, Bhagalpur, and western Purnea. It is found in its greatest purity in the District of Darbhanga, and has a small literature going back to the fifteenth century. Vidyāpati Ṭhākur, who lived about that time, was a Sanskrit writer of some repute, and one of his works, translated into Bengali, was for many years the terror of examinees in the latter language. But it is upon his dainty songs in his own vernacular that his fame chiefly rests. He was the first of the old Master Singers whose short religious poems, dealing principally with Rādhā and Krishna, exercised such potent influence on the faiths of Eastern India. His songs were adopted and enthusiastically recited by the celebrated Hindū reformer Chaitanya (flourished sixteenth century), and, through him, became the house poetry of the Lower Provinces. Numbers of imitators sprang up, many of whom wrote in Vidyapati's name, so that it is now difficult to separate the genuine from the imitation, especially as in the great collection of these songs which is the accepted authority in Bengal, the former have become altered in the course of generations to suit the Bengali idiom and metre. Vernacular literature has also had several dramatic authors in Darbhanga, the local custom being to write the body of a play in Sanskrit but the songs in Maithilī. There have also been some epic poems, of which at least one has survived in part.

Dialects.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Maithilī	10,263,357	...
Magahī	6,504,917	...
Bhojpurī	10,412,608	...
Total	27,180,783	34,342,430[1]

Maithilī.

Magahī is spoken in South Bihar and in the Chota Nagpur District of Hazaribagh which covers the northern of the two plateaux of that Province. It does not extend to the southern plateau, of which, as we shall see, the language is a form of Bhojpurī. It has no written literature, but Carey translated the New Testament into it in 1818 and some folktales and songs have been collected and printed. The northern part of the locality in which Magahī is now spoken corresponds to the ancient Magadha, and was therefore the head-quarters of the ancient Māgadha Apabhraṁśa.

Magahī.

Bhojpurī is properly speaking the language of Bhojpur, the name of a town and pargana in the north-west of the District of Shahabad. It connotes, however, the language spoken over a much wider area. It occupies the whole of West Bihar and of the eastern districts of the United Provinces. It also covers the District of Palamau, and the southern, or Ranchi, plateau of Chota Nagpur. It varies according to locality, the tongue of Azamgarh and Benares differing somewhat from that of Shahabad and Saran, another division of forms being between the Bhojpurī spoken north, and that spoken south, of the Ganges. It has one important sub-dialect, the Nagpuriā of Chota Nagpur, and natives also recognize, by using separate names, the Madhēsī Bhojpurī spoken in Champaran, the Sarwariā of Basti and the neighbourhood, and the Tharuī, or broken dialect spoken by the hill tribes of the Himalaya, but these are refinements of small importance.

Bhojpurī.

Nagpuriā.
Madhēsī.
Sarwariā.
Tharuī.

[1] See note to page 145.

The three main sub-dialects are the Standard, the Western, and Nagpuriā. Western Bhojpurī is frequently called 'Pūrbī', or 'the Language of the East' *par excellence*. This is naturally the name given to it by the inhabitants of Western Hindostan, but has the disadvantage of being too indefinite. It is used very loosely, and often includes languages which have nothing to do with Bhojpurī, simply because they are spoken to the 'East' of those who refer to them. Bhojpurī has a very small literature, all written in the last few years. One or two portions of the Scriptures have been translated into it.

(Pūrbī).

Relationship of the three dialects to each other.

These three dialects fall naturally into two groups, namely Maithilī and Magahī on the one hand and Bhojpurī on the other. The speakers are also separated by ethnic peculiarities, but Maithilī and Magahī and the speakers of these two dialects are much more closely related to each other than either of them is to Bhojpurī. I shall here content myself with noting the most characteristic differences which at once strike the casual observer. In pronunciation Maithilī, and to a less degree Magahī, is much rounder than Bhojpurī. In Maithilī, the vowel *a* is pronounced with a broad sound approaching the '*o* in *hot*' colour that it possesses in Bengalī. Bhojpurī, on the contrary, pronounces the vowel with the clear sharpcut tone which we hear all over central Hindostan. On the other hand, it also possesses a long drawled vowel which is sounded like the *aw* in 'awl'. The contrast between these two sounds is so very marked, and is of such frequent occurrence, that in each case it gives a tone to the whole dialect which is recognized at once. In the declension of nouns, Bhojpurī has an oblique form of the genitive case, which is wanting in the other dialects. The polite pronoun of the second person, which is frequently heard in conversation, is *apane* in Maithilī and Magahī, but *raure* in Bhojpurī. The verb substantive in Maithilī is usually *chkaś* or *achk'*, he is. In Magahī it is usually *haẽ*, and in Bhojpurī *bāṭē*, *bāṛē*, or *hâwē*. The three dialects all agree in forming the present tense by adding the verb substantive to the present participle, exactly as in other modern Indian languages; but Magahī has also a special form of the present, *dēkhs haẽ*, exactly equivalent to the English 'he is a-seeing', and so has Bhojpurī another form *dēkhâ-lā*, the literal meaning of which is doubtful. The whole system of verbal conjugation is amazingly complex in Maithilī and Magahī, but is as simple and straightforward in Bhojpurī as it is in Bengalī or Hindī. There are many other minor differences between the three dialects, but the above are those which are most characteristic and striking. Suffice it to say, further, that Maithilī and Magahī are dialects of nationalities that have carried conservatism to the excess of uncouthness, while Bhojpurī is the practical language of an energetic race, which is ever ready to accommodate itself to circumstances, and which has made its influence felt all over India.

Ethnic differences.

The last remark brings us to the consideration of the ethnic differences between the speakers of Maithilī and Magahī on the one hand, and those who speak Bhojpurī on the other. These are great. Mithilā, a country with an ancient history, traditions of which it retains to the present day, is a land under the spiritual dominion of a sept of Brāhmans extraordinarily scrupulous in regard to the mint, anise, and cummin of the law. For centuries it has been too proud to admit other nationalities to intercourse on equal terms, and has suffered conquest after conquest, from the north, from the east, and from the west, without changing its

ancestral traditions. The story goes that at the marriage of Rāma, the Brāhmans of Mithilā showed the same uncivilized pride characteristic of their descendants in the twentieth century. This Brāhmanical domination has left ineffaceable marks upon the nature of the rest of the population. Mithilā, or Tirhut, is one of the most congested parts of India. The inhabitants increase, and multiply, and impoverish the earth, nor will they seek other means of life than agriculture, or other lands on which to practise the one art with which they are acquainted. Magadha, on the other hand, although it is intimately connected with the early history of Buddhism, was too long a cockpit for contending Musalmān armies, and too long directly subject to the head-quarters of a Musalmān province, to remember its former glories of the Hindū age. A great part of it is wild, barren, and sparsely cultivated, and over much of the remainder cultivation is carried on only with difficulty by the aid of great irrigation works spread widely over the country, and dating from prehistoric times. Its peasantry, oppressed for centuries, and even now, under British rule, poorer than that of any neighbouring part of India, is uneducated and unenterprising. There is an expressive word current in Eastern Hindostan which illustrates the national character. It is '*bhadēs*', and has two meanings. One is 'uncouth', 'boorish', and the other is 'an inhabitant of Magadha.' Which meaning is the original and which the derivative, I do not know; but a whole history is contained in these two syllables.

The Bhojpurī-speaking country is inhabited by a people curiously different from the others who speak Bihārī dialects. They form one of the fighting nations of Hindostan. An alert and active nationality, with few scruples and considerable abilities, dearly loving a fight for fighting's sake, they have spread over Aryan India, each man ready to carve his fortune out of any opportunity that may present itself. They have in former times furnished a rich mine of recruitment to the Hindōstānī army, and, on the other hand, they took a prominent part in the mutiny of 1857. As fond as the Irishman of a stick, the long-boned, stalwart Bhojpurī, with his staff in hand, is a familiar object striding over the fields far from his home. Thousands of them have emigrated to British Colonies and have returned rich men; every year still larger numbers wander over Northern Bengal, and seek employment, either honestly as *pālkī*-bearers, or, otherwise, as dacoits. The larger Bengal landholders each keep a posse of these men euphemistically termed 'darwāns', to hold his tenants in order. Such are the people who speak Bhojpurī, and it can be understood that their language is a handy article, made for current use, and not too much encumbered by grammatical subtilties.

Written character.

Throughout the Bihārī area, the written character is that known as Kaithī. This script is used over the whole of Hindostan alongside the more complete and elegant Nāgarī. Practically speaking, the former may be looked upon as the current hand of the latter, although epigraphically it is not a corruption of it, as is thought by some. Kaithī is the official character of two widely distant countries, Bihar and Gujarat, and a Tirhut Paṭwārī finds little difficulty in reading a Gujarātī book. The Brāhmans of Tirhut employ a special character of their own, called the Maithilī script. It closely resembles that used for Bengali, but differs from it just enough to make it at first sight rather puzzling to read.

Bengali.

Bengali is the language of the Gangetic Delta, and of the country immediately to its north and east. It is spoken by forty-two millions of people, approximately equivalent to the population of France. North of the Ganges its western boundary may be taken as the River Mahānanda in the east of the District of Purnea. South of the Ganges it reaches up to the foot of the Chota Nagpur plateaux. It covers the greater part of the District of Midnapur, and that tract of Singhbhum which is known as Dhalbhum. To the east, it runs a short way up the Assam Valley, taking in about half the District of Goalpara, and, in the Surma Valley, it covers the whole of Sylhet and Cachar, as well as Mymensingh and Dacca, although here the ground is partly occupied by Tibeto-Burman languages, whose speakers are met with in scattered colonies. Further south, it is spoken in Noakhali and Chittagong, and even in parts of the Hill Tracts of the latter District and of Arakan. To its north it has the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalaya, to its west Bihārī, to its south-west Oriyā, and to its east Tibeto-Burman languages and Assamese. On the south it is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. In no other speech of India is the literary tongue so widely divorced from that of ordinary conversation as in Bengali The two can almost be spoken of as distinct languages, rather than as two dialects of the same language. Up to the last thirty years hardly anything was known about the actual speech of the forty odd millions who were recorded in the census tables as having Bengali for their vernacular. Even European grammarians, most of whom were missionaries and ought to have known better, were the obedient slaves of the Paṇḍits of Calcutta, and illustrated only the artificial book language in their works. Beames was the first, and I believe the only, writer in the concluding decades of the last century to draw attention to the necessity of putting on record what the people really spoke.[1] Since then the Linguistic Survey has succeeded in exploring the Bengali dialects with considerable success, and a band of writers headed by the eminent Rabindranath Tagore is creating a taste for a chaster prose style in which the classical Bengali of the last century is skilfully blended with the forms of modern everyday speech.

Dialects.

In dividing this language into dialects, the lines of cleavage may be either horizontal or perpendicular; adopting the former method we get the literary dialect on the one hand, and the true vernacular on the other. The former is practically the same all over Bengal, but is used only in books and newspapers, or when speaking formally. On other occasions, speakers of Bengali sink back into a more or less refined version of the second dialect.

---

[1] The result of the influence of the old school of Paṇḍits upon Bengali may be illustrated by taking a passage of narrative English, and substituting a Latin word for every noun that occurs. Theoretically the nouns should be in Anglo-Saxon, but, to an Englishman, Latin more nearly holds the position of a learned language that Sanskrit does in India. As an example I give a verse or two of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, with a Latin word (gender and case being usually neglected) substituted wherever the Bengali version employs a Sanskrit one, —"A certain vir had two filiuses. And the junior filius medio of them said to his pater, "pater give me the pars of the substantia that falleth to me." And he made divisio unto them of his proprius facultas. And not multus dies after the junior filius made omnis substantia collectus and became peregre profectus into a regio longinquus." In this the Latin words are taken from Beza's translation. No wonder that a Bengali villager starts and stares in the witness box when asked to repeat (and expected to understand) a form of asseveration couched in language analogous to the above. I have known a village woman break into hysterical giggles when asked to repeat the form of asseveration which has, under the orders of the Calcutta High Court, to be tendered to every witness before he or she gives evidence in a judicial proceeding.

Between these two, there is not merely the same difference as that which exists between the language of the educated and that of the uneducated, say, in England. The dissimilarity is much greater. The literary departs from the colloquial dialect, not only in having a highly Sanskritized vocabulary, but also in its grammatical forms. The grammar of literary Bengali is nowhere used in conversation. The colloquial forms are much contracted. Words which, in the literary language, pronounced *ore rotundo*, have four syllables, are in this reduced to two, so that a mere knowledge of the former is of little assistance towards understanding or speaking the latter.

The lines of perpendicular cleavage affect only the colloquial form of Bengali. There are several dialects of this, but the change from one to another is so gradual that it is impossible to say where anyone of them begins or ends. We may, however, recognize two main branches, a Western and an Eastern. The Western includes the standard dialect spoken round Calcutta and Hooghly, the curious south-western dialect spoken in central Midnapore, and the Northern Bengali used north of the Ganges, between Purnea and Rangpur. In Western Bengal, there is a Western dialect which has been affected by the neighbouring Bihārī, and we also, in the same locality, find some broken forms of speech employed by the hill tribes. The principal of these is the Māl Pahāṛiā of the Santal Parganas and Birbhum, which used to be thought to be a Dravidian language, but which the Survey has shown to be a corrupt Bengali. In Northern Bengal, the Tibeto-Burman Koches have long abandoned their own language, but traces of it are found in the Bengali that they speak, which increase as we go eastwards towards their original home on the Brahmaputra. In Purnea, the Bengali used is much mixed with the adjoining Maithilī Bihārī, and the Kaithī character of Bihar is even used for recording the Bengali language.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Western	18,866,692	...
Eastern	22,730,606	...
Unspecified	335,986	...
TOTAL	41,933,284	42,294,099

Western Bengali.	Survey.
Standard	8,443,996
Western	3,967,641
South-Western	346,502
Northern	6,108,553
TOTAL	18,866,692

Broken Dialects.	Survey.
Khariā-ṭhār	2,298
Pahāṛiā-ṭhār	462
Māl Pahāṛiā	27,908
TOTAL	30,668

The Eastern branch of Bengali may be taken as having the District of Dacca for its centre, where what may be called Standard Eastern Bengali is spoken. The true eastern dialect is not spoken west of the Brahmaputra, though, when we cross the river, coming from Dacca, we meet a well-marked form of speech in Rangpur and the districts to its north and east. It is called Rājbangśī, and, while undoubtedly belonging to the eastern branch, has still points of difference which lead us to class it as a separate dialect. In the Darjeeling Tarai it is known as Bāhē. The characteristic signs of Eastern Bengali are first noticeable in the Districts of Khulna and Jessore, and are found all over the eastern half of the Gangetic Delta. It then extends in a north-

Eastern Bengali	Survey.
Standard	16,910,651
Rājbangśī	3,509,171
South-Eastern	2,310,784
TOTAL	22,730,606

easterly direction following the valleys of the Megna and its affluents over the Districts of Tippera, Dacca, Mymensingh, Sylhet, and Cachar. In every direction its further progress is stopped by the hills which bound these regions, and throughout the Surma Valley and in Mymensingh, we also find a mongrel dialect spoken by some of the less civilized tribes, called Haijong or Hājong, which is a mixture of Bengali and Tibeto-Burman languages. Along the eastern littoral of the Bay of Bengal there is a south-western dialect also of the type, and inland there is another curious dialect, called Chákmā, spoken by tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This last has a written character of its own, similar to, but more archaic than, the one used for writing Burmese. Another mongrel language is Daingnet. Some people claim it to be Bengali, but the latest cataloguers put it down as a corrupt form of Chin, and as such it is recorded in these pages.[1]

	Survey.
Haijong . . .	5,000
Chákmā . . .	20,000

Bengali pronunciation.

Some remarks must be made regarding the manner in which the many Sanskrit words used in the literary dialect are pronounced in Bengali. It should be remembered that these words are just as foreign to the language as Latin words are to French, or as French words are to English, and Bengalis pronounce their Sanskrit words much in the way that Englishmen speak 'Frenche ful fayre and fetisly, after the scole of Stratford atte bowe.' During the period in which the Prakrits represented the spoken language of India, the vocal organs of the Indo-Aryan were incapable of pronouncing without difficulty letters and sounds which had been easy to their forefathers. As they pronounced them differently, they spelt them differently, and owing to the records left by the Hindū grammarians we know how they did pronounce them. When they wanted to talk of the Goddess of Wealth, whom their ancestors had called Lakshmī, they found that it cost them too much trouble to pronounce *kshm*, and so they simplified matters by saying, and writing, *Lachchhī* or, dialectically, *Lakkhī*. Again, when they wanted to ask for cooked rice, which their forefathers called *bhakta*, they found the *kt* too hard to pronounce, and so said, and wrote, *bhatta*, just as the Italians find it difficult to say *factum*, and say, and write, *fatto*. Again, some of them could not pronounce an *s* clearly, so they had to say *sh*. When they wanted to talk of the sea, they could not say *sāgara*, but said, and wrote, *shāgara* or *shāyara*. As a last example, if they wanted to express the idea conveyed by the word 'external,' they could not say *bāhya*, and so they said, and wrote, *bajjha*. Now, I have already explained that the modern Bengali is descended from an Apabhraṁśa closely connected with that very Māgadhī Prakrit from which the above examples are all taken. The very same incapacities of the vocal organs exist with Bengalis now, that existed with their predecessors a thousand years ago. A Bengali cannot easily pronounce *kshm* any more than they could. He cannot pronounce a clear *s*, but must make it *sh*. The compound letter *hy* beats him, and instead he has to say *jjh*. These are only a few examples of facts which might be multiplied indefinitely. Nevertheless, a Bengali when he borrows his Sanskrit words writes them in the Sanskrit fashion, which is, say, at least two thousand years out of date, and then reads them as if they were Māgadhī Prakrit words. He writes *Lakshmī*, and says *Lakkhī*. He writes *sāgara*, and says *shāgar*, or, if he is uneducated, *shāyar*. He writes *bāhya*, and says *bajjha*. In other words, he writes Sanskrit, and from that writing reads another

[1] *Ante*, p. 77.

language. It is exactly as if an Italian were to write *factum*, when he says *fatto*, or as if a Frenchman were to write the Latin *sicca*, while he says *sèche*, or as if he were to write the Latin *de horâ in ab ante*, and read it *dorénavant*. The outcome of this state of affairs is that, to a foreigner, the great difficulty of Bengali is its pronunciation. Like English, but for a different reason, its pronunciation is not represented by its spelling. The vocabulary of the modern literary language is largely Sanskrit, and few of these words are pronounced as they are written. Bengalis themselves struggle vainly with a number of complicated sounds, which the disuse of centuries has rendered their vocal organs unable, or too lazy, to produce. The result is a maze of half-pronounced consonants and broken vowels not provided for by their alphabet, amid which the unfortunate foreigner wanders without a guide, and for which his own larynx is as unsuited as is a Bengali's for the sounds of Sanskrit.

Literature.

Bengali has a genuine popular literature extending from at least the fifteenth century to the end of the eighteenth. Since then the so-called 'revival of learning' has galvanized into a vigorous existence the Bengali literature of the present day, at first largely based on English models, containing many excellent works and some few of genius, but, as a rule, not popular in the true sense of the word. Of the earlier writers, perhaps Chaṇḍī Dās and Mukunda Rām are the two whose writings will best repay perusal. Their writings come from the heart and not from the school, and are full of passages adorned with true poetry and descriptive power. Extracts from the works of Mukunda Rām have been admirably translated into English verse by the late Professor Cowell.

Written character.

The well-known Bengali character is a by-form of the Nāgarī type of Indian alphabets, which became established in Eastern India about the eleventh century of our era. Varieties of it are used for Assamese, and by the Brāhmans for the Maithilī dialect of Bihārī.

Assamese.

Assamese is the last of the speeches of the Outer Sub-Branch. As its name implies, it is the language of the Assam Valley, over the whole of which it is the only Aryan tongue, except in the extreme west, where, in the District of Goalpara, it merges into Bengali. Elsewhere it is surrounded entirely by Indo-Chinese or Austric languages. The influence of these non-Aryan languages has not been great. A few words have been borrowed, and one or two old Aryan forms (such as the use of pronominal suffixes) have been retained, owing to the existence of somewhat similar idioms prevailing among the neighbouring tribes. Western Assamese differs slightly from that spoken at the eastern end of the Valley, but the only true dialect is Mayāng or Bishnupuriyā, spoken by a Hindū colony in the State of Manipur and by scattered members of the same tribe in Sylhet and Cachar. From its geographical position we should expect Mayāng to be a dialect of Bengali, rather than of Assamese, and it would not be wrong to class it as the former; but I place it under Assamese, as it has several of the typical characteristics of that language. We may also mention a mongrel trade language, which has developed

Assamese.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Eastern, or Standard	859,950	
Western . .	542,500	...
Mayāng . .	23,500	...
Jharwā . .	9,000	...
Unspecified . .	11,602	...
TOTAL .	1,447,552	1,727,338

Mayāng.

at the foot of the Garo Hills under the name of Jharwā: It is a 'pigeon' mixture of Bengali, Garo, and Assamese. The Assamese are a home-staying race, and the only localities in which their language is found spoken by any considerable number of people outside the Assam Valley are the hills of that province, and the Bengali-speaking Districts of Sylhet and Cachar.

Jharwā.

Like Oriyā, Assamese is a sister, not a daughter, of Bengali. It comes from Bihar, through Northern Bengal, not through Bengal proper. It was, nevertheless, once hotly argued whether Assamese was a dialect of Bengali or not. A great deal of this is a mere question of words which is capable of being discussed *ad infinitum*. The words 'dialect' and 'language' are no more capable of mutually exclusive definition than are 'variety' and 'species' or 'hill' and 'mountain.' It may be admitted that Assamese grammar does not differ to any considerable extent from that of Bengali; but, if we apply another test, that of the possession of a written literature, we can have no hesitation in maintaining that Assamese is entitled to claim an independent existence as the speech of an independent nationality, and to have a standard of its own, different from that which a native of Calcutta would wish to impose upon it.

Assamese compared with Bengali.

Assamese differs most widely from Bengali in its pronunciation. It has, besides the usual sound of *a* as that of *o* in 'hot,' a long drawled *a* something like the sound of *o* in 'glory.' Little distinction is made between long and short vowels, accent having, as in modern Greek, everywhere superseded quantity. No difference is made between the cerebral and dental consonants, both being sounded as semi-cerebrals like the English *t* and *d*. The consonants *ch* and *chh* have the sound of *s* in 'sin,' and *j* that of *z* in 'azure.' On the other hand the letter *s* is pronounced with a peculiar guttural sound approaching that of *ch* in 'loch.' The declension of nouns does not differ materially from that of colloquial (not literary) Bengali, but the conjugation of verbs has many characteristic features in points of detail that need not here be mentioned. The Assamese vocabulary, even when used in literature, is much more free from Tatsamas than is that of Bengali.

Literature.

The Assamese have just reason to be proud of their national literature. In no department have they been more successful than in history, a branch of study in which the rest of India is, as a rule, curiously deficient. The chain of historical events for the past six hundred years has been carefully preserved, and their authenticity can be relied upon. These historical works, originally written in imitation of the chronicles kept by the Āhom conquerors of the country, and still called by their Āhom name, are numerous and voluminous. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of these histories was an indispensable qualification to an Assamese gentleman; and every family of distinction, as well as the government and public officers, kept the most minute records of contemporary events. But Assamese literature is by no means confined to history. Some seventy poetical works, principally religious, have been catalogued. One of the oldest poets, and at the same time most celebrated, was Śrī Śaṅkara Dēva, who flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century, and translated the Bhāgavata Purāṇa into Assamese. Other authors were Rāma Saraswatī, the translator both of the Mahabharata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and Mādhava, the author of the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* and other poems. The Hindū system

of medicine was professionally studied by numerous Assam families of distinction, and some knowledge of the science formed one of the necessary acquirements of a well-bred gentleman. Hence arose a good stock of medical works, principally translations or adaptations from Sanskrit into the vernacular. We know of at least forty dramatic works written during the past five hundred years, and many of these are still acted in the village *nāmghars*. The whole of the Scriptures was translated into Assamese by the Serampore missionaries in the year 1819, and several editions have since been issued. In later years, the American Baptist Mission Press has published a large number of works religious and lay, and has done much to keep the language pure and uncontaminated by the neighbouring Bengali.

Written character.

The character used in writing Assamese is nearly the same as that employed for Bengali. It has one sign, that to represent the sound of *w*, which is wanting in the alphabet of that language.

CHAPTER XIV.—INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES. MEDIATE SUB-BRANCH.

Mediate Sub-Branch.

We now come to that form of speech which is intermediate between the Outer and Inner linguistic Sub-Branches. It is the vernacular of the country in which the hero Rāma-chandra was born; and the Jain apostle Mahāvīra used an early form of it to convey his teaching to his disciples. A development of the Prakrit of that tract, Ardha-Magadhī, hence became the sacred language of the Jains, and its modern successor, Eastern Hindī, through the influence of a great poetical genius, became the medium for celebrating the Gestes of Rāma, and, in consequence, the dialect used for at least half the literature of Hindōstān.

Eastern Hindī.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Awadhī .	16,143,548	..
Baghēlī . .	4,612,756	..
Chhattīsgaṛhī	3,755,343	..
TOTAL .	24,511,647	22,567,882[1]

Eastern Hindī.

Eastern Hindī, which includes three dialects, Awadhī, Baghēlī, and Chhattīsgaṛhī, occupies parts of six Provinces, namely, Oudh, the Province of Agra, Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand, Chota Nagpur, and the Central Provinces. It covers the whole of Oudh, except the District of Hardoi and a part of Fyzabad. In the Province of Agra it covers, roughly speaking, the country between Benares and Hamirpur in Bundelkhand. It occupies the whole of Baghelkhand, the north-east of Bundelkhand, the west and the south-Sone tract of Mirzapur, the States of Chang Bhakar, Sirguja, Udaipur, Korea, and a portion of Jashpur in Chota Nagpur. In the Central Provinces it covers the Districts of Jubbulpore and Mandla, and the greater part of Chhattisgarh with its Feudatory States.

Dialects.

The three dialects of Eastern Hindī closely resemble each other. Indeed, Baghēlī differs so little from Awadhī, that, were it not popularly recognized as a separate speech, I should be inclined to class it as a form of that dialect. Chhattīsgaṛhī, under the influence of the neighbouring Marāṭhī and Oṛiyā, shows greater points of difference; but its close connexion with Awadhī is nevertheless apparent.

Awadhī and Baghēlī.

The Awadhi-Baghēlī dialect covers the whole of the Eastern Hindī area of the United Provinces and of Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Chang Bhakar, and the Districts of Jubbulpore and Mandla. It is also spoken by some scattered tribes in the Central Provinces to the south and west. If we wish to make a dividing line between Awadhī and Baghēlī, we may take the river Jamna where it runs between Fatehpur and Banda, and thence the southern boundary of the Allahabad District. The boundary must, however, be uncertain, for there is hardly any definite peculiarity which we can seize upon as a decisive test.

Chhattīsgaṛhī.

Chhattīsgaṛhī occupies the remaining area of the Eastern Hindī tract; that is to say, the States of Udaipur, Korea, and Sirguja, a portion of Jashpur, and the greater part of Chhattisgarh. As above described, Eastern Hindī occupies an irregular oblong tract of country, extending from, but not including, Nepal to the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, much longer from north to south than it is from east to west. Its mean length may be roughly taken as 750 miles, and its mean breadth as 250, which together give an area of about 187,500 square miles. The total number of speakers is about equal to the entire

[1] In the Census returns, nearly all the speakers of Eastern Hindī are shown as speaking Western Hindī. In the returns, only 1,399,528 are shown for Eastern Hindī. The figures given above are corrected estimates.

population of Brazil, of Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia combined, or of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

A vernacular elsewhere than in the Eastern Hindī tract proper.

Owing to the former prestige of the Lucknow Court, Awadhī is now also spoken as a *vernacular* by Musalmāns over the eastern half of the United Provinces and over the greater part of Bihar, the language of the Hindū majority of this tract being Bihārī. It is difficult to say how many of these Muslims do use Awadhī, but, so far as my information goes, I can estimate them as numbering about a million. Large numbers of speakers of Eastern Hindī are scattered all over Northern India. Putting aside the number of Oudh men who have travelled abroad in quest of service, there is our Indian Army which is largely recruited in that Province.

Speakers abroad.

Linguistic Boundaries.

Eastern Hindī is bounded on the north by the languages of the Nepal Himalaya and on the west by various dialects of Western Hindī, of which the principal are Kanauji and Bundēlī. On the east it is bounded by the Bhojpurī dialect of Bihārī and by Oṛiyā. On the south it meets forms of the Marāṭhī language.

Position of Eastern Hindī with regard to languages of the Outer and Inner Sub-Branches.

It would take up too much space to examine fully the relationship which Eastern Hindī bears to the languages on its east and west. In its pronunciation it follows that of the west in the most important particulars, while in the declension of nouns (although it has typical peculiarities of its own) it in the main follows Bihārī. So also in the declension of its pronouns it follows the eastern languages; for instance, its possessive pronoun of the first person is *mōr*, not *mērā*. In the conjugation of verbs it occupies a true intermediate position. We have seen that the typical characteristic of the eastern languages in this respect is the use of personal terminations in the past tense, of which the base ends in *l*. Eastern Hindī does not use a participle in *l*, but does employ the same personal terminations as those which are found in Bihārī. For instance, the Western Hindī participle 'struck' is *mārā*, which is a contracted form of *mārīā*, while the Bihārī form is *mārila*. In the west, 'he struck' is *mārā* (i.e. *mārīā*) without any termination. In Bihārī it is *mārilas*, with the termination *s*, meaning 'he' (or, literally, 'by him'). Eastern Hindī takes the Western *mārīā*, and adds to it the Bihārī termination *s*, so that it has *mārīa-s*, more usually pronounced *māris*. In the future tense it is still more mixed. Its first person commonly follows the Eastern fashion, and its third the Western. The second person wavers between the two. Thus, 'I shall strike' is the Eastern *mārabõ̃*, while 'he will strike' is the Western *mārihē*. We thus see that Eastern Hindī occupies an intermediate position between the Central languages and those of the East, exactly like the 'Half-Māgadhī' from which it is descended.

Awadhī Literature.

Malik Muḥammad.

Two dialects of Eastern Hindī, Awadhī and Baghēlī, have received considerable literary culture. Of these the Awadhī literature is by far the more important. The earliest writer of note in that dialect was a Musalmān, Malik Muḥammad of Jāyas (fl. 1540 A.D.), the author of the fine philosophic epic entitled the *Padumāwati*. This work, while telling in poetry of a high order the story of Ratan

Sēn's quest for the fair Padmāvatī, of 'Alāu'ddīn's ruthless siege of the virgin city of Chitaur, of Ratan's valour, and of Padmāvatī's wifely devotion culminating in the terrible sacrifice of all in the doomed city that was true and fair, to save it from the lust of the Tartar conqueror, is also an allegory describing the search of the soul for the true wisdom, and the trials and temptations that beset it on its course. Malik Muḥammad's ideal of life was high, and throughout the work of the Muslim ascetic there run veins of the broadest charity and of sympathy with those higher spirits among his Hindū fellow countrymen who were groping in the dark for that light of which many obtained more than a passing glimpse.

Tulasī Dās.

Half a century later, contemporary with our Shakespeare, we find the poet and reformer Tulasī Dās (d. 1623). This extraordinary man, who, if we take for our test the influence that he exercises at the present day, was one of the half-dozen great writers that Asia has produced, deserves more than a brief reference. He is commonly known to Europeans as the author of a history of Rāma, but he was far more than that. He occupies a position among the singers of the Rāma Saga peculiar to himself. Unlike the numerous religious poets who dwelt in the Dōāb, and whose theme was Kṛishṇa, he lived humbly in Benares, unequalled and alone in his niche in the Temple of Fame. Disciples he had in plenty,—to-day they are numbered by millions,—but imitators, none. Looking back through the vista of centuries we see his noble figure standing in its own pure light as the guide and saviour of Hindostān. His influence has never ceased, nay, it has ever kept increasing; and only when we reflect upon the fate of Tantra-ridden Bengal or on the wanton orgies that are carried out under the name of Kṛishṇa-worship, can we justly appreciate the work of the man who first in Northern India taught the infinite vileness of sin and the infinite graciousness of the Deity, and whose motto might have been—

> 'He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things both great and small.'

But Tulasī Dās did not only teach this elevated system of religion,—he succeeded in getting his teaching accepted. He founded no sect, laid down no dogmatic creed, and yet his great work is at the present day the one Bible of ninety millions of people, and fortunate it has been for them that they had this guide. It has been received as the perfect example of the perfect book, and thus its influence has been exercised not only over the unlettered multitude, but over the long series of authors who followed him, and especially over the crowd which sprang into existence with the introduction of printing at the beginning of the last century. As Mr. Growse says, in the Introduction to his translation of the *Ramāyaṇa* of this author, 'the book is in everyone's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read and heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindū community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old.' In fact the importance of Tulasī Dās in the history of India cannot be overrated. Putting the literary merits of his work out of the question, the fact of its *universal* acceptance by all classes, from Bhagalpur to the Panjab, and from the Himalaya to the Nerbudda, surely demands more than a polite acknowledgment of his existence. Half a century ago, an old missionary said to me that no one could hope to understand the natives of Upper India, till he had mastered every line that Tulasī Dās had written. I have since learned to know how right he was.

The result of the commanding position which this poet occupies in the literary history of India is that the Awadhī dialect in which he wrote has since been accepted as the only form of North Indian speech in which certain classes of poetry can be composed. For the past three centuries the great mass of Indian poetical literature has been inspired by one or other of two themes, the history of Rāma and the history of Kṛishṇa. The scene of the latter's early exploits was the central Dōāb together with the District of Muttra to its south, and the Braj Bhākhā of that tract has been used as the means of recording it. But nearly all the vast literature dealing with Rāma has been composed in Awadhī. Nay, more, the use of Awadhī has extended, so that, excepting that devoted to the Kṛishṇa Saga, nine-tenths of all the poetry of North India have been written in it. Such, for instance, is the great translation of the Mahābhārata made at the commencement of the last century for the Mahārāja of Benares. The list of authors in this dialect is a long one, and their works include many of great merit.

Baghēlī Literature.

The other form of Awadhī, Baghēlī, has also a considerable literature. Under the enlightened patronage of the Kings of Rewa, a school of poets arose in that country, whose works still enjoy a considerable reputation. These were, however, rather the products of scholars and critics who wrote about poetry than of poets themselves. The critical faculty was finely developed, but the authors were not 'makers' in the true sense of the word.

CHAPTER XV.—INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES. INNER SUB-BRANCH.

We now come to the consideration of the Inner Sub-Branch. The languages of this Sub-Branch fall into two groups, the Central and the Pahāṛī. The Central Group includes Western Hindī, Paṅjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Bhilī, and Khandēśī.

Inner Sub-Branch.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Central Group	81,665,821	81,745,955
Pahāṛī Group	2,104,801	1,917,537
TOTAL	83,770,622	83,663,492

Central Group.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Western Hindī	38,013,928	41,210,916 [1]
Paṅjābī	12,762,639	16,233,696 [2]
Rājasthānī	16,206,250	13,680,562
Gujarātī	10,646,227	9,551,992
Bhilī	2,601,701	1,855,517
Khāndēśī	1,253,066	213,272
TOTAL	81,665,821	81,745,955

Western Hindī.

Western Hindī covers the country between Sahrind [Sirhind] in the Panjab and Allahabad in the United Provinces. This almost exactly corresponds to the *Madhyadēśā* or 'mid-land' referred to above [3] as the true, pure home of the Indo-Aryan people. It is through this land that the mysterious River Sarasvatī of Indian legend flows underground, from where it disappears in the sands of the Eastern Panjab to the Prayag, near Allahabad, where it mingles its waters with those of the Jamna and the Ganges. On the north, Western Hindī extends to the foot of the Himalaya, but on the south it does not reach much beyond the valley of the Jamna, except towards the east, where it occupies most of Bundelkhand and a part of the Central Provinces. The number of its speakers (thirty-eight millions) is the same as that of the population of Italy and four millions more than that of England. It has several recognized dialects, of which the principal are Hindōstānī, Braj Bhakhā, Kanaujī, and Bundēlī, to which we may add the Bāngarū of the South-Eastern Panjab. Of these, Hindōstānī is now the recognized literary form of Western Hindī, and it will be more convenient to consider it last. The home of Braj Bhakhā is the Central Dōab and the country immediately to its south from near Delhi to, say, Etawah, its head-quarters being round the town of Mathurā [Muttra]. South and west of the Jamna it is also spoken in Gurgaon, in the States of Bharatpur and Karauli, and in the north-west of the Gwalior Agency. To the west and south it gradually merges into Rājasthānī. For more than two thousand years Mathurā has been one of the most important centres of Indo-Aryan civilization. Here also tradition places the earthly scenes of the earlier life of the famous god Kṛishṇa. It was thus natural that the dialect of this country,—the direct descendant of the old Prakrit of Śurasēna, should be used for literature. In the Sanskrit dramas, the ordinary conversation in prose of women of the upper classes was couched in Śaurasēnī Prakrit, and a variety of the same dialect was employed by the Digambara Jains for their sacred books. In ancient times a part of Śūrasēna was known as Vraja, *i.e.*, the country of the cow-pens, and from this is derived the modern appellation of Braj, with its language

Western Hindī.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Hindōstānī	16,633,159	...
Bāngarū	2,.66,784	...
Braj Bhākhā	7,864,274	...
Kanaujī	4,481,600	...
Bundēlī	6,369,201	..
TOTAL	38,013,928	41,210,916 [1]

Braj Bhākhā.

[1] See note to p. 158. [2] These Census figures include many speakers of Lahndā, wrongly classed under Paṅjābī.
[3] See p. 117.

known as Braj Bhākhā. The most important writer in the modern vernacular was the blind bard Sūr Dās, who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century. As Tulasī Dās sang of Rāma, so Sūr Dās sang of Kṛishṇa, and between them, according to Indian opinion, they have exhausted all the possibilities of poetic art. Many are the traditions of minor poets who were unable to produce a single line which was not to be found already existing in the works of one or other of these two masters of song. To the European mind there can be little comparison between the two. Sur Dās was a voluminous author who sang in one key, a sweet one it is true, while Tulasī Dās, besides being a great reformer who rose superior to dogma and to creeds and who refused to found a sect, was a master of the whole gamut of human passion. Sūr Dās was not only one of the founders of a sect, but was also the creator of a school of poets whose theme was Kṛishṇa, and especially the youthful Kṛishṇa, the companion of the herd-girls of Mathurā, —a school which still exists and still expresses itself through the medium of Braj Bhākhā. The most celebrated of his followers was Bihārī Lāl (early part of the seventeenth century), the author of the famous *Sat Saī*, or Seven Centuries of perfectly turned couplets.

Kanaujī.

Kanaujī is the dialect of the lower Dōāb from about Etawah to near Allahabad. Opposite the ancient town of Kanauj, from which it takes its name, it has also spread across the Ganges into the District of Hardoi and further north. It is nearly related to Braj Bhākhā, being really little more than a sub-dialect of that form of speech. It has received small literary cultivation, being completely overshadowed by its more powerful neighbour, but the Serampore missionaries used it for one of their translations of the New Testament in the early part of the last century. If we may trust the evidence of their translation, the dialect has since then lost several old historical forms which existed in Kanauji a century ago, and which are still found in some of the Rājasthānī dialects and in the Khas of Nepal.

Bundēlī.

Bundēlī is the dialect of Western Hindī spoken in Bundelkhand and the neighbourhood, including not only the Bundelkhand Agency, but also Jalaun, Hamirpur, and Jhansi, together with the eastern portion of the Gwalior Agency. It is also spoken in the adjoining parts of Bhopal, and in the Damoh, Saugor, Seoni, and Narsinghpur, and parts of the Hoshangabad and Chhindwara Districts of the Central Provinces. Banda, though politically in Bundelkhand, does not speak Bundēlī. Here the language is mixed, but is in the main Baghēlī. Bundēlī has a small literature dating from the time of Chhattar Sāl of Panna and his immediate predecessors of the early part of the eighteenth century. The Serampore missionaries translated the New Testament into it. The city of Mahoba is within Bundelkhand, and hence it follows that the most famous folk epic of northern India, the Lay of Ālha and Ūdan, which deals with the fortunes of Mahoba and its capture by Prithīrāja of Delhi, is sung by wandering bards in the Bundēlī dialect.

These three dialects, Braj Bhākhā, Kanaujī and Bundēlī, are all closely connected with each other, and are typically pure forms of the speech of the Inner Sub-Branch.

Bāngarū.

The Western Hindī spoken in the south-east of the Panjab has several local names, but it is everywhere the same dialect. In the Hariana tract of Hissar and Jind, it is recognized by Europeans under the name of Hariānī. They, however, call the same form of speech, when they meet it in Rohtak, Dujana, the country parts of Delhi District and Karnal, simply 'Hindī.'

Natives of the country sometimes call it Jāṭū, and sometimes Bāngarū, according to the caste of the people who speak it or to the tract in which it is spoken. Bangarū, or the language of the Bāngar, the high and dry tract of the south-eastern Panjab west of the Ganges, appears to be the most suitable name by which to identify it. This form of Western Hindī has Paṅjābī to its north and west, and Ahīrwāṭī and Mārwāṛī (both dialects of Rājasthānī) to its south, and it is a mixture of the three languages, with Western Hindī as its basis. It does not extend farther north than Karnal. North of Karnal lies the District of Ambala, in the east of which the form of Western Hindī that we find spoken is the same as the Vernacular Hindōstānī of the Upper Dōāb which will now be described. In west Ambala we find Paṅjābī.

Hindōstānī.

As a vernacular, Hindōstānī is the dialect of Western Hindī which exhibits the language in the act of shading off into Paṅjābī. It has the Western Hindī grammar, but the terminations are those that we find in Paṅjābī. Thus, the true Western Hindī postposition of the genitive is *kau* and the corresponding form in Paṅjābī is *dā*. The Hindōstānī dialect of Western Hindī takes the *k* of *kau*, but the termination *ā* of the Paṅjābī *dā*, and has *kā*. So also all adjectives and participles. Hindōstanī must be considered under two aspects, (1) as a vernacular dialect of Western Hindī, and (2) as the well-known literary language of Hindostan and the *lingua franca* current over nearly the whole of India. As a vernacular, it may be taken as the dialect of Western Hindī spoken in the Upper Gangetic Dōab, in Rohilkhand, and in the east of the Ambala District in the Panjab. It is spoken in its greatest purity round Mēraṭh [Meerut] and to the north. In Rohilkhand it gradually shades off into Kanauj̄ī, and in Ambala into Paṅjābī. In the rest of the Eastern Panjab the language is Bāngarū except in Gurgaon where Vernacular Hindōstānī merges into Braj Bhākhā, which may be considered to be established in the east of that District. In this neighbourhood, save in a few minor particulars, the language is practically the same as that taught in the usual Hindōstānī grammars.[1] It is not, however, as the vernacular of the Upper Dōāb that Hindōstānī is generally known. To Europeans it is the polite speech of India generally, and more especially of Hindostan. The name itself is of European coinage, and indicates the idea that is thus suggested, it being rarely used by Indians except under European influence. As a *lingua franca*[2] Hindōstānī grew up in the bazaar attached to the Delhi Court, and was carried everywhere in India by the lieutenants of the Mughul Empire. Since then its seat has been secure. It has several varieties, amongst which may be mentioned Urdū, Rēkhta, Dakhinī, and Hindī. Urdū is that form of Hindōstānī which is written in the Persian character, and which makes a free use of Persian (including Arabic) words in its vocabulary. The name is said to be derived from the *Urdū-ē-mu'alla* or royal military bazaar outside the Delhi

As a vernacular.

As a literary language and *lingua franca*.

Urdū.

[1] It will be noticed that this account of Hindōstānī and its origin differs widely from that which has been given hitherto by most writers, which was based on Mir Ammun's preface to the 'Bāgh o Bahār.' According to him Urdū was a mongrel mixture of the languages of the various tribes who flocked to the Delhi Bazaar. The explanation given above was first put forward by Sir Charles Lyal, in the year 1880, and the Linguistic Survey has shown the entire correctness of his view. Hindōstānī is simply the vernacular of the Upper Dōāb, on which a certain amount of literary polish has been bestowed, and from which a few rustic idioms have been excluded.

[2] I use this word for want of a better term, though it is not strictly accurate. Properly speaking, a *lingua franca* is a hybrid tongue employed as an international language. But, though used as an international language, Hindōstānī is not a hybrid. I know of no other convenient English expression that nearly enough indicates the required idea.

palace. It is spoken chiefly in the towns of western Hindostan, by Musalmāns and by Hindūs who have come under the influence of Persian culture. Persian vocables are it is true, employed in every form of Hindōstānī. We find them even in the correspondence of Prithīrāja, who ruled in Delhi before the Muslim conquest of India. Such words have been admitted to full citizenship even in the rustic dialects, or in the elegant Hindī of modern writers like Hariśchandra of Benares. To object to their use would be but affected purism, just as would be the avoidance of the use of all words of Latin origin in English. But in what is known as high Urdū, the use of Persian words is carried to almost incredible extremes. In writings of this class we find whole sentences in which the only Indian thing is the grammar, and with nothing but Persian words from beginning to end. It is curious, moreover, that this extreme Persianization of Hindōstānī is, as Sir Charles Lyall rightly points out, not the work of conquerors ignorant of the tongue of the people. On the contrary, the Urdū language took its rise in the efforts of the ever pliable Hindū to assimilate the language of his rulers. Its authors were Kāyasths and Khatrīs employed in the administration and acquainted with Persian, and not Persians or Persianized Turks, who for many centuries used their own language for literary purposes.[1] To these is due the idea of employing the Persian character for their vernacular speech, and the consequent preference for words to which that character is native. 'Persian is now no foreign idiom in India, and though its excessive use is repugnant to good taste, it would be a foolish purism and a political mistake to attempt (as some have attempted) to eliminate it from the Hindū literature of the day.' I have made this quotation from Sir Charles Lyall's work,[2] in order to show what an accomplished scholar has to say on one side of a much debated question. That the general principle which he has enunciated is correct, no one will, I think, dispute. Once a word has become domesticated in Hindōstānī no one has any right to object to its use, whatever may be its origin, and opinions will differ only as to what words have received the right of citizenship and what have not. This, after all, is a question of style, and in Hindōstānī as in English, there are styles and styles. For myself, I far prefer the Hindōstānī from which words whose citizenship is in any way doubtful are excluded, but that, I freely admit, is a matter of taste.

Rēkhta. Rēkhta (*i.e.* 'scattered' or 'mixed') is the form which Urdū takes when used by men, especially when employed for poetry. The name is derived from the manner in which Persian words are 'scattered' through it. When poems are written in the special dialect used by women, which has a vocabulary of its own, it is known as Rēkhtī.

Rēkhtī.

Dakhinī. Dakhinī is the form of Hindōstānī used by Musalmāns in the Deccan. Like Urdū, it is written in the Persian character, but is much more free from Persianization. It retains grammatical forms (such as *mērē kō* for *mujh kō*) which are common among the rustics of Northern India, but which are not found in the literary dialect, and in some localities does not use the agent case

[1] English is being introduced into the Indian vernaculars in the same way. A horse-doctor once said to me about a dog licking his wound, 'kuttē-kā saliva bahut antiseptic hai,' and Dr Grahame Bailey has heard one Panjābī dentist say to another busy over one of his victims, 'continually excavate na karō.' The 1911 Census Report of the United Provinces (p. 234) quotes an Indian Wakīl, or Attorney, saying in Court, 'is position-kā incontrovertible proof dē saktā hū, aur mērā opinion yeh hai ki defence-kā argument water-hold nahī kar saktā hai.

[2] *Sketch of the Hindustani Language* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 9.

with *nē* before transitive verbs in the past tense,[1] which is a characteristic feature of all the dialects of Western Hindostan.

Hindī.

The word 'Hindī' is used in several different meanings. It is a Persian, not an Indian, word, and Persian writers used it to denote a native of India, as distinguished from 'Hindū' or non-Musalmān Indian. Thus Amīr Khusrau says, 'whatever live Hindū fell into the king's hands was pounded into bits under the feet of elephants. The Musalmāns who were Hindūs had their lives spared.'[2] In this sense (and in this way it is still used by natives of India) Bengali and Marāṭhī are as much Hindī as the language of the Dōāb. On the other hand, Europeans use the word in two mutually contradictory senses, *viz.*, sometimes to indicate the Sanskritized, or at least the non-Persianized, form of Hindōstānī which is used as a literary form of speech by Hindūs, and which is usually printed in the Nagarī character, and sometimes, loosely, to indicate all the rural dialects spoken between Bengal proper and the Panjab. In the present pages I use the word only in the former of these two meanings. This Hindī, therefore, or, as it is sometimes called, 'High Hindī,' is the prose literary language of those Hindūs who do not employ Urdū. It is of modern origin, having been introduced under English influence at the commencement of the last century. Up till then, when a Hindū wrote prose and did not use Urdū, he wrote in his own local dialect, Awadhī, Bundēlī, Braj Bhākhā, Vernacular Hindōstānī, or what not. Lallū Lāl,[3] under the inspiration of Dr. Gilchrist, changed all this by writing the well-known *Prēm Sagar*, a work which was, so far as the prose portions went, practically written in Urdū, with Indo-Aryan words substituted wherever a writer in that form of speech would use Persian ones. It was thus an automatic reversion to the actual vernacular of the Upper Dōāb. The course of this novel experiment was successful from the start. The subject of the first book written in it attracted the attention of all pious Hindūs, and the author's style, musical and rhythmical as the Arabic *saj'*, pleased their ears. Then, the language filled a want. It gave a *lingua franca* to the Hindūs. It enabled men of widely distant provinces to converse with each other without having recourse to the, to them, unclean words of the Musalmāns. Everywhere it was easily intelligible, for its grammar was that of the language that every Hindū had to employ in his business relations with Government officials, and its vocabulary was the common property of all Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. Moreover, very little prose, excepting commentaries and the like, had been written in any modern Indian vernacular before. Literature had almost entirely confined itself to verse. Hence the language of the *Prēm Sāgar* became, naturally enough, the standard of Hindū prose all over Hindostan, from Bihar to the Panjab, and has held its place as such to the present day. Nowadays no Hindū of Upper India dreams of writing in any Indian language except Urdū or Hindī when he is writing prose; but when he takes to verse, he instinctively adopts one of the old national dialects, such as the Awadhī of Tulasī Das or the Braj Bhakhā of the blind bard of Agra. Of late some attempts have been made to write poetry in literary Hindī, but I do not think that such attempts can have more than a small modicum of success. The tradition of a special language for poetry

[1] As a broad rule, Bombay Dakhinī and all that spoken north of the Satpuras employ *nē*, while Madras Dakhinī does not.

[2] Elliot, 'History of India,' iii, 539.

[3] Lallū Lāl was not the first writer of this modern Hindī. He was preceded a few years by Sadal Miśra, and perhaps by others, but their writings fell stillborn, and have only of late years been revived by antiquarian students of Benares, to whom, unknown to them, has survived the traditional jealousy of Benares Paṇḍits against Lallū Lāl, the Gujarātī Brāhman.

has taken deep root in India, and is well established. Such language is loved and easily understood by every one down to the humblest ploughman, and so long as the influence of such poets as Tulasī Dās prevails it will never fall into disuse.

Since Lallū Lāl's time Hindī has developed for itself certain rules of style which differentiate it from Urdū. The principal of these relate to the order of words, which is much less free than in that form of Hindōstānī. It has also, of late years, fallen under the fatal spell of Sanskrit, and is showing signs of becoming, in the hands of Paṇḍits, and under the encouragement of some European writers who have learnt Hindī through Sanskrit, as debased as literary Bengali without the same excuse. Hindī has so copious a vocabulary of its own, rooted in the very beings of the peasantry upon whose language it is based, that nine-tenths of the Sanskrit words which one meets in many modern Hindī books are useless and unintelligible excrescences. The employment of Sanskrit words is supposed to add dignity to the style. One might as well say that a graceful girl of eighteen gained in dignity by masquerading in the furbelows of her great grandmother. Some enlightened Indian scholars are struggling hard, without displaying any affected purism, against this too easily acquired infection, and we may hope that their efforts will meet with the encouragement that they deserve.

Hindōstānī, Urdū, and Hindī.

We may now define the three main varieties of Hindōstānī as follows:—Hindōstānī is primarily the language of the Northern Doāb, and is also the *lingua franca* of India, capable of being written both in the Persian and the Nāgarī characters and, without purism, avoiding alike the excessive use of either Persian or Sanskrit words when employed for literature. The name 'Urdū' can then be confined to that special variety of Hindōstānī in which Persian words are of frequent occurrence, and which therefore can only be written with ease in the Persian character; and, similarly, 'Hindī' can be confined to the form of Hindōstānī in which Sanskrit words abound, and which therefore is legible only when written in the Nāgarī character. These are the definitions which were proposed by the late Mr. Growse, and they have the advantage of being intelligible, while at the same time they do not overlap. Hitherto, all these words have been very loosely employed. Finally, I use 'Eastern Hindī' to connote the group of intermediate dialects of which Awadhī is the chief, and 'Western Hindī' to connote the group of dialects of which Braj Bhākha and Hindōstānī (in its different phases) are the best known examples.

Literature.

As a literary language, the earliest specimens of Hindōstānī are in Urdū, or rather Rēkhta, for they are poetical works. Its cultivation began in the Deccan at the end of the sixteenth century, and it received a definite standard of form a hundred years later, principally at the hand of Walī of Aurangabad, commonly called 'the Father of Rēkhta.' The example of Walī was quickly taken up at Delhi, where a school of poets took its rise of which the most brilliant members were Saudā (d. 1780), the author of the famous satires, and Mīr Taqī (d. 1810). Another school, almost equally celebrated, arose at Lucknow during the troubled time at Delhi in the middle of the eighteenth century. The great difference between the poetry of Urdū and that written in the various dialects of Eastern or Western Hindī lies in the system of prosody. In the former, the prosody is that of the Persian language, while in the latter it is the altogether opposed indigenous system of India. Moreover, the former is entirely based on Persian models of composition, which

are quite different from the older works from which the native literature took its origin. Urdū prose came into existence, as a literary medium, at the beginning of the last century in Calcutta. Like Hindī prose, its earliest attempts were due to English influence, and to the need of textbooks in both forms of Hindōstānī for the College of Fort William. *The Bāgh o Bahār* of Mīr Amman, and the *Khirad Afrōz* of Ḥafīẓu'd-dīn Aḥmad are familiar examples of the earlier of these works in Urdū, as the already mentioned *Prēm Sāgar* written by Lallū Lāl is an example of those in Hindī. Since those days both Urdū prose and Hindī prose have had a prosperous course, and it is unnecessary to dwell upon the copious literature that has poured from the press in the last century. Muḥammad Ḥusain (Āzād) and Paṇdit Ratan Nāth (Sarshār) are probably amongst the most eminent writers of Urdū prose, while in Hindī the late Hariśchandra of Benares by universal consent holds the first place. As already explained, Hindī, as defined above, has hardly any poetical literature. Such as there is is confined to what are little more than experiments carried out during the past few years. All the great Hindū poetical works are written in one or other of the Eastern or Western Hindī dialects. There are several excellent modern Urdū poets, of whom the most celebrated is probably Alṭāf Ḥusain (Ḥālī), whose Quatrains have been admirably translated into English by the late Mr. G. E. Ward.

Paṅjābī.

Paṅjābī is spoken over the greater part of the eastern half of the Province of the Panjab, in the northern corner of the Rajputana State of Bikaner, and in the southern half of the State of Jammu. It is bounded on the north and north-east by the Western Pahāṛī of the lower ranges of the Himalaya, on the east by Western Hindī,—in East Ambala by the Vernacular Hindostānī, and in the country immediately to the west of the Jamna by the Bāṅgarū dialect,—on the south by the Bāgṛī and Bīkanērī dialects of Rājasthānī, and on the west by Lahndā. In describing the last-named language[1] I have dealt at some length on the mutual relationship between it and Paṅjabī. I explained that the whole Panjab was the meeting ground of two distinct forms of speech, *viz.*, the old Outer language strongly influenced by Dardic, if not actually Dardic, which expanded from the Indus Valley eastwards, and the old Midland language, the parent of modern Western Hindī, which expanded from the Jamna Valley westwards. In the Panjab these overlapped. In the Eastern Panjab the wave of Dardic with the old Lahndā had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Western Hindī had the mastery, the resultant language being Paṅjābī, while in the Western Panjab the old Western Hindī had nearly exhausted itself, the resultant language being modern Lahndā. It is thus impossible to draw any clear dividing line between Paṅjābī and Lahndā, and all that we can do is to take the 74th degree of East Longitude as a conventional frontier between the two forms of speech, with the understanding that this is an attempt to define a state of affairs that is essentially indefinite. On the other hand the line between Western Hindī and Paṅjābī is more distinct, and may be taken as the meridian passing through Sahrind [Sirhind]. The net result is that we may say that the language of the extreme Eastern Panjab is Western Hindī, that of the Western Panjab is Lahndā, and that of the Central and East Central Panjab is Paṅjābī.

---

[1] See pp. 135, 138.

The Panjab of old time.

The mixed character of the languages of the Central and Western Panjab (Pañjābī and Lahndā) is well illustrated by the character given to the inhabitants of these tracts by a hostile writer in the Mahābhārata, and by incidental references in the grammar of Pāṇini. Although not distant from the holy Sarasvatī, the centre from which Sanskritic civilization spread, we learn that the laws and customs of the Panjab were at a very early period widely different from those of the Midland. The people are at one time described as living in a state of kingless anarchy, and at another time as possessing no Brāhmans (a dreadful thing to an orthodox Hindū), living in petty villages, and governed by princes who supported themselves by internecine war. Not only were there no Brahmans, but there were no castes, or else it was possible for a man of one caste to adopt another. The population had no respect for the Vēda, and offered no sacrifices to the gods. They were rude and uncultivated, given to drinking spirituous liquor, and eating all kinds of flesh. Their women were large-bodied, yellow, extremely immoral in their behaviour, and seem to have lived in a condition of polyandry, a man's heir being not his son, but the son of his sister.[1] That this account was true in every particular need not be urged. It was given to us by enemies; but, whether true or not, it illustrates the gulf in regard to habits, customs, and language, that existed between the Midland and the Panjab.

Pañjābī is spoken by thirteen millions of people, a number equivalent to the population of Czecho-Slovakia. It has two dialects,—the Standard and Ḍōgrī. The Standard dialect is spoken over the plains portion of the Central Panjab, and varies slightly from place to place, the form spoken round Amritsar, *i.e.*, in the *Mājh* or middle part of the Bari Dōāb, being considered to be the purest. Its proper national character is the *Laṇḍā* or 'clipped' alphabet also in use for Lahndā, and described above on p. 138. As elsewhere, this is seldom legible to anyone except the writer, and not always to him. Accōrding to tradition, Aṅgada (1538-52), the second Sikkh Guru, found that the hymns of his religion when written in this character were liable to be misread, and he accordingly improved it by borrowing signs from the Nāgarī alphabet and by polishing up the forms of the existing letters. The resultant alphabet became known as the *Gurmukhī*, or that which proceeds from the mouth of the Guru. This Gurmukhī alphabet is the one now used for printed texts employed by the Sikkhs of the Panjab, and is also used by Hindūs of the same country. Musalmāns, as a rule, prefer the Persian alphabet.

Dialects.

	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Standard	11,180,611	14,796,309[2]
Ḍōgrī	1,229,227	418,678
Unspecified	352,801	1,019,609
TOTAL	12,762,639	16,233,596[2]

Written character.

Gurmukhī alphabet.

Ḍōgrī is the dialect of Pañjābī spoken in the State of Jammū and in the adjoining parts of the Panjab proper. It closely resembles the Standard dialect. It differs mainly in the forms used in the declension of nouns, and in its vocabulary, which is influenced by Lahndā and Kāshmīrī.

Ḍōgrī.

[1] Can the author of this description have had the customs of the Jaṭṭs in his mind when writing?

[2] These Census figures are excessive. Many people are included in them who ought to have been shown under Lahndā.

It has a written character of its own, allied to the Laṇḍā of the Panjab plains and called *Ṭakkarī*, the name of which is probably derived from that of the Ṭakkas, a tribe whose capital was the famous Śākala, a town which the late Dr. Fleet identified with the modern Sialkot.

Ṭakkarī alphabet.

Pañjābī has a small literature, mainly consisting of ballads and folk-epics. These include several cycles of considerable extent, the most important of which are those referring to the famous hero Rājā Rasālū, to Hīrā and Rānjhā, and to Mirzā and Sāhibā. The version of the Hīrā and Rānjhā legend by Wāris Shāh is considered to be a model of the purest Pañjābī. It is immensely popular, and gramophone records of selected passages find a ready sale throughout the country.[1] The contents of the Sikkh *Granth*, though written in the Gurmukhī character, are mostly in old Hindī, only a few of the hymns, though some of these are the most important, being composed in Pañjābī. Of late years a small prose Pañjābī literature has sprung up with the introduction of the art of printing. The Serampur missionaries translated the New Testament and portions of the Old into Standard Pañjābī, and the New Testament alone into Bhaṭnērī, a mixed dialect spoken on the borders of Bikaner. Pañjābī is the vernacular of our Sikkh soldiers, and is hence found not only in many parts of India, but is even heard in distant China, where Sikkh police are employed in the Treaty Ports.

Literature.

The Sikkh *Granth*.

Pañjābī spoken abroad.

Of all the languages connected with the Midland, Pañjābī is the one which is most free from borrowed words, whether Persian or Sanskrit. While capable of expressing all ideas, it has a charming rustic flavour characteristic of the homely peasantry that employ it. In many respects it bears much the same relationship to Hindī that the Lowland Scotch of the poet Burns bears to Southern English.

General character of the language.

Directly south of Pañjābī lies Rājasthānī, with eighteen and a quarter million speakers, equivalent to about half the population of England and Wales. Just as Pañjābī represents the expansion of the Midland language to the north-west, so Rājasthānī represents its expansion to the south-west. In the course of this latter expansion, the Midland language, passing through the area of Rājasthānī, reaches the sea in Gujarat, where it becomes Gujarātī. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī are hence very closely connected, and are, in fact, little more than variant dialects of one and the same language.[2] There are many traditions of migration from the Midland into Rajputana and Gujarat, the first mentioned being the foundation of Dvārakā in Gujarat, at the time of the war of the Mahābhārata. According to Jain tradition, the first Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat came from Kanauj in the Gangetic Dōab, and in the ninth century A.D. a Gurjara-Rājpūt of Bhilmāl or Bhīnmāl, in Western Rajputana, conquered that city. The Rāṭhaurs of Marwar say that they came thither from Kanauj in the twelfth century. The Kachhwāhās of Jaipur claim to come from Oudh, while another tradition makes the Chaulukyas come from the Eastern Panjab.

Rajasthānī and Gujarātī.

[1] An English translation by G. C. Usborne appeared as a supplement to "The Indian Antiquary." The first instalment came out with the number for April 1921, of Volume L.

[2] The differentiation of Gujarātī from the Marwārī dialect of Rājasthānī is quite modern. We have poems written in Marwar in the fifteenth century which were composed in the mother language that later on developed into these two forms of speech.

The close political connexion between Rajputana and Gujarat is shown by the historical fact that the Gahlōts of Mewar came thither from the latter tract. That some Rājput clans are descended from Gurjara immigrants is now admitted by most scholars, who maintain that one of their centres of dispersion in Rajputana was in, or near, Mount Abu. These appear to have entered India with the Hūṇas and other marauding tribes about the sixth century A.D., and rapidly rose to great power. They were in the main a pastoral people, but had their chiefs and fighting men. When the tribe became of consequence the latter were treated by the Brāhmans as equivalent to Kshatriyas, and given the title of Rājaputras or Rājpūts, *i.e.*, 'Sons of Kings.' Some were even admitted to equality with the Brāhmans themselves, but the bulk of the tribe which still followed its pastoral avocations remained as a subordinate caste under the title of Gurjaras, or, in modern language, Gūjars.

Rājasthānī.

As its name indicates, Rājasthānī is the language of Rājasthān, in the sense given to that word by Tod. It is spoken in Rajputana and the western portion of Central India, and also in the neighbouring tracts of the Central Provinces, Sind, and the Panjab. To the east it shades off into the Bundēlī dialect of Western Hindī in the Gwalior State. To its north it merges into Braj Bhākhā, in the States of Karauli and Bharatpur and in the British District of Gurgaon. To the west it gradually becomes Pañjābī, Lahndā, and Sindhī, through the mixed dialects of the Indian desert, and, directly, Gujarātī in the State of Palanpur. On the south it meets Marāṭhī, but, this being an Outer language, does not merge into it.

Dialects.

Rājasthān is a tract divided amongst many States and many tribes, and it has hence many closely related dialects. No less than fifteen variations of the local speech have been counted in the Jaipur State alone. Omitting minor local differences, there are some twenty real dialects spoken over the area of which Rājasthanī is the vernacular. An examination of them shows that they fall into four main groups, which may be called Marwāṛī, the Central Eastern Group (of which the typical dialect is Jaipurī), the North-Eastern Group (of which the typical dialect is Mēwātī), and Mālvī, and these may be taken as the four main dialects of the language. In addition to these we may also notice Nīmāḍī, Labhānī, and Gujarī. By far the most important of the Rājasthānī dialects, whether we consider the size of the area in which it is vernacular, or the extent it has spread over India, is Mārwāṛī. Its home is Western Rajputana, including the great States of Marwar, Mewar, Bikaner, and Jaisalmir. It has many varieties, of which the best known are Thaḷī, or Western Marwaṛī of the Desert, which extends well into Sind, the Mēwaṛī of the Udaipur State, Bīkānōrī, and the Bāgṛī of North-East Bikaner and the adjoining parts of the Panjab. The last is often considered a distinct dialect. The Shēkhāwaṭī of North-West Jaipur

Rājasthānī.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Mārwāṛī .	. 6,088,389	...
Central Eastern	2,907,200	
North-Eastern	. 1,670,029	...
Mālvī .	. 4,350,507	...
Nīmāḍī .	. 474,777	...
Labhānī .	. 158,600	...
Gujarī .	. 297,673	...
Unspecified	. 461,115	...
TOTAL	.16,298,280	12,680,562[1]

Mārwāṛī.

[1] These figures are probably too low. In the Census, some speakers of Rājasthānī were apparently put under Western Hindī.

differs very little from the Mārwāṛī spoken in the east and centre of the adjoining State of Bikaner Of the Central Eastern dialects, the most important are Jaipurī and Hāṛauṭī. Jaipurī, as its name implies, is the language of the State of Jaipur, and we know more about it than we do about any other form of Rājasthānī. At the request of His Highness the Maharajah of Jaipur, an elaborate survey of all the various local dialects employed in the State was carried out by the Rev. G. Macalister, M.A., who has published the results in an admirable little volume. Hāṛauṭī is the dialect spoken by Hāṛā Rājpūts of Bundī and Kota, and extends eastwards over the border of the Gwalior State, where it merges into Bundēlī. The principal North-Eastern dialect is Mēwātī or Bighōtā, the language of the Mēos, whose head-quarters are in the State of Alwar. The Ahīrwāṭī or Hīrwāṭī spoken to the south and south-west of Delhi is a form of it. As might be expected, the dialects of this group are the forms of Rājasthānī which most nearly approach Western Hindī. In Ahīrwāṭī we see it merging into the Bāngarū dialect of that language, while in the Mēwātī of Alwar it is shading off into Braj Bhākhā. The head-quarters of Mālvī are in the Malwa country round Indore, but it extends over a wide tract. To the east it reaches to Bhopal, where it meets Bundēlī, and to the west it is stopped by the Bhīl dialects spoken in the hills south of Udaipur. It also occupies the north-western Districts of the Central Provinces. A peculiar form of it, which is much mixed with Mārwāṛī forms, is called Rāṅgṛī or Rājwāṛī, and is spoken by Rājpūts. In North Nimar and the adjoining portion of the Bhopawar Agency of Central India, Mālvī has become so mixed with Khāndēśī and the Bhīl languages that it has become a new dialect, called Nīmāḍī, and possessing peculiarities of its own. Nīmāḍī can, however, hardly be called a true dialect, in the sense in which we call Mārwāṛī, Jaipurī, Mēwātī, and Mālvī dialects of Rājasthānī. It is rather a mixed patois made up of several languages, with Mālvī for its basis.

Central Eastern. Jaipurī.

Hāṛauṭī.

North Eastern. Mēwātī. Ahīrwāṭī.

Mālvī.

Nīmāḍī.

Labhānī or Banjārī is the language of the Banjārās, a well-known tribe of carriers who are found all over Western and Southern India. They are also called Labhānās. In many parts of India they use the language of the people of the country in which they happen to dwell, but in Berar, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the Panjab, United Provinces, and the Central Indian Agency, they have a language of their own, the name of which varies according to the local name of the tribe. Everywhere it is a mixed form of speech, but, throughout, its basis is some western form of Rājasthānī, the other element consisting of borrowings from the speech of the locality where the members of the tribe happen to be found. It may here be mentioned that two other tribal dialects have been found on examination

Labhānī.

Kakēri.

to be the same as Labhānī. These are Kakēri and Bahrūpiā. Kakēri is the language of the Kakērs, a small tribe of comb-makers who emigrated from Ajmer in Rajputana some two hundred years ago and settled in the District of Jhansi in the United Provinces.

Bahrūpiā.

The Bahrūpiās or Mahtams are now found in the Panjab Districts of Gujrat and Sialkot. They say that they came thither from Rajputana with Rājā Mān Singh on the occasion of his expedition to Kabul in the year 1587, and then settled in the localities where they are now found. It is probable that they were originally a sub-tribe of the Labhānās.

Gujarī.

The mention of the Gujarī dialect opens up an interesting period of Indian history. We have already seen that the Gurjaras, the ancestors of the present Gūjars, probably entered India in the fifth or sixth century A.D., and that some of their fighting men became recognized as Rājpūts. We shall see, in dealing with the Pahārī languages, that in ancient times the present Districts of Kumaun and Garhwal together with the country to their west including the Simla Hills was known as 'Sapādalaksha,' and that this tract was partly occupied by these Gurjaras in the course of their immigration. Thence certain of the Gurjaras descended into the plains, crossed the Gangetic Valley, and entered Mewat, whence they spread over Eastern Rajputana, and acquired its language. In after years certain of these Rajputana settlers again migrated towards the north-west, and invaded the Panjab from the south-east. They left a line of colonists extending from Mewat, up both sides of the Jamna Valley, and thence, following the foot of the Himalaya, right up to the Indus. Where they have settled in the plains they have abandoned their own language, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as Gujarī. In each case this can be described as the language of the people nearest the local Gūjars, but badly spoken, as if by foreigners. The farther we go into these sparsely populated hills the more independent do we find this Gujarī, and the less influenced by its surroundings. At length, when we get into the wild hill-country of Swat and Kashmir, we find the nomad Gūjars, here called Gūjurs (if cowherds) or Ajirs (if shepherds), still pursuing their original pastoral avocations and still speaking the descendant of the language that their ancestors brought with them from Mewat. But this shows traces of its long journey. It contains odd phrases and idioms of the Hindōstānī of the Jamna Valley, which were picked up *en route* and carried to the distant hills of Dardistan.

Rājasthānī literature.

The only dialect of Rājasthānī which has a considerable recognized literature is Mārwāṛī. Numbers of poems in Old Mārwāṛī or Ḍiṅgal, as it is called for poetical purposes, are in existence, but have not as yet been seriously studied. Besides this there is an enormous mass of literature in other forms of Rājasthānī. I allude to the corpus of Bardic Histories described in Tod's *Rajasthan*, the accomplished author of which was, until the lat few years, probably the only European who had read any considerable portion of them. Since then,

of late years a survey of these chronicles has been undertaken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under the auspices of the Government of India, and considerable progress had been made in cataloguing them and in publishing texts, when the work was interrupted by the lamented death of Dr. L. P. Tessitori, the learned Italian scholar in whose immediate charge it was. Since then the project has been in abeyance. The most important chronicle of all, the *Pṛthirāj Rāsau* of Chand Bardāi, has also lately been made available to students by the publication, under the care of the Nāgarī Pracharinī Sabhā of Benares, of the complete text with an abstract in Hindī. A few episodes of it have also been translated into English by Beames and by Hoernle. It is written in an old form of Western Hindī—not in Rājasthānī—also used by Rājpūt bards for poetical purposes, and known as Piṅgal, and, as we have it now, probably contains spurious additions; but it is nevertheless a wonderful storehouse of Rajputana history and legend. The Serampore Missionaries translated the New Testament into Hāṛauṭī (a Central Eastern dialect), Ujainī (*i.e.*, Mālvī), Udaipurī (*i.e.*, Mēwāṛī, a form of Mārwāṛī), Mārwāṛī, Jaipurī, and Bīkanērī (another form of Mārwāṛī).

Characteristics of the language.

At the time of the great war of the Mahābhārata, the country known as that of the Pānchālas extended from the river Chambal up to Hardwar at the foot of the Himalaya. The southern portion of it, therefore, coincided with Northern Rajputana. We have already seen[1] that the Pānchalas seem to have been one of these tribes who were the earliest Aryan invaders of India, and that, therefore, it is probable that their language was one of those which belonged to the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan languages. If this is true, it is, *a fortiori*, also true of the rest of Rajputana more to the south. The theory also further requires us to conclude that, as the Aryans who spoke the languages of the Inner Sub-branch expanded and became more powerful, they gradually thrust those of the Outer Circle who were to their south, still farther and farther in that direction. In Gujarat, the Inner Aryans broke through the retaining wall of the Outer tribes and reached the sea. There are traditions of several settlements from the Midland in Gujarat, the first mentioned being that of Dvārakā in the time of the Mahābhārata war. The only way into Gujarat from the Midland is through Rajputana. The more direct route is barred by the great Indian desert. Rajputana itself was occupied in comparatively modern times by invaders from Central Hindostan. As previously stated, the Rāṭhaurs have a tradition that they abandoned Kanauj in the Dōāb late in the twelfth century A.D., and then took possession of Marwar. The Kachhwāhas of Jaipur claim to have come from Oudh, and the Solankīs from the Eastern Panjab. Gujarat itself was occupied by the Yādavas, members of which tribe still occupy their original seat near Muttra. The Gahlōts of Mewar, on the other hand, are, according to tradition, a reflex wave from Gujarat, driven into the neighbourhood of Chitor after the famous sack of Vallabhi. We thus see that the whole of the country between the Gangetic Doāb and the sea-coast of Gujarat has at present among its occupants a large number of people who are members of tribes that immigrated from the Midland. These originally found there other Aryan tribes previously settled, who, in their turn, belonged to what I call the Outer Circle, and whom they either absorbed or drove farther to the south, or both. This is exactly borne out by the linguistic conditions of this tract. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī are both, on the whole, languages of the Inner Sub-branch, but they show many traces of forms which are

[1] *Ante*, p. 116.

characteristic of languages of the Outer Band. A few may be mentioned here. In pronunciation, Gujarati, like Sindhī, Marāṭhī, and Assamese, prefers the sound of *ō* to that of *au*. Thus, the Hindōstānī *chauthā*, fourth, is *chōthō* in Sindhī, Rājasthānī, and Gujarātī. Again, like Sindhī, both Rājasthānī and Gujarātī have a strong preference for cerebral sounds instead of dentals. Like Sindhī and other North-Western languages, vulgar Gujarātī pronounces *s* as *h*. So also do the speakers of certain parts of Rajputana. Like all the eastern languages and Marāṭhī, but unlike the Inner languages, both Rajasthānī and Gujarātī nouns have an oblique form ending in *a*. Under the head of Sindhī [2] we have shown how a past participle in *i*, which is peculiarly characteristic of the languages of the Outer Sub-Branch, is also found in Gujarātī. Finally, in the conjugation of verbs, both Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, like Lahnda, have a future whose characteristic is the letter *s*.

Written Character.

Rājasthānī uses the Nāgarī character for its literature. For ordinary purposes it has a corrupt form of that script allied to the Laṇḍā of the Panjab. This is known as Mahājanī, or the alphabet of the mercantile class, and is well-nigh illegible to everyone except its writer. It omits nearly all the vowels, and the stories about the consequent misreadings are among the most popular chestnuts of Indian folklore.

Rājasthānī in other parts of India.

Rājasthānī, in the form of Mārwārī, can be heard all over India. There is hardly a town where the 'thrifty denizen of the sands of Western and Northern Rajputana has not found his way to fortune, from the petty grocer's shop in a Deccan village to the most extensive banking and broking connexion in the commercial capitals of both East and West India.'

---

[1] In the Baroda Census Report for 1921 (pp. 289ff.) Mr. Satyavrata Mukerjea criticizes the theories enunciated above, and maintains that 'the present position of languages like Gujarātī is not so much the result of the superior impact of the Madhyadēśa on the Outer Band, as of the reverse.' I am not convinced by his arguments, but, as a question of pure philology, the matter is not of great importance. He agrees that both Rājasthānī and Gujarātī are mixed forms of speech, possessing partly the characteristics of languages of the Outer Band, and partly those of the languages of the Midland, but when he would on this account class Gujarātī with Eastern Hindī, as a member of the Mediate Sub-Branch, I must part company with him. As he would arrange the Indo Aryan languages, we have, first, in the centre, Western Hindī, the language of the Midland. Surrounding it in a ring are a number of mixed languages,—on the east, Eastern Hindī, on the south, Rājasthānī (with Gujarātī), on the west, Panjābī; and, on the north, the Pahāṛī languages of the Himalaya. These are all intermediate between Western Hindī and the Outer languages, forming a bridge between the two. Round and outside these mixed languages, we have, again, a ring of Outer languages,—Bihārī, Oṛiyā, Marāṭhī, Sindhī, and Lahndā. There is thus a centre, surrounded by a band of mixed languages, and that again surrounded by an outer band. If we give the name 'Intermediate languages' to the mixed band, I offer no objection. Indeed, on various occasions, when not writing for scientific publications, I have used the same arrangement myself. It has the advantage of being systematic and of being easily comprehended. But the term 'Mediate Sub-Branch' has in these pages been given a different connotation, and one which compels us to include under that name Eastern Hindī, and Eastern Hindī alone. Under that heading it is impossible to include such languages as Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. It is true that, like them, Eastern Hindī is to a certain extent a bridge between Western Hindī and an Outer language, but it is not a mixed language like the other two. It has had an independent growth from prehistoric times, and has developed a grammar altogether different whether we compare it with Western Hindī or with any Outer language. On the other hand, the grammars of Rājasthānī and of Gujarātī are in their essence the same as that of Western Hindī. Particular postpositions or terminations may vary, but the ground basis of the three languages is identical in all. That there are also in Gujarātī certain peculiarities inherited from the language of the Outer Sub-Branch which it superseded cannot be denied, and it is the presence of these which makes us insist on its mixed character. But neither here nor in Rājasthānī has there been such a development on independent lines as would entitle us to look upon either as a member of the Mediate Sub-Branch. This is not the place to enter into the details of the argument, and I therefore content myself with referring those interested to the conjugation of the verb, on the one hand in Eastern Hindī, and, on the other hand, in Western Hindī, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. A comparison of the two systems will at once show the impossibility of putting Rājasthānī or Gujarātī into the same linguistic group as Eastern Hindī.

[2] P. 140, *ante*.

Gujarātī

Where spoken.

As already stated, Gujarātī is closely related to Rājasthanī. So late as the fifteenth century[1] Marwar and Gujarat had one common language, which has since then split up into these two languages and of which both originally formed little differing dialects. Gujarātī is spoken in the British Province of Gujarat and in Baroda and the other neighbouring Indian States. It extends south along the coast of the Arabian Sea to about Daman, where there is a mixed population, some speaking Marāṭhī, and some Gujarātī. The two languages have no intermediate dialect. On the north, it shades off into Sindhī, through the Kachchhī dialect of that language, although in Cutch (Kachchh) itself the standard dialect is employed for official and literary purposes. Still on the north, but to the east of Sindhī, it meets Mārwārī, into which, a little north of the Ran of Cutch, it gradually merges. On its east, it has the hill country, in which Bhīlī and Khāndēśī are spoken, and on its south it has Marāṭhī The Bhīl languages and Mārwārī, like Gujarātī, belong to the Inner Sub-Branch, and into these Gujarātī merges naturally, and without difficulty. The case of Sindhī is somewhat peculiar in this respect. Sindhī is an Outer language, and we have seen that the old language once spoken in Gujarat, but which has been superseded by the modern Gujarātī, itself also belonged to the Outer Sub-Branch, and must have been closely related to Sindhī. I have said that Gujarātī merges into Sindhī through the Kachchhī dialect of that language. This is only partly true. Kachchhī, in its pure form, is not an intermediate dialect between the two languages. It is a form of Sindhī, with a varying mixture of Gujarātī words borrowed from Gujarātī-speaking neighbours. It is a mixed rather than an intermediate form of speech. The peninsula of Cutch is inhabited not only by Kachchhīs but also by numerous immigrants from Rajputana and Gujarat. These latter retain their own respective languages, but corrupt them, in their turn, by borrowings from Kachchhī, so that the whole peninsula is polyglot, some of the population speaking what may be called a mongrel Sindhī, while others speak a mongrel Rājasthānī or a mongrel Gujarātī. In popular speech, all these mongrel dialects are lumped together under the general name of 'Kachchhī,' and on this understanding alone can it be said that Gujarātī merges into Sindhī through Kachchhī. As regards Marāṭhī, lying to the south of Gujarātī, the matter is different. Here there is no merging, even in the sense in which we have used the term in regard to Kachchhī. There is difference of race, and the country on the borderline between the two forms of speech is bilingual. The two nationalities are geographically mixed, but each preserves its own tongue, the Gujarātīs speaking their own Inner Gujarātī, and the Marāṭhās speaking their own Outer Marāṭhī.

Dialects.

The only true dialectic variation of Gujarātī consists in the difference between the speech of the uneducated and that of the educated. That of the latter is the standard form of the language as taught in the grammars. That of the former differs from the standard mainly in pronunciation, although it possesses a few contracted verbal forms which are ignored by the literary

[1] In the year 1453-6 A.D. a poem called the *Kāṇhaḍadēva-prabandha* was written by a poet of Jhalor in the Marwar State. In the year 1912 there was a lively controversy in Gujarat as to whether this was written in old Gujarātī or in old Mārwārī. Really it is in neither, but is in the mother language, which in later years differentiated into these two forms of speech.

dialect. The differences of pronunciation are nearly the same over the whole Gujarātī tract, but, as a rule, though they are the same in kind, they are much less prominent in South Gujarat, and become more and more prominent as we go north. It is of interest to note that in this pronunciation followed by the uneducated rural classes, we meet over and over again relics of the old Outer language superseded by modern Gujarati. Such are, to quote two examples, the tendency to pronounce *s* as *h*, and the inability to distinguish between cerebral and dental letters, and there are many others. The Pārsīs and the Musalmāns are generally credited with special dialects, but in pronunciation and inflexion these generally follow the colloquial Gujarātī of their neighbours. Most Musalmāns in Gujarat speak Hindōstānī, but when they do speak Gujarātī their language is noticeable for the entire disregard of the distinction between cerebrals and dentals. Here they only carry a local dialectic peculiarity to excess. In other respects, the Gujaratī of Parsīs and of Musalmans mainy differs from the ordinary colloquial language of the uneducated in its vocabulary, which borrows freely from Persian and (generally through Persian) from Arabic. Natives of the country give names (based upon caste-titles or upon the names of localities) such as Nāgarī, the language of the Nāgar Brāhmans, or as Charōtarī, the language of the Charōtar tract on the banks of the Mahī, to various sub-divisions of these dialects, but the differences are so trifling that they do not deserve special mention, although the more important have been fully dealt with in the pages of the Survey. From the nature of the case it is impossible to give figures for the number of people speaking any one of these dialects or sub-dialects. We can say how many people belong to a certain tribe, or how many live in a certain tract, but we cannot say how many of them speak the standard dialect and how many speak the dialect of the uneducated. According to the estimates of the Survey, based on the Census of 1891, the number of speakers of all kinds of Gujaratī was 10,646,227 (about the same as the population of Persia), the corresponding figures of the Census of 1921 being 9,551,992.

History of the language.

We are fortunate in possessing a remarkable series of documents connecting the modern Gujarātī with the Apabhraṁśa from which it is descended. The famous grammarian Hēmachandra (fl. 12th cent. A.D.), whose work is at the present day one of our great authorities on the various Prakrits, adorns the chapter dealing with Apabhraṁśa with numerous quotations from poems in the literary form of that language. Hēmachandra himself was a native of Gujarat, and, while the examples given by him vary in dialect, some of them are almost the same as the old language from which are sprung the modern Mārwāṛī and the modern Gujarātī. As for the old Outer language which in ancient times was superseded by the parent of modern Gujarātī, we know very little about it It is probable that it was intermediate between the ancestor of modern Sindhī and the ancestor of modern Marāṭhī, and that we find traces of it not only in modern Gujarātī, but also in the Kōṅkaṇī dialect of Marāṭhī. But Gujarat has been so overrun from the earliest times by nations hailing from many different parts of the world, that there is little hope of our being able to resuscitate any fragments of it with certainty. The present Gujarat nation is curiously composite, Greeks, Bactrians, Huns, and Scythians; Gurjaras, Jādējas, and Kāṭhīs; Pārsīs and Arabs, not to speak of soldiers of fortune from the countries of the West, have all contributed, together with the numerous Indo-Aryan

immigrations, to form the population. In such a mixture it is wonderful that even the traces of the old Outer language that we have succeeded in identifying have survived.

Literature.

Gujarātī has not a large literature, but it is larger than that with which it has sometimes been credited. The earliest, and at the same time the most famous, poet whose works have come down to us in a connected form was Narasimha Mehetā (or Narsingh Mehtā), who lived in the fifteenth century A.D. His poems, and those of a great number of later writers, have been collected and published in a poetical encyclopædia entitled the *Bṛihat Kāvya Dōhana*. There is also a considerable series of bardic chronicles, similar to those which we have described under the head of Rājasthānī, on which is based Forbes's well-known *Rās-mālā*. Then, again, in addition to the long list of poets and poetesses whose lays are enshrined in the *Bṛihat Kāvya Dōhana*, there were writers on grammar and poetics. Of special interest for the history of the language are two works, the *Mugdhāvabōdha-mauktika* (1394 A.D.) of an anonymous writer, and the *Kriyā-ratna-samuchchaya* (1410 A.D.) of Guṇaratna. These works are Sanskrit grammars for beginners, and as such are of little value. But they are written in the Gujarātī of those days, and each Sanskrit grammatical form is given its equivalent in that language. Between them they thus furnish us with a systematic account of the grammar of the Gujarātī of the early fifteenth century. No such document exists for any other modern Indo-Aryan language. Through them we are able to trace the history of the growth of the Gujarātī tongue from the earliest Vedic times without a break, through Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa, and the parent of Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, down to the articles of a Pārsī newspaper of the present day. We have grammatical documents for each stage of the long development.

Written Character.

The Nāgarī character was formerly used in Gujarat for writing books. Carey's translation of the New Testament, published at the beginning of the last century, was printed in that alphabet. For less important documents, that modification of the Nāgarī character known in Upper India as Kaithī, and very generally used there for similar purposes, was also employed. This is now the official character of Gujarat, as it is of Bihārī, and all books and papers in the language are printed in it.

Bhīlī and Khāndēśī.

Closely allied to Gujarātī and Western Rājasthānī are two important groups of dialects, each of which is entitled to the dignity of being considered a separate language. They are Bhīlī and Khāndēśī, the latter being also called Ahirāṇī or Ḍhēḍ Gujarī. Bhīlī is spoken in the range of hills between Ajmer and Mount Abu. Thence, in numerous dialects, it covers the hill country dividing Gujarat from Rajputana and Central India, as far south as the Satpura Range, and on the way it crosses the Narbada, up which it extends for a considerable distance. As its name implies it is the language of the Bhīls who inhabit this wild tract. South of the Satpuras lie the District of Khandesh and the Burhanpur Tahsil of Nimar, the latter forming a continuation of the Khandesh plain. Here Khāndēśī is spoken, and still further south, in the hill country leading up from Surat to Nasik, are found a number of wild tribes, such as Naikīs, Ḍhōḍiās, Gāmᵗṭīs, and Chōdhᵗrīs, who employ dialects closely connected with it. Both Bhīlī and Khāndēśī show traces of a non-Aryan basis, which are too few to be certainly identified. This basis may have been

Muṇḍā or it may have been Dravidian,—perhaps more probably the former,—but has been completely overlaid by an Aryan superstructure, and they are both now thoroughly Aryan languages. Bhīlī may be looked upon as a bridge between Gujarātī and Rajastham, and might, with propriety, be looked upon as an eastern dialect of Gujarātī. The dialects appear under many names (no less than twenty-eight varieties have been examined in the Survey), but they are all essentially the same form of speech. Like some of the colloquial forms of Gujarātī it shows several points of agreement with the Outer languages of the North-West and even with Dardic.[1] As we follow these dialects southwards, we find them borrowing more and more from the neighbouring Marāṭhī, but this is borrowing only. It does not affect the structure of the language any more than the borrowing of Arabic or Persian words affects the structure of Hindōstānī. Khāndēśī, with its connected dialects, is of a similar character, but is more mixed with Marāṭhī, which we find invading to a small extent the grammatical structure. On this account, and also because it is chiefly spoken in the Bombay Presidency, it is treated as an independent language, but, from the point of view of strict philology, it should not be separated from Bhīlī. Besides the Bhīlī spoken in its proper home, we also meet Bhīl dialects in localities where we might little suspect them. In far Orissa and the Bengal District of Midnapur, more than a thousand miles from the true home of the race, the Linguistic Survey has discovered a wandering tribe, known as Siyālgīrs, who speak a distinctively Bhīl dialect. They perhaps left their own country for their country's good, for they are described as a tribe of thieving propensities, who came to Bengal some six or seven generations ago, probably as jetsam from the tide of Maraṭha invasion. The Bāwarīās, a wild hunting tribe found in the Panjab, moreover, speak a form of Bhīlī which is known as Baorī.

	Survey.	Census of 1921
Bhīlī . . .	2,691,701	1,855,617
Khāndēśī and dialects.	1,258,066	313,272[2]

Siyālgirī, 120 (Survey).

Bāorī, 43,000 (Survey).

We must now leave Western India and consider the three Pahāṛī languages. The word 'Pahāṛī' means 'of or belonging to the mountain,' and is used as a convenient name for the three groups of Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in the lower ranges of the Himalaya, from Nepal in the east to Bhadrawah in the west. Before going into details it is advisable to state briefly what appears to have been the linguistic history of this tract. The earliest inhabitants of which we can mark any traces must have been people speaking a language akin to the ancestor of the modern Muṇḍā languages. These were superseded or conquered by Tibeto-Burmans who crossed the Himalaya from the north, and settled on its southern face. In this way the tract became inhabited by people speaking Tibeto-Burman languages, and so it has continued to the present day. But the original Muṇḍās were not entirely swept out of existence, and the languages, although belonging to the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family, incorporated many Muṇḍā idioms, which can still be easily recognized.[3] In later times, these Tibeto-Burmans were not left isolated. The plains of India immediately to their south were inhabited by Aryans, and these worked northwards into the

Pahāṛī.

[1] It is quite possible that a form of Paiśāchī Prakrit was once spoken in the neighbourhood of the Bhīl country, although the head-quarters of the language were in the north-west Panjab. See the remarks on p. 109.

[2] Apparently many speakers of Khāndēśī have been classed as speaking Bhīlī or Marāṭhī.

[3] *Vide ante*, pp. 35 & 55ff.

Himalaya, and settled in the more accessible valleys, bringing with them Aryan languages and civilization. Thus, in Nepal, before the Gōrkhā invasion, we find that a language akin to the Maithilī dialect of Biharī, spoken immediately to the south, was used as a court language and we even have a play written in that language still surviving.[1] But another, and, from the point of view of linguistics, more important infusion of Aryan languages came from the west.

Sapādalaksha.

West of the present kingdom of Nepal, in Kumaun, Garhwal, and the hills round Simla, there is a sub-Himalayan hill-tract known in Sanskrit times as 'Sapādalaksha,' or '(the country of) a lākh and a quarter (of hills).' The modern equivalent of this word,—*sawā lakh*,—still survives in the name of the well-known Siwalik Hills, south of Garhwal in the Saharanpur District. At the present-day the bulk of the agricultural population of this Sapādalaksha consists, in the west, of Kanēts, and, in the east, of members of the Khas tribe. The Kanets are divided into two clans, one called Khasiyā, which claims to be pure, and the other called Rāo (*i.e.*, Rājā or Rājpūt), which admits that it is of impure birth On the other hand, the chiefs of the country all claim to be of Rajpūt descent. We thus see that the whole of the modern Sapādalaksha contains many people who call themselves Khas or Khasiyā That these represent the Khaśas, Khasas, or Khaśiras of Sanskrit literature and the Κάσσι of Greek geographers cannot be doubted. Like the Piśāchas, from whose speech the modern Dardic languages are descended, they were said to be descended from Kaśyapa, the founder of Kashmir. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the famous history of that country, they are frequently referred to as a thorn in the side of its rulers, and in the Mahabhārata they are often mentioned as a people of the north-west, and even as closely connected with the Piśachas, and with the people of Kashmir. They were Aryans, but had fallen outside the Aryan pale of purity. Other Sanskrit authorities, such as the Harivaṁśa, the Purāṇas, and the various lawbooks, all agree in placing them in the north-west. In later times they spread eastwards over the whole of Sapādalaksha, and conquered and absorbed the more fertile tracts, where we find them at the present day. Still later,—about the sixteenth century,—they advanced, in the Gorkhā invasion, into Nepal, and mixing with the Tibeto-Burmans or Muṇḍās whom they found there, became the Khas or ruling tribe of that country. We have seen that in ancient times these Khasas were associated with the Piśāchas, and originally they must, like them, have spoken a Dardic language, for traces of that form of speech are readily found over the whole Sapādalaksha tract, diminishing in strength as we go eastwards.

Κάσσι.

The Gurjaras.

In dealing with Rājasthānī[2] reference has been made to the important part the Gurjaras, or modern Gūjars, have played in the history of Rajputana. These people seem to have appeared in India first about the fifth or sixth century A.D. One branch of them occupied this Sapādalaksha and amalgamated with the Khas population that they found *in situ*. In Western Sapādalaksha they became the Rāo sept of the Kanēts, but were not admitted to equality of caste with the older Khasiyā Kanēts These Gurjaras were those who took to cultivation, or who adhered to their pastoral pursuits. The fighting men were, as we have seen, admitted into the Rājpūt caste. From Sapādalaksha, Gurjaras migrated across the Gangetic Valley, to Mewat, and thence settled over Eastern Rajputana. In later

[1] The *Harischandranṛitya*, edited by Conrady in 1891.

[2] Pp. 171 and 173.

years, under the pressure of Musalmān rule, many of these Rājpūts remigrated to Sapādalaksha and again settled there. In fact there was continual intercourse between Sapādalaksha and Rajputana. Finally, as we have seen, Nepal was conquered by people of the Khas tribe, who were accompanied by many of these Gurjara-Rājpūts. It has long been recognized that all the Pahāṛī languages are at the present day closely allied to Rājasthānī, and the above historical sketch shows how this has come about.[1]

The three Pahāṛī languages.

	Survey	Census of 1921
Eastern Pahāṛī	143,721	279,715
Central Pahāṛī	1,107,512	3,853[2]
Western Pahāṛī	853,468	1,633,915
Unspecified	.	54
TOTAL	2,104,801	1,917,537

The Pahāṛī Group of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages consists of three groups of dialects, which may be called the Eastern Pahāṛī, the Central Pahāṛī, and the Western Pahāṛī languages respectively.

Eastern Pahāṛī or Naipālī.

Eastern Pahāṛī is commonly called 'Nēpālī' or 'Naipālī' by Europeans, but this name is hardly suitable, as it is not the principal language of Nepal. In that State the principal languages are Tibeto-Burman, the most important being Nēwārī, the name of which is also derived from the word 'Nēpāl.' Other names for Eastern Pahāṛī are 'Parbatiyā' or 'the Hill language,' 'Gōrkhālī' or 'the language of the Gōrkhās,' and 'Khas Kurā' or 'the language of the Khas tribe.' It is not a language of British India, the homes of its speakers being in the State of Nepal, for which no census figures are available. The 143,721 speakers recorded in the Survey estimates refer to natives of Nepal who have come temporarily or permanently into British India. Many of them are soldiers in our Gōrkhā regiments.

The introduction of this Aryan language into Nepal is a matter of modern history. In the early part of the 16th century certain Rājpūts of Mewar, under pressure of Musalmān attacks, migrated north, and settled among their Khas and Gurjara relatives in Garhwal, Kumaun, and Western Nepal. In 1559 A.D. a party of these conquered the town of Gōrkhā (say 70 miles north-west of Kāṭhmāṇḍū). In 1768 Prithvī Narayana Shāh of Gōrkhā made himself master of the whole of Nepal, founded the present Gōrkhalī dynasty, and introduced as the language of the court the mixed Rājasthānī and Khas tongue that he had brought from Gorkhā. This has since been the Aryan language of Nepal, superseding the older dialect, akin to the old Maithilī, which had previously been the form of Aryan speech used in that country. The bulk of the population of Nepal being Tibeto-Burman, the Khas conquerors have been in a minority, and there has been a mixture not only of race but of language. Eastern Pahāṛī has borrowed some of its vocabulary and even some of its grammatical idioms from Tibeto-Burman languages, and although distinctly related to Rājasthānī, it now presents a somewhat mixed character. Not only many words but special phases of its grammar, such as the use of the agent case before *all* tenses of a transitive verb, and the employment of a complete honorific conjugation, are plainly borrowed from the speech of the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans. These changes in the speech are increasing with every decade, and certain Tibeto-Burman peculiarities have come into the language within the memory of men alive at the present day.

[1] The whole question is worked out in detail in the Introduction to Volume IX, Part iv, of the Survey. It is impossible here to give more than the general results.

[2] In the Census, most of the speakers of Central Pahāṛī have been shown under Western Hindī. It is impossible to adjust the figures.

Eastern Pahāṛī being spoken in a mountainous country has no doubt many dialects. Into one of these, Pālpā, spoken in Western Nepal, the Serampore missionaries in the early part of the last century made a version of the New Testament, and as Nepal is independent territory to which Europeans have little access, that is our one source of information concerning it. The standard dialect is that of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, and in this there is a small printed literature, all modern. The dialect of Eastern Nepal has of late years been adopted by the missionaries at Darjiling as the standard for a grammar and for their translations of the Bible. Eastern Pahāṛī is written and printed in the Nāgarī character.

Dialects.

Written character.

Central Pahāṛī includes the dialects spoken in Eastern Sapādalaksha, *i.e.*, in the British Districts of Kumaun and Garhwal and in the State of Garhwal. It has two well-known dialects,—Kumaunī, spoken in Kumaun (including the hill station of Naini Tal), and Gaṛhwālī, spoken in British and independent Garhwal and the country round the hill station of Mussoorie. These dialects vary from place to place, each pargana having a distinct form of speech, each with a local name of its own. Neither of these main dialects has any literary history. The Serampore missionaries published translations of the New Testament into each of them, and other versions of portions of the Scriptures have lately been made into Gaṛhwālī. During the past few years a few books have been written in Kumaunī, and one or two in Gaṛhwālī. So far as I have seen, both dialects are written and printed in the Nāgarī character.

Central Pahāṛī.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Kumaunī . . .	436,788	..
Garhwālī . .	670,824	
TOTAL .	1,107,612	3,853[1]

Western Pahāṛī is the name of the large number of connected dialects spoken in Western Sapādalaksha, *i.e.*, in the hill country of which Simla, the summer head-quarters of the Government of India, is the political centre. These dialects have no standard form, and, beyond a few folk-epics, no literature. The area over which they are spoken extends from the Jaunsar-Bawar tract of the United Provinces, and thence, in the Province of the Panjab, over the State of Sirmaur, the Simla Hills, Kulu, and the States of Mandi and Chamba, up to, and including, the Bhadrawah Jagir of Kashmir. The language has numerous dialects, all differing considerably among themselves, but nevertheless possessing many common features. We may conveniently group them under the nine heads given on the margin. Of these, Jaunsārī is the language spoken in the Jaunsar-Bawar tract of the District of Dehra Dun in the United Provinces, wedged in between Garhwal and the Panjab State of Sirmaur. It is a transition dialect between Gaṛhwāli and Sirmaurī, but is much mixed with the Western Hindī spoken to its south in the rest of Dehra Dun. Sirmaurī includes three well marked dialects, and is

Western Pahāṛī.

Western Pahāṛī.	Survey.	Census of 1921.
Jaunsārī .	47,497	427,702
Sirmaurī . .	124,592	
Baghāṭī . .	22,195	
Kiūthal . .	188,763	
Satlaj Group	38,693	126,793
Kulu Group	84,631	
Mandi Group	312,184	237,934
Chamba Group	109,286	139,263
Bhadrawah Group	25,517	
Unspecified . .	..	702,224
TOTAL	853,468	1,633,915

[1] See note [2] on p. 181.

Jaunsārī

Sirmaurī.

Baghāṭī.

spoken in the State of Sirmaur and in the south of the State of Jubbal. It is closely connected with Jaunsārī, but north of the River Giri and in Jubbal it begins to approximate to Kiũṭhalī. Sirmaurī lies west of Jaunsārī, and still further to the west we have Baghāṭī, these three forming a continuous band forming the southern limit of the Western Pahāṛī dialects. Baghāṭī is the dialect of the State of Baghat and the neighbouring tracts, and within its area lie the military stations of Kasauli and Dagshai. It is a transition dialect between Sirmaurī and Kiũṭhalī. Kiũṭhalī is the language of the central portion of the Simla Hill States, and is spoken round Simla itself and in the State of Keonthal, from the latter of which it takes its name. It varies greatly from State to State, and from Pargana to Pargana, so that no less than seven forms of it have been recorded in the Survey. North of Simla lies Kulu, separated from it by the River Satlaj, and on each bank of that river there are a couple of dialects forming a bridge between the Simla dialects and Kuḷuī. These form the Satlaj group given on the margin of p. 182. In Kulu there are three dialects, Kuḷuī proper and two others. West of Kulu, and also lying to the north of the Simla Hill States, are the States of Suket and, to its north, Mandi. Here we have the dialects of the Mandi group. There are four of these, of which the most important are Maṇḍēāḷi and Sukētī. West of Mandi lies the Panjab District of Kangra, in which the language is a form of Pañjābī. We need not therefore be surprised to find that the dialects of the Mandi Group represent southern Kuḷuī merging into Pañjābī. North-west of Kulu and north of Kangra lies the State of Chamba. Here there are four dialects, of which the most important is Chamĕaḷī, the principal language of the State. Another dialect is Gādī, spoken by the Gaddīs, a pastoral tribe inhabiting the Bharmaur Wizārat of the State, on the Kulu frontier. The speakers are descendants of immigrants from the Panjab plains, who took refuge here from Musalman oppression. They now speak a form of Chamĕāḷī, but with the peculiarity that they sound every *sh*-sound like *ch* in the Scottish 'loch.' In the extreme north of the Chamba State lies the beautiful but isolated mountain tract of Pangi. Here the dialect is called Paṅgwaḷī, also a form of Chamĕāḷī, but beginning to show signs of transition into Kāshmirī. Finally, north-west of Chamba proper and of Pangi, lie the Bhadrawah Jagir and the Padar District, both belonging to Kashmir. Beyond them lies Kashmir proper, of which the language is Kāshmīrī. It is therefore to be expected that the dialects of Bhadrawah and Padar should be transition forms of speech between Chamĕāḷī and Kāshmirī, and such in fact is the case. The dialects of this tract form the Bhadrawah group, and are three in number, *viz.*, Bhadrawāhī, with its sub-variety Bhaḷēsī, and Pāḍarī. This concludes a rapid survey of the numerous Western Pahāṛī dialects, and we have been able to trace the gradual change from the Khas dialects of Central Pahāṛī through the Simla Hills into the semi-Kāshmīrī of Bhadrawah and Padar

Kiũṭhalī.

Satlaj dialects.

Kuḷuī.

Maṇḍēāḷi and Sukētī.

Chamĕāḷī.

Gādī

Paṅgwaḷī.

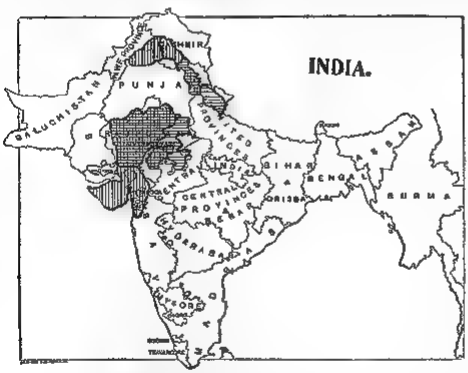
Bhadrawāhī, Bhaḷēsī, and Pāḍarī.

Written character.

Western Pahāṛī is written in the Ṭakkarī alphabet, already referred to as the alphabet used for the Ḍogrī dialect of Pañjābī.[1] It has most of the disadvantages of Laṇḍā, being very imperfectly supplied with signs for the vowels. Medial short vowels are usually altogether omitted, and medial long vowels are represented by characters which are also used for initial vowels, whether long or short. In the case of Chamĕāḷī, the character has been supplied with the missing signs, and books have been printed in it that are as legible and correct as anything in Nāgarī.

Himalayan languages and Rājasthānī.

For the present excluding from consideration the case of Eastern Pahāṛī, as a modern importation into Nepal, we can now say that the lower Himalaya from Kumaun on the east to the Afghān frontier on the west is occupied by four languages,—on the east by Central Pahāṛī, to the west of that by Western Pahāṛī, and finally in the extreme west by Kāshmīrī and the northern dialects of Lahndā. We have seen that all these forms of speech show signs of ancient connexion with the Dardic languages, and it is interesting to observe that they are also more closely related than has hitherto been suspected with the languages of Rajputana and Gujarat. Across the Gangetic Valley and, further west, across the Panjab, facing these sub-Himalayan languages, we also find a triad of well defined forms of speech. Facing Central Pahāṛī, across Western Hindī, lies Eastern Rājasthānī; facing Western Pahāṛī, across Pañjābī, lie Mārwāṛī and the connected dialects of Western Rājasthānī; and facing Kāshmīrī and Northern Lahndā, across Southern Lahndā and Sindhī, and to the south-west of Western Rājasthānī, lies Gujarātī. The relative positions are shown in the accompanying map But this parallelism is not merely geographic. It extends also to the peculiarities of the respective languages. Each language agrees with that facing it, and differs from its neighbours in remarkable characteristics. Thus, Central Pahāṛī agrees with its *vis-à-vis*, Eastern Rājasthānī, in having the genitive postposition *kō*, and the verb substantive derived from the root *achh-*, while in the Western Pahāṛī of the Simla Hills the termination of the genitive is *rō* as in the dialects of Western Rajasthānī, and one of the verbs substantive (*ā*, is) is probably of the same origin as the Western Rājasthānī *hai*. We next come, in the southern triad, to Gujarātī. Here the genitive termination is *nō*,



[1] *Ante*, p. 170.

and the verb substantive belongs to the *achh*-group. The corresponding languages of the north are Kāshmīrī and Northern Lahndā. In the latter the genitive termination is *aō*, but the verb substantive differs from that of Gujarātī, although the closely connected Kashmīri forms it from the same root, *achh-*. Moreover, Gujarātī also agrees with all the Lahndā dialects in one very remarkable point, the formation of the future by means of a sibilant,[1] a peculiarity not found elsewhere in the Indo-Aryan languages. We thus find that right along the Lower Himalaya, from the Indus to Nepal, there are three groups of dialects, each agreeing respectively, in striking points, and in the same order, with Gujarātī, Western Rājasthānī, and Eastern Rājasthānī respectively.

[1] Lahndā *kuṭṭesī*, Gujarātī *kuṭṭsō*, he will strike.

CHAPTER XVI.—UNCLASSED LANGUAGES.

There remain a few Indian languages which do not fall under any of the heads previously described. These are the Gipsy dialects, Burushaskī, and Andamanese.

Gipsy Dialects.

The word 'Gipsy' used in this connexion is employed in its purely conventional sense of 'Vagrant,' and should not be taken as in any way suggesting connexion with the Romani Chals of Europe and Western Asia. Many forms of speech employed by vagrant tribes have already been dealt with in the preceding pages, as it was possible to identify them as definite dialects of recognized languages. Such are the Korava and Kaikāḍī dialects of Tamil, the Kurumba dialect of Kanarese, and the Vaḍarī dialect of Telugu. These are all Dravidian through and through. On the other hand, as entirely Indo-Aryan, we have had such dialects as the Labhānī, Kakēri, and Bahrūpiā forms of Rājasthānī, the Tārīmūkī or Ghisāḍī form of Gujarātī, and a number of Bhīl dialects such as Bāorī, Chāraṇī, Habūṛā, Pārᵃdhī, and Siyālgīri. About these there has been no difficulty as regards classification. It is sufficient to note here that these dialects are either Dravidian, or belong to the mutually closely connected Indo-Aryan languages, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, or Bhīlī.

The remainder fall into two groups, *viz.*, dialects proper, and argots. The figures for these, as given on the margin, must be taken with considerable reserve, for we know that there are several Gipsy tribes[1] which have escaped the nets both of the Survey and of the Census, and also that, for those that have been recorded, considerable numbers have avoided enumeration. Most of the tribes are more or less disreputable, and the speakers of the dialects are not, as a rule, anxious to proclaim their associations.

Gipsy dialects.	Survey.
Dialects Proper . .	9,748
Argots . . .	91,923
TOTAL .	101,671

Subject to the above remarks, we may enumerate the true Gipsy dialects as on the margin. It has been pointed out above that the Gipsy languages which we have been able to classify are either dialects of well-known Dravidian languages or are forms of Rājasthānī or the closely connected Gujarātī or Bhīlī. The unclassified Gipsy languages, on the other hand, are all mixtures of various forms of speech, but they possess one characteristic in common—that they nearly all seem to have a Dravidian basis, and that the speakers seem to have first come under the influence of Indo-Aryan tongues in or near Rajputana and the Bhīl country. There each mixed language took its original shape or shapes, and as the tribes wandered thence over India it became extensively corrupted by the speech of the various localities in which the speakers respectively found themselves.[2] If this account is accepted, we can further look upon the classified Gipsy languages from the same point of view. Those which are now Dravidian dialects, are those which have preserved their original form with little or no contamination, while those that are Indo-Aryan are dialects of tribes which had their head-quarters for so long a period in the Rajputana

True Gipsy dialects.	Survey.
Peṇḍhārī . .	1,250
Bhāmtī . . .	14
Bēldārī . . .	5,140
Ōḍkī . . .	2,814
Lāṛī . . .	500
Machariā . .	30
TOTAL .	9,748

[1] The most important of these is that of the Cathṛīs, a sketch of whose argot has been given by Dr. Grahame Bailey in his "Notes on Panjabi Dialects."

[2] The one important exception is Peṇḍhārī which, as we shall see, has a history of its own.

country that they had altogether given up the Dravidian language of their original home, and had fully adopted that of their hosts.

Peṇḍhārī.

The one important exception to the above given general statement as to the probable origin of Gipsy dialects is furnished by Peṇḍhārī. This is the language of a tribe of no common race, and of no common religion, represented by the 'Pindarees' of Indian history. These were plundering bands of freebooters, who welcomed to their ranks outlaws and broken men of all parts of India—Afghāns, Marāṭhās, Jaṭṭs, and so forth, and who were finally broken up by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

At the present day they are represented by groups of people scattered over Central India, the Bombay Presidency, and elsewhere. They have generally adopted the languages of their respective surroundings, but in parts of Bombay they still have a home-language which is called by the name of the tribe. As may be expected from the people's origin, this is a jargon—a mixture of rough Dakhinī Hindōstānī, Marāṭhī, and Rājasthānī. Further description is unnecessary.

Bhāmṭī.

The Bhāmṭās are a criminal tribe, found in the Central Provinces and Southern India. They are not proper vagrants, but live in villages which they use as head-quarters for their thieving expeditions. Most of them speak the Vaḍarī form of Telugu,[1] but those of Bījāpur speak Kanarese, and a few of them have been reported from the Central Provinces as having a home-language called Bhāmṭī. It is a broken jargon, a mixture of Dakhinī Hindōstānī and the Jaipurī form of Rājasthānī.

Bēldārī.

The Bēldārs are a tribe of earth-workers, scattered over the greater part of India. Most of them have adopted the language of their respective surroundings, but a language called Bēldārī has been reported from Jaisalmir in Rajputana, the Central Provinces, and the Bombay Presidency. It is a mixture of several languages, the principal being Eastern Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī, but the relative proportions of each constituent naturally vary according to locality.

Ōḍkī.

Closely connected with Bēldārī is Ōḍkī, the language of the Ōḍs, or Waḍḍars, a wandering tribe of earth-workers. They are found all over India, but principally in Madras and the Panjab. The Ōḍs of Madras speak Telugu, which seems to have been the original language of the tribe. In the Panjab, Sind and Gujarat, they have a home-language of their own. It is a mixture of Marāṭhī and Gujarātī-Rājasthānī, the relative proportions varying according to locality. We may compare it with the Vaḍarī already mentioned in connexion with Bhāmṭī.

Lāḍī.

The Lāḍs are a Gipsy tribe who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, bhang, etc. They are found all over Western India, especially in the Bombay Presidency. Most of them have no dialect of their own, but some of those found in Berar speak what is locally known as Lāḍī. This is mainly a corrupt form of Eastern Rājasthānī.

Machariā.

Machariā is the language of a tribe of fowlers from Sind, who have migrated to the Kapurthala State in the Panjab. It is not properly a Gipsy language, though usually described as such. It is merely a mixture of Sindhī and Paṅjābī.

[1] *Ante*, p. 92.

With Machariā, we conclude the consideration of those Gipsy languages which can be called dialects. We now proceed to discuss the argots. Those reported for the Survey are noted on the margin. These are used by criminals and other disreputable people for purposes of secrecy, and are paralleled by the 'thieves' Latin,' and other cant forms of speech found in Europe. It is interesting to observe that, so far as they can be analysed, they have adopted much the same means of disguising speech as those adopted in the west. Such are the use of special words, often borrowed from foreign languages, just as a London thief calls his woman a 'Donah,' borrowed from the foreign 'Donna.' Or they transpose letters. A London thief calls a policeman a 'slop' (*i.e.*, 'icelop,' transposed from 'police') and so an Indian thief calls his enemy the police Jamādār, a 'Majādār,' *i.e.*, 'the sweet one.' Or single letters may be changed in a word. In German cant, 'hitze,' heat, becomes 'witze,' and so when a Sāsī wishes to say he is hungry, he uses the word '*jhūkhā*' instead of '*bhūkhā*.' The speakers of these cant argots are, of course, bilingual. They speak the language of their neighbours, and reserve the argot only for special occasions. But some of them, such, for instance, as the Sāsīs, are trilingual. In communicating with their neighbours they employ the ordinary language of the country, for criminal purposes they employ an argot, while for general purposes they have what may be called a semi-argot, possessing some of the characteristics of the true argot, but with a simpler vocabulary, which they commonly use among themselves. The true argot is often not generally known to all the members of the tribe, but only to those who are grown up and expert. As already mentioned, our knowledge of these argots is necessarily incomplete. It is to be expected that the gentlemen who make use of them would not be willing to admit their existence to a Government official, even when he is asking for the Linguistic Survey. When questioned they usually deny its existence altogether, so that what materials we do possess have been obtained only with considerable difficulty. A noteworthy example is that of the Chūhṛās, whose argot does not appear at all in the pages of the Survey. I therefore begin our consideration of the subject with a brief reference to this tribe based on the information given by Dr. Grahame Bailey.[1]

Gipsy Argots.	Survey.
Sāsī	51,550
Kōlhaṭī	2,367
Gārōḍī	?
Myanwālā	?
Kañjari	7,085
Naṭī	11,534
Dōm	13,500
Malār	2,309
Qaṣāī	2,700
Sikalgārī	25
Gulgulā	853
TOTAL	91,923

Chūhṛā.

The Chūhṛās are a tribe found in the Pañjab. In 1921 their number was not recorded. Their occupation is scavenging, which they vary by burgling, cattle poisoning, and other criminal practices. They eat carrion. Their argot is Pañjābī, but they conceal their meaning by using a pretty copious secret vocabulary which makes it quite unintelligible to the ordinary hearer. Many of these words are also found in other argots, such as Sāsī or Qaṣāī. In order to give an idea of the kind of speech they use, I give the following extract from Dr. Bailey's *Notes*:

> In order to get right to the heart of things let us accompany an expedition which has as its object the plundering of some rich man's house. Some *chhurn* (thief) who always keeps his eyes open has discovered a *kuḍḍh* (house), belonging to some *Rōṭhx* (Hindū) or *Ghir balā* (Musalmān). He seeks out another *Kaṭā* (thief) from among his own people, the *Rāṅgē* (Chūhṛās), or he may

[1] *Notes on Punjabi Dialects*, pp. 138ff.

find an obliging *Bhāṭā* (Sāsī) ready to help him. Having painted in glowing colours the richness of the house in *bhōmṭā* (rupees) and *bagēlā* (do.) and *harjīyā* (pice) and *ṭhēlā* (a kind of ornament), he says "chalō *gul* lāiyē" (let us break into the house). We shall follow these men, as on a dark moonless night they set out. Having reached the house they produce their *tombū* (iron instrument for house-breaking, an oriental jemmy) and set to work. They take the precaution of placing by their side several *chhekārā* or clods of earth with which to assail any unwelcome intruder. The hole is finally made and the thief, leaving outside his *kārkī* (stick) and *paiṭrī* or *okāhal* (shoes), and telling his *lītarā* (confidant) to keep a sharp look out, enters the house. If he finds no one inside he will venture to light a *ghasāī* (match). Suddenly a small clod of earth drops near the house-breaker; this is the *seolā* (piece of earth thrown as a warning of impending danger). He looks round in alarm and hears the whispered words "*kajjā ohāmdā* ī" (a Jaṭ is looking). This interruption in his *gasmī* (thieving) he feels to be most inopportune. He feels still more ill at ease when he hears another hoarse whisper "*thap yā* (hide yourself), *paiwī hōjā*" (get to one side). He calls back "*kaiskar* kar (throw a clod of earth), *lāṭh* lai ō" (beat him or kill him) and emerges from the house. The *neaṭī* (theft) has not prospered. The two thieves flee by different ways to their homes, and next day discuss with great astonishment, bordering on incredulity, a report which has got abroad that a *kajjā* has been attacked by two Chūhṛā *ohhurm* (thieves) who were engaged in *kallī* (robbery), and has almost *lug* gayā (died).

Sāsī.

The Sāsīs are a well-known criminal tribe, who, like the Chūhṛas, are mostly found in the Panjab. The Survey was more fortunate in regard to them, and, in addition to the information obtained by it, there are also the various papers on the tribe by Dr. Grahame Bailey, who has made it a special study. The Sāsīs are trilingual. They speak the general language of their surroundings, and have also two dialects, one, the ordinary Sāsī which they use amongst themselves, and the other the criminal dialect. In the Panjab, the ordinary dialect is a corrupt mixture of Hindōstānī and Pañjābī, together with a few forms borrowed from Western Pahārī or Rājasthānī. Elsewhere it more nearly approaches corrupt Hindōstānī. The criminal argot differs from the ordinary dialect only in the use of secret words. These are very numerous, and make the language quite unintelligible to an outsider. Some of these words seem to be borrowed from other languages, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Many of them are found also in other argots. In other cases letters are prefixed or suffixed to common words, so as to disguise them, as, for instance, when they say *kukkhā* for the Pañjābī *akkhī*, an eye, or in *dhōr* for *dō*, two. Or initial letters may be changed as in *naukhṇā* for *lōknā* or *dēkhnā*, to see. These changes will be familiar to English readers from memories of their childish games, and it can readily be understood what confusion they make in a language, even when the grammar, as in the case of Sāsī, is but slightly changed.

Kōlhāṭī.

The Kōlhāṭīs are a tribe of rope-dancers and tumblers in the Bombay Presidency, Berar, and the Hyderabad State. Many of the women are prostitutes, the tribe claims to be related to the Sāsīs, and this is borne out by their argot, which closely resembles that of that tribe.

Gārōḍī.

The Gārōḍīs are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District of Bombay. They are said to be Musalmāns, but their religion sits very lightly on them. Their argot is a mixture of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan, the latter being represented by forms sometimes Hindōstānī, sometimes Rājasthānī, and sometimes Marāṭhī. In addition, as in Sāsī, they have many disguised

words, the meaning of which is unintelligible to an outsider. The number of speakers of this argot is unknown.

Myānwālē.

The Myānwālēs are a tribe also found in Belgaum. Little is known about them, but they seem ostensibly to be vagrant blacksmiths. They have an argot based on Hindōstānī and on Rājasthānī Gujarātī, with a number of secret and disguised words. Here and there we also come across Dravidian words. The number of speakers is unknown.

Kañjarī.

The Kañjars are a vagrant tribe. Some of them have taken to a settled life, but most of them live in the forests, where they live on what they can catch or gather, and manufacture forest products which they sell to their more civilized neighbours. Their occupations are thus sufficiently various. Amongst other things they make mats, baskets, fans, leaf platters, and the like. They have almost the monopoly of the collection of the fragrant *khaskhas* grass, and, as stone-cutters, they make the grinding stones found in every Indian house. Their principal home is in the United Provinces. They speak the language of their neighbours, but have also their argot, called Kañjarī. It is a mixed form of speech, mainly based on Eastern Rājasthānī, but partly on some Dravidian language. It has also, as elsewhere, a number of secret or disguised words.

Naṭī.

The Naṭs are a tribe of acrobats, dancers, prostitutes, and thieves, who are found in considerable numbers all over northern India and the north of the Deccan. In Bihar and the United Provinces they are recognized as possessing, like other similar vagrant tribes, a secret argot, and probably this is also the case elsewhere. It is a mixture of Hindōstānī and Rājasthānī, and, as usual, has a large number of secret and disguised words. The basis is probably Rājasthānī, as forms peculiar to that language appear in parts of India where that language is unknown to the general population.

Ḍōm.

The Ḍōms are a tribe of great antiquity, and probably of Dravidian origin. They are numerous all over India north of the Deccan, and in greatest number in Bengal, Bihar, and the United Provinces. They are of special interest because the word 'Rom,' the name used for a European Gipsy, is almost certainly the same word carried to the west. They have varied occupations. They supply fire at cremations and act as executioners. Others are scavengers, and others have taken to basket and cane working In the Himalayan districts they have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artizans, while the wandering Magahiyā Ḍōms of Bihar are professional thieves. On the other hand, in north-western India, Ḍōms occupy a good position as professional minstrels, and it was professional minstrels of this part of India who are said by Persian historians to have migrated into Persia, and thence, as Gipsies, into Syria and Europe. It is the disreputable Magahiyā Ḍōms of Bihar who have been identified as possessing a secret argot. As stated above, they are notorious thieves and bad characters, who will not cultivate or do honest labour if they can help it. The women are no better than the men. As a cover they do occasional basketwork, but their true occupation is that of a spy and disposer of stolen goods. Some of their methods of concealing stolen goods have the merit of ingenuity, but hardly of decency.[1] The argot of these people is based on the local dialect of Bihārī (usually

[1] As a magistrate who has had many of these people before him, I can speak with personal knowledge.

Bhojpurī) with a mixture of Rājasthānī and Hindōstānī. The presence of Hindōstānī is easy to explain, but not that of Rājasthānī, unless the tribe once lived in Rajputana. In addition to this, there is the usual copious supply of secret and of disguised words. The latter, in their principles of formation, differ in no way from those of other argots, while many of the secret words are common to all vagrant tribes.

Malār.

The Malārs are a vagrant tribe of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Unlike Ḍōms they are not, as a tribe, professional criminals. The ordinary language of that country is the Nagpuriā dialect of Bihārī, and the Malārs have an argot which is simply a slang based upon it. These people do not seem to employ any strange or secret words, but content themselves with disguising Nagpuriā words by the ordinary methods of prefixing and suffixing letters which we have observed elsewhere.

Qaṣāī.

The Qaṣāīs are professional butchers, and are found all over India, except in the Madras Presidency and the extreme south. They are most numerous in the United Provinces and in the Panjab. They have a trade language of their own, which is an argot of the usual kind. It is based on Hindōstānī, with a mixture of local words. The disguising consists principally in the use of strange or secret words. The disguising of common words by additions before or at the end is much more rare than in the argots we have hitherto considered. It is worth mentioning that among the strange expressions used by them are the Arabic words for the numerals.

Sikalgārī.

Sikalgārī is the argot used by the Saiqalgārs or armourers. As becomes their profession most of them are found in Rajputana, but the only locality from which a Sikalgārī argot has been reported is the Bombay District of Belgaum. There the secret argot is based on Gujaratī or Bhīlī. The ordinary means are employed. There are a certain number of secret words, and ordinary words are disguised by prefixes or suffixes, or other methods of deformation.

Gulgulīā.

The Gulgulīās are a vagrant non-Aryan tribe found in the Hazaribagh District of Chota Nagpur. They are few in number, and live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling drugs, begging, and petty thieving. They have an argot of the usual description containing secret and disguised words. In intercourse with outsiders they employ the ordinary language of the locality.

Burushaskī.

Leaving the Gipsy languages, we come to Burushaskī or Khajuna, which is spoken by the brave tribes who inhabit Hunza Nagar and the neighbouring country on our extreme North-Western Frontier. The number of speakers is unknown. Hitherto it has remained a riddle among languages. No philologist has as yet satisfactorily succeeded in placing it under any recognized family of speeches. One gentleman[1] has, it is true, claimed to be able to class it as a 'Siberio-Nubian' tongue, but he offered no proof of his statement, although the name has the doubtful advantage of being unintelligible to everyone except its inventor. I myself have compared it with nearly every other known Asiatic language, and have failed to find any certain congener, though here and there a

[1] Hyde Clarke, in *Indian Antiquary*, I, 268 (1872).

resemblance in vocabulary has started me on more than one wild-goose chase. The nearest thing to certainty to which I have ever attained has been an impression that there may possibly be a distant connexion with the Muṇḍā languages; but I have never succeeded in persuading myself that this is actually the case. Half a century after the publication of the Siberio-Nubian theory, an American scholar, Mr. P. L. Barbour,[1] has offered a theory which leads in the same direction. He himself does not put it forward as proved, but rather as indicating lines for future investigation, and it is very probable that further inquiries in this direction may ultimately solve the problem. He looks upon Burushaskī as a remnant of a language spoken in northern India before the Aryan invasion. We have seen that the Muṇḍā languages are now confined to the hills south of the Gangetic plain, but that traces of languages of the same family are found in the Lower Himalaya so far west as Kanawar in the Panjab.[2] Mr. Barbour's theory assumes an ancient form of this Muṇḍā speech (possibly contaminated by Dravidian) more widely spread over northern India, and in existence at the time of the Aryan invasion. Some three thousand years ago, one set of its speakers were driven north by the Aryans into the fastnesses of the Hindūkush and have had an isolated existence there ever since, during which time their language has developed on its own lines.[3] Others, before the advancing tide of Aryan immigration, took refuge in the hills north and south of the Ganges, and became the Muṇḍās and their cognate brethren of the lower Himalaya. I have here given my account of Mr. Barbour's theory, not in his own words, but as it has been filtered through my brain; and hence, possibly, I may have misrepresented it, or may have laid stress on points which to him may have been less important. Moreover, what I have given is merely a condensed summary of what he has expressed with much detail and with a consideration of Dravidian elements of the population which, for the sake of simplicity, I have omitted.

Burushaskī has many names. The neighbouring races call it Khajuna; the Nagar people call it Yashkun, and the Yārkandīs Kunjūtī. The dialect spoken in Yasin and the neighbourhood is known as Warshikwār. The language has a fully conjugated verb with two numbers and three persons, and its most characteristic feature is the extremely frequent use made of pronominal prefixes, so as sometimes greatly to alter the appearance of a word. Thus 'my wife' is *ass* but 'thy wife' is *gus*; 'to make him' is *etas*, 'to make you' is *mamarias* if you are a gentleman, but *matas* if you are a lady.

Andamanese.

Finally there are the languages of the Andaman islanders. These do not fall within the purview of the Survey, and I have nothing to add to our knowledge concerning them. Philologists have not yet succeeded in connecting them with any recognized family of speech. They are all agglutinative, making free use of prefix, infix, and suffix, and are adapted only to the expression of the more simple ideas. Abstract ideas are almost beyond their power of expression, and meaning is eked out by the free use of gesture.

---

[1] In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XLI (1921), pp. 60ff.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 35 and 55.

[3] The fact that Burushaskī words are found in the Dardic languages, shews that it must have once been spoken over a much wider area than that suggested by its present habitat. If, as I believe, the Dardic languages represent the speech of an independent Aryan invasion from the north, over the Hindūkush, we can assume that the speakers of the ancient proto-Muṇḍā language were first driven north into what is now the Dard country by the Aryans from the west, and that subsequently Aryan invaders from the north entered that country, and either settled among them, or drove them into the still more inaccessible fastnesses where they are now found.

CHAPTER XVII.—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The Modern Indian Vernaculars.

With these languages of the Andamans we complete our survey of the tongues spoken in India—a land of contrasts, nowhere more evident than when we approach the consideration of its vernaculars. There are languages whose phonetic rules prohibit the existence of more than a few hundred words, and that cannot express what are to us the commonest and most simple of ideas; and there are others with opulent vocabularies, rivalling English in their copiousness and in their accuracy of idea-connotation. There are languages every word of which must be a monosyllable, and there are others with words in which syllable is piled on syllable, till the whole is almost a sentence in itself. There are languages which know neither noun nor verb, and whose only grammatical feature is syntax; and there are others with grammatical systems as completely worked out as those of Greek or Latin. There are languages with a long historical past reaching over thirty centuries; and there are others with no tradition whatever of the past. There are the rude languages of the naked savages of Eastern Assam, which have never yet been reduced to writing; and there are languages with great literatures adorned by illustrious poets and containing some of the most elevated deistic sentiments that have found utterance in the East. There are languages, capable in themselves of expressing every idea, which are nevertheless burdened with an artificial vocabulary borrowed from a form of speech that has been dead for two thousand years; and there are others, equally capable, that disdain such fantastic crutches, and every sentence of which breathes the reek of the smoke from the homesteads of the sturdy peasantry that utters it. There are parts of India that recall the confusion in the Land of Shinar where the tower of old was built, in which almost each petty group of tribal villages has its own separate language; and there are great plains, thousands and tens of thousands of miles in area, over which one language is spoken from end to end.

And over all there broods the glamour of eastern mystery. Through all we hear the inarticulate murmur of past ages, of ages when the Aryans wandered with their flocks across the rivers of Mesopotamia; when the Indo-Chinese had not yet issued from their home on the Yang-tse-kiang; when some prehistoric Indian Teucer dared to lead his companions across the Bengal Bay to Indonesia; and perhaps when there existed the Lemurian continent where now sweep the restless waves of the Indian Ocean.

Light comes from the East, but many years must yet be passed in unremitting quest of knowledge before we can inevitably distinguish it from the false dawn that is but a promise and no reality. Hitherto scholars have busied themselves with the tongues and thoughts of ancient India, and have too often presented them as illustrating the India of modern times. But the true modern India will never be known to us till the light in the West has been reflected back on the hopes, the fears, the beliefs, of the three hundred and twenty millions who inhabit it at the present day. For this, an accurate knowledge of the vernaculars is necessary, a knowledge not only of the colloquial languages, but also, when they exist, of the literatures too commonly decried as worthless, but which one who has studied them and loved them can confidently affirm to be no mean possession of no mean land.

Defects of the Survey. Incompleteness.

No one is more conscious of the deficiencies of this Survey than he who has been responsible for its conduct. To begin with, although called the Linguistic Survey of India, large tracts of India are altogether unrepresented in its pages, and the languages of the States of Hyderabad and Mysore and of the great Provinces of Madras and of Burma have received only the most cursory notice. This was the result of circumstances for which I was not responsible, and I can do no more than express my regret for the fact. So far as Burma is concerned, I rejoice that an independent Linguistic Survey of that Province is now being undertaken under the capable superintendence of Mr. L. F. Taylor of the Indian Educational Service. In the present Survey, the numerous Indo-Chinese languages spoken in the Province of Assam received full attention, but any account of them was necessarily incomplete, so long as the cognate forms of speech employed in the adjacent Burma remained unexamined. Independently therefore of the practical aid which the Linguistic Survey of Burma will contribute to the Government of that Province, it will also enable those interested in languages generally to study the Indo-Chinese languages of India as a whole. When that Survey is completed, it will be possible to compare the Bâṛâ of western Assam with the Lolo of eastern Burma, and the Khâsi of Shillong with the Talaing of Amherst beyond the Gulf of Martaban May I express the hope that at some future time a similar Survey will be held of the languages of Madras and of the States of the Deccan which have not been dealt with in these pages.

Phonetic Desiderata.

The reader who may have to consult the volumes of this Survey will no doubt regret, as I do, the absence from its pages of any reference to the important subject of phonetics. When the Survey was begun that science was in its childhood. It was hardly known in India, and, even in Europe, it had not yet succeeded in producing an alphabetic system capable of representing all possible sounds which had been universally adopted by general consent. At the present day, the state of affairs is very different, and the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association is now familiar to every serious student of language. An ideal inquiry into the various modern languages spoken in India would require that every vernacular word quoted should be written in that script, and with its help we should then be able to tell exactly how each word in each dialect is pronounced. But its correct employment is within the power only of trained phoneticians, and, even if at the time the specimens of this Survey were being prepared it had been in use in India, its employment would have been dangerous. Except for one or two languages, such, for instance, as Bengali,[1] no Indian form of speech of the present day has been the object of the necessary detailed and minute study, and it is often impossible to say what are the exact sounds which are to be represented in written form. In this Survey, most of the materials have either been received from government officials, who,—however familiar with the practical use of the dialects on which they reported they may have been,—did not pretend to be skilled phoneticians, or else have been collected from books by many authors which gave no real particulars regarding the sounds recorded in them. In such cases all that we can hope for is an approximate representation, which may or may not be accurate, of the various sounds, and here the use of phonetic script

[1] See Professor S. K. Chatterji's article on *Bengali Phonetics* in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,' Vol. II, pp. 1ff.

would give the reader a false sense of security that might easily lead him astray. As it is obvious that one system must be used throughout, the specimens in this Survey have all been recorded in an alphabet based on the well-known official system employed in India for the transliteration of Indian words. This is the system with which all government officials are familiar, and which they can be trusted to employ correctly. The record of sounds so made is, as I have said, confessedly a mere approximation, but, as it is consistent with itself, it may be used with some confidence as a foundation for further inquiries into phonetic niceties.

Gramophone Records.

After all that can be said in its favour, the Survey is but a representation of the written word, nor could this be much improved for the lay reader by the most accurate and most scientific of phonetic transcriptions. Unless the subject is in metre, no system of spelling can convey to the reader those nuances of expression which give its life to each word and adjust it to its proper relationship to its fellows in a sentence. The same man may pronounce the same word in a slightly different manner each of ten times in half as many minutes, and each time the slight difference will give it a different shade of meaning. Nevertheless, in spelling, each of these different enunciations is represented by the same letters. Moreover, the written word gives no record of the emphasis laid on particular syllables or on the general cadence, or swing, of each sentence, although the custom in regard to these differs in every language. I have pointed out above[1] how the order of a speaker's thoughts differs from nation to nation, and how this influences language in the order of the words employed by him in a sentence. But that is not the only effect of the order of the speaker's thought. It also exercises an important influence on the cadence of each phrase, so that the natural cadence of, say, an English phrase differs widely from that of any Indian language. Now, for mutual intelligibility, the correct representation of a phrase with its proper cadence is all-important. A familiar example of this is the case of an Englishman speaking Bengali. On his arrival in India he may possibly speak the language with perfect verbal correctness and with fair pronunciation; yet, if he addresses the simplest sentence to a villager, he will find it a common experience to receive as a reply, 'Sâhib, I do not understand English.' The man has no idea of being impertinent, nor is he wanting in intelligence. If he had grasped the fact that he was being addressed in Bengali, he would have known the meaning of every word uttered to him. But he is more or less flustered by the white face of the stranger, and all that his slow mind apprehends is that he has been spoken to in an unfamiliar cadence,—and not in that of his own language. Without attempting to identify the separate words of his questioner he couples this strange sentence-melody with the white face, and jumps to the conclusion that he is being addressed in English.

This particular defect of the written word as a representation of speech is remedied by the use of a gramophone or phonograph. With one of these, even if its pronunciation of a particular word or of a particular letter is not clear, the emphasis and melody of each sentence is always reproduced with perfect competence. For this reason,—as a supplement to the Survey,—arrangements have been made with several of the Provincial Governments and with certain of the States of India for the preparation of gramophone records of

[1] P. 48.

passages in the principal languages spoken within their respective jurisdictions. At the time of writing (April, 1924) these records have been received from the following Governments:—Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Burma, the Central Provinces, Delhi, Madras, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and others are under preparation or have been promised. Altogether 218 records, illustrating 97 languages and dialects have been prepared,[1] and have been placed within the reach of students by the presentation of complete sets to the India Office Library, the British Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society, the School of Oriental Studies, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the University Libraries of Cambridge, Dublin, and Edinburgh, and (in Paris) the Institut de France.

These records have more than once been publicly exhibited in London, and have excited considerable attention in circles devoted to the serious study of Indian languages. But their usefulness has not stopped there. Properly prepared gramophone records render invaluable aid in teaching any language. A gramophone will repeat with perfect accuracy any passage, long or short, over and over again, without raising any objection, while a human teacher is human and possesses a throat that soon, like his patience, becomes exhausted. So useful have these records that have been prepared for the Linguistic Survey proved themselves, that certain of them now form parts of the language courses laid down in this country for the instruction of Selected Candidates for the Indian Civil Service.

Spelling of proper names; Of persons.

With one group of exceptions, all Indian words have, from beginning to end of this Survey, been spelt on the system above described. All the exceptions are proper names. When the name of a person is mentioned, and is known only as written in an Indian character, I have transliterated it like any other vernacular word. But, if he is alive at the present day and writes his name himself in English style, I follow the spelling used by him, on the principle that every person has the right to decide how his own name should be spelt. Thus, if a gentleman calls himself 'Bonnerjee', I write his name so, although he himself might, when using Indian characters, write it 'Vandyōpādhyāya,' or, if he signs himself 'Jeejeebhoy,' I do not call him 'Jijibhāī.'

Of places.

The question of proper names of places is more difficult. There occur in the Survey hundreds of names of towns or villages, the correct spelling of which either is uncertain, or has been conventionalized. Regarding the latter, there need be no hesitation. Even in the most meticulously scientific work, no one would dream of writing 'Kalikātā' for 'Calcutta' or 'Kānhpur' for 'Cawnpur.' But the question of how to deal with the names of those less known places, the spelling of which is uncertain, is not so easy to answer. The difficulty lies chiefly in regard to diacritical marks. In most parts of India it is not customary to aim at the accuracy achieved by their use. People, for instance, write 'Garhwal,' not 'Gaṛhwāl,' and 'Shahabad,' not 'Shāhābād' In other parts, such as Bombay, diacritical marks are more frequently employed in official publications, while, again, elsewhere, as in the Province of Madras, other and independent principles prevail. The correct spelling of most Indian place-names is, it is true, given in the Imperial Gazetteer, but this was not published till 1908, when a large

[1] A complete list of these records will be found in Appendix II.

part of this Survey had already been published. It was manifestly unadvisable to write some place-names with full diacritical marks, and others without them, and therefore, in dealing with place-names, I have, save in exceptional cases, followed the present custom of the greater part of Northern India, and have altogether avoided using them.

Accuracy of Results.

It is unnecessary to state that the whole value of the Survey depends upon its accuracy. Do the specimens, as recorded, truly represent the forms of speech of which they purport to be examples? To this I can answer that, taken as a whole, I believe they do. More than ordinary precautions were taken to attain this object. No pains have been spared in endeavours to clear up doubtful points. My correspondence in this respect has been very large, and has sometimes had unexpected results. That there are errors here and there, and that some specimens are less valuable than others, is freely admitted; a uniformity of excellence would be an ideal impossible of attainment; but, if we consider the sources from which the translations came, it will be evident that in each case the chances of fair correctness having been achieved were considerable. The great majority of specimens were prepared either by Indians whose native language it was that was being illustrated, or else by missionaries who lived in daily and hourly contact with the illiterate people that spoke it. Others, again, were prepared by members of my own service, including many personal friends in the ripeness of whose knowledge I had the fullest confidence, and who had made special studies of the speeches of wild tribes to whom reading and writing were unknown. There were, of course, exceptions. Especially, in the case of some Indian contributors there was exhibited the consistent Indian preference for uniformity and for what was deemed correctness of speech. Some felt pain in putting into a written character, upon which they looked with reverence, the uncouth language of an unlettered peasant, and took pains to prune its luxuriance, to eradicate weeds of vulgarity, and to present to my view a garden too elegant in its symmetry. A few even refused to write down at all the barbarous words they heard, and offered to me as a specimen of the speech of an ignorant rustic a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in faultless Persianized Urdū or Sanskritized Bengali. A few of such even passed through the sifting to which all specimens were subjected by the local authorities before they reached me, but were readily recognized, and correspondence soon put matters right. My principal source of safety was, however, the great number of specimens received. As previously stated, there were several thousands of these, and for most languages there was a large choice available. No one could read and study all these,—and every single one of them received my careful personal scrutiny,—without gaining considerable experience in weighing values, and a *flair* for what was genuine and what was not. This, I confess, was a subjective test; but I used it, I hope, with discretion in selecting what specimens should be and what should not be printed. The great thing was that in most cases I was able to select, and was not compelled to accept unquestioned whatever I received from my informants. For languages with which I was myself familiar, for dialects acquired in the long cold-weather evenings chatting over camp-fires with the village greybeards or listening to village bards, I was naturally in a peculiarly favourable position; and the experience so gained was invaluable to me in estimating the worth of contributions couched in

forms of speech known to me only from books or not known to me at all. I therefore feel some confidence in offering the pages of this Survey as forming, on the whole, a truthful picture of the languages spoken over a large part of India. That I shall welcome criticisms and corrections goes without saying. To quote the words of Sir Thomas Browne,[1]—

> Weigh not thyself in the scales of thy own opinion, but let the Judgment of the Judicious be the Standard of thy Merit.... 'Twere but a civil piece of complacency to suffer them to sleep who would not wake, to let them rest in their securities, nor by dissent or opposition to stagger their contentments.

The Sum of the matter.

Such as they are, I lay these volumes as an offering before the India that was long my home, and that has itself had a home in my heart for more than half a century. It was to me a memorable day when in 1868 my honoured teacher, Professor Robert Atkinson, introduced me to the Sanskrit alphabet in what soon became to me his familiar rooms in Trinity College, Dublin. Five years later, as, full of hope, I was bidding him farewell before starting for India, he laid this task upon me, and with the enthusiasm of youth I gladly undertook it. Throughout my active life among the people whom soon I learned to love, his parting injunction was ever present to my mind, and urged me on to devote such time as I could spare from official duties to preparation for its accomplishment. Twenty years later came the opportunity, and the privilege of conducting this Survey became mine. For me personally these years of preparation were by no means without profit. I have been granted a vision of a magnificent literature enshrining the thoughts of great men, from generation to generation, through three thousand years. I have been able to stroll through enchanted gardens of poesy, beginning with the happy, care-free, hymns of the Vedas, continuing through great epics, through the magic of the Indian drama and the consummate word-witchery of Kālidāsa, through the lyric poetry of the Indian reformation, through the heart-melody of Tulasī Dās, down to the jewelled distichs of Bihārī Lal. Truth have I gathered from many a tree of knowledge, — from the ripe Paṇḍit, strong in his monism, acute in thought, crystal clear in his exposition, and from the simple peasant chatting in his rude patois under the village tree, steeped in the deepest superstition, yet quick with a living faith in the fatherhood of God that would put to shame many a professing Christian. Hidden under religiosity have I found religion, hidden under legend history, wisdom have I found in the proverbs of the unlettered herd. Here and here did India help me; how can I help India? This is a question that we Westerners who have gone to India in the service of His Majesty have each in his own way done our best to answer. Among us have been great administrators, great soldiers, great scholars, great teachers, masters of the art of healing. There have been diversities of gifts, but the same spirit,—a spirit of devotion to duty, of love for and sympathy with the millions amid whom our lot was cast. My own share in the endeavour to answer it has been a very small one, but if this Survey should help to bring India nearer to the West, I shall feel that my efforts have not been utterly in vain.

Thanks for help.

To record my thanks to each of those who have helped me in this work would require a volume in itself. To the many members of my own service, to the generous missionaries, and to others who

[1] *Christian Morals*, II, 8.

have spared no time and no trouble in providing me with specimens or in solving difficulties, I owe a heavy debt of gratitude. In each case their names have been recorded at the heads of the specimens contributed by them. If I here refer to them as a whole, and not name by name, they will understand that this has been done with no thought of making the debt of light account. I must, however, make an exception in favour of one name—that of the Reverend G. Macalister. At the instance of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, this gentleman himself carried out a survey of the many dialects spoken in that State. The book[1] in which the results of his inquiry were recorded is a veritable storehouse of folklore, and must always be indispensable to anyone who desires to become familiar with the language of Rajputana.

Of those brought into more immediate contact with myself, I must first of all record my obligations to Rai Bahadur Gouri Kanta Roy, who was my Head Assistant while I was in India, and for some years afterwards. He was responsible for the collection, arrangement, and copying of the thousands of specimens that were received during the earlier stages of the Survey. Through his most efficient superintendence of an office containing clerks of various nationalities and capabilities, the preliminary stages of the Survey moved steadily and uniformly to completion. He finished a long and honorable service under the Government of India as Superintendent of the office of the Punjab Disorders Committee, in the year 1921.

To my friend and collaborator Professor Sten Konow[2] it is difficult for me to render sufficient acknowledgment. For nearly three years (1900 to 1902) we worked together, side by side, in the same room, and many a page of the volumes written during that period bears unacknowledged traces of his inspiring help. After his return to his home in Kristiania he continued still to place at my disposal all the powers of his clear intellect and of his erudition. As explained in the various prefaces, a large part of the Survey has come directly from his pen, and I should deeply regret if the credit for these sections was not fully attributed to him.[3]

Since Professor Konow's return to Norway in 1903, my assistant has been Mr. E. H. Hall, to whose constant assiduity I cannot avoid recording a word of recognition. Endowed with a remarkable facility for acquiring a familiarity with every oriental written character employed between Persia and Siam, he has been a most efficient proof-reader, and few misprints have escaped his notice. The originals of nearly all the maps in the different volumes of the Survey are also from his pen. To him, and to the careful printing of the Government of India Press, the Survey owes much freedom from clerical errors.

Last, but by no means least, comes the recognition of my obligations to my friends and fellow-workers at the head-quarters of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and particularly to Dr. Kilgour, the Editorial Secretary, and Mr. Darlow, the Literary Superintendent. Nothing can exceed the sympathy and the practical help which they constantly accorded to me in the course of my inquiries into the history of the

---

[1] *Specimens of the Dialects spoken in the State of Joypore*, by the Rev. G. Macalister, M.A. Allahabad Mission Press, 1898.

[2] Now Professor in Oslo (Kristiania) University.

[3] His contributions were:—Vol. III, Parts i, ii (a portion), and iii (Tibeto-Burman languages), Vol. IV (Dravidian and Munḍā languages), Vol. VII (Marāṭhī), most of Vol. IX, Part iii (Bhil languages), and Vol. XI (Gipsy languages.)

literatures of the Indian languages. Of these literatures Biblical translations form an important part, and, in the case of many less known forms of speech, formed the only printed materials available. These were most liberally placed at my disposal, and were even procured for me when not obtainable in Europe. That monument of learning and completeness, the Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures in the Library of the Society, by Mr. Darlow and Mr. Moule, was a never-failing source of accurate information, much of which has been embodied in the bibliographical sections of the Survey, and what better tribute to it can I pay than to end these remarks with the colophon, taken from de Dieu's edition of Revelation,[1] which closed that magnificent work :—

IAM VALE, LECTOR HVMANISSIME, ET LABORIBVS NOSTRIS FRVERE, EX QVIBVS SI QVID FRVCTVS CAPIS, TOTVM ILLVD OPT. MAXIMOQVE DEO ACCEPTVM REFERATVR, CVIVS VNIVS GLORIAM HIC SPECTAMVS, CVIQVE LAVS ET HONOS DEBETVR IN SEMPITERNVM.

[1] Leyden, 1627.

SUPPLEMENT I.

Addenda Majora

VOLUME III—PART II.

SIMI OR SEMĀ.

Page 222—

As stated in the Addenda Minora, I have been informed by Mr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., the author of *A Rudimentary Grammar of the Sema Naga Language*, and of *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), that the language described in the Survey represents the Lazmi dialect, which is very different from the language spoken by the greater part of the tribe. To the kindness of that gentleman I owe the following list of words in the Semā language which is in general use.

Mr. Hutton explains that the pronunciation of the vowels varies considerably, not only between villages, but between individuals. The normal value of a vowel is also very illusive, and varies between the long and short quantities. Only where the vowel is very definitely long or short, have the marks ¯ for long and ˘ for short been used. The letter *ä* indicates the sound of the *a* in 'pant', and, as usual, the mark ' indicates the stress accent.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE SEMĀ LANGUAGE.

English.	Semā.	English.	Semā.
1. One	laki, (*in counting*) khĕ.	25. Your	nŏkomi.
2. Two	kini.	26. He	pa.
3. Three	kuthu.	27. Of him	pa-.
4. Four	bidhi.	28. His	pa-.
5. Five	pŏngū.	29. They	panŏ.
6. Six	tsŏghŏ.	30. Of them	panŏ-.
7. Seven	tsini.	31. Their	panŏkomi.
8. Eight	tsche.	32. Hand	aoumzi, (*arm and hand*) aou.
9. Nine	toku.	33. Foot	akŭpŭmizhi, (*leg and foot*) akupu.
10. Ten	cheghi; chŭghi.	34. Nose	aah.ki.
11. Twenty	muku.	35. Eye	anhyeti.
12. Fifty	lho pŏngū.	36. Mouth	akichi.
13. Hundred	akŏh.	37. Tooth	ahu.
14. I	ni, ni-ye.	38. Ear	akini.
15. Of me	i-.	39. Hair	(*of head*) aan; (*of body and of animals*) amhu.
16. Mine	i-.	40. Head	akutsŭ.
17. We	niū.	41. Tongue	amlit.
18. Of us	nū-.	42. Belly	apfo.
19. Our	nūkomi.	43. Back	akiobe.
20. Thou	no.	44. Iron	aī.
21. Of thee	o-.	45. Gold	.
22. Thine	o-.	46. Silver	...
23. You	nŏ.	47. Father	apu.
24. Of you	nŏ-.	48. Mother	aza.

English.	Semā.	English.	Semā.
49. Brother	(*elder*) anu; (*younger*) atikazu.	75. Camel	...
50. Sister	(*elder*) afu; (*younger, if male speaking*) achepfu; (*younger, if woman speaking*) atsānupfu.	76. Bird	aghao.
51. Man	timi.	77. Go	ghwo-, gu-, wu-.
52. Woman	totimi.	78. Eat	chu-.
53. Wife	anipfu.	79. Sit	tka-.
54. Child	anu, itimi.	80. Come	gwōgho-, ōghe-.
55. Son	anu.	81. Beat	hō.
56. Daughter	anu, alimi, ilimi.	82. Stand	putughwa-, (*stand up*) ithou.
57. Slave	...	83. Die	ti-, ti-wu-, tin-.
58. Cultivator	...	84. Give	tsū-.
59. Shepherd	...	85. Run	pō-.
60. God	Alhou, Timilhou (< lho-, *create*).	86. Up	kungu.
61. Devil	(*spirit of the earth*) taghami.	87. Near	avilo.
62. Sun	tsūkinhyo (*heaven-house-eye*).	88. Down	achilu.
63. Moon	akhu.	89. Far	ghachewa, ala kusua (*distant way*).
64. Star	ayō, ayōsū.	90. Before	azuno.
65. Fire	ami.	91. Behind	athiu.
66. Water	azū.	92. Who?	kū, kūū-kiu?
67. House	aki.	93. What?	kiu?
68. Horse	kuru (< Hindōstāni *ghōṛō*)	94. Why?	kiu-shia?
69. Cow	amishi.	95. And	-ngwo (*enclitic to the first of two nouns coupled*). eno.
70. Dog	atsū.	96. But	-mu (*enclitic to the verb*); ti shia-mu.
71. Cat	akusā.	97. If	(*participle used*).
72. Cock	awu-du; *hen*, awu-khu.	98. Yes	ih.
73. Duck	...	99. No	mo.
74. Ass	...	100. Alas	aiyā.

English.	Semá.	English.	Semá.
101. A father	apu.	128. A good woman	totimi kevi.
102. Of a father	apu pa- (*preceding governing noun: «father his . . .»*).	129. A bad boy	âpumi kesao, âpumi 'lhokesâ.
103. To a father	apu vile.	130. Good women	totimi kevi.
104. From a father	apu lo.	131. A bad girl	ilimi 'lhokesâ.
105. Two fathers	apu kini	132. Good	akevi, allo.
106. Fathers	apu-nõ (*but the singular is ordinarily used*).	133. Better	hupau-ye hipau akevi (*this is better than that*).
107. Of fathers	apunõ panõ-.	134. Best	akevi-o.
108. To fathers	apunõ vile.	135. High	chukumoghai.
109. From fathers	apunõ lo.	136. Higher	-ye chukumoghai.
110. A daughter	alimi	137. Highest	chukumoghai-o.
111. Of a daughter	alimi pa-.	138. A horse	kura laki.
112. To a daughter	alimi vile.	139. A mare	... (*Semâs have no horses.*)
113. From a daughter	alimi lo.	140. Horses	kura.
114. Two daughters	alimi kini.	141. Mares	...
115. Daughters	alimi.	142. A bull	amishi-tsü laki.
116. Of daughters	alimi panõ-.	143. A cow	amishi-khukhoh laki.
117. To daughters	alimi vile.	144. Bulls	amishitsü-hõ[1].
118. From daughters	alimi lo.	145. Cows	amishikhukhoh-õ[1]
119. A good man	timi kevi.	146. A dog	atsü-li laki.
120. Of a good man	timi kevi pa-.	147. A bitch	atsü-ani laki.
121. To a good man	timi kevi vile.	148. Dogs	atsüli-õ[1].
122. From a good man	timi kevi lo.	149. Bitches	atsüani-õ[1].
123. Two good men	timi kevi kini.	150. A he goat	anyeh-tsü laki.
124. Good men	timi kevi.	151. A female goat	anye-khukhoh laki.
125. Of good men	timi kevi panõ-.	152. Goats	anyeh-õ[1].
126. To good men	timi kevi vile.	153. A male deer	ashe-tsü laki.
127. From good men	timi kevi lo.	154. A female deer	ashe-khukhoh laki.

[1] These plural forms are very rare, the singular being generally employed instead.

English.	Semā.	English.	Semā.
155. Deer	ashe-ũ.	182. We beat	niũ-na he-ni.
156. I am	niye a-ni.	183. You beat	nõ-na he-ni.
157. Thou art	no a-ni.	184. They beat	panõ-na he-ni.
158. He is	pa a-ni.	185. I beat (*Past Tense*)	i-na he-ke (*or* he vai, *or* he-keana, *and so throughout the tense*).
159. We are	niũ a-ni.	186. Thou beatest (*Past Tense*)	no-na he-ke.
160. You are	nõ a-ni.	187. He beat (*Past Tense*)	pa-na he-ke.
161. They are	panõ a-ni.	188. We beat (*Past Tense*)	niũ-na he-ke.
162. I was	niye 'ke.	189. You beat (*Past Tense*)	nõ-na he-ke.
163. Thou wast	no a-ke.	190. They beat (*Past Tense*)	panõ-na he-ke.
164. He was	pa a-ke.	191. I am beating	niye he-a-ni.
165. We were	niũ a-ke.	192. I was beating	i-na he-a-ni-ke.
166. You were	nõ a-ke.	193. I had beaten	(*No pluperfect form*).
167. They were	panõ a-ke.	194. I may beat	i-na he-ni-kyeni.
168. Be	a-lo.	195. I shall beat	i-na he-ni.
169. To be	a-.	196. Thou wilt beat	no-na he-ni.
170. Being	a-ye.	197. He will beat	pa-na he-ni.
171. Having been	a-pazũno.	198. We shall beat	niũ-na he-ni.
172. I may be	niye a-kyeni.	199. You will beat	nõ-na he-ni.
173. I shall be	niye a-ni.	200. They will beat	panõ-na he-ni.
174. I should be	...	201. I should beat	
175. Beat	he-lo.	202. I am beaten	(*No passive in use*)
176. To beat	hẽ-.	203. I was beaten	,,
177. Beating	he-aye.	204. I shall be beaten	,,
178. Having beaten	he-no, he-pazũ, he-pazũno.	205. I go	niye wu-ni.
179. I beat	i-na he-ni.	206. Thou goest	no wu-ni.
180. Thou beatest	no-na he-ni.	207. He goes	pa wu-ni.
181. He beats	pa-na he-ni.	208. We go	niũ wu-ni.

[1] These plural forms are very rare, the singular being generally employed instead

English.	Semā.
209. You go . . .	nō wu-ni.
210. They go . . .	panō wu-ni.
211. I went . . .	niye wu-ke (*or* wu-vai, *or* wu-ve-ke).
212. Thou wentest . .	no-na wu-ke.
213. He went . . .	pa-na wu-ke.
214. We went . .	nüü-na wu-ke.
215. You went . .	nō-na wu-ke.
216. They went .	panō-na wu-ke.
217. Go	wu-lo.
218. Going . . .	wu-aye.
219. Gone . . .	ke-wu.
220. What is your name?	o-zhe kū kya?
221. How old is this horse?	kuru hipa amphe (*year*) kije ani kya?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir?	hilao-lo Kashmir ala (*road*) kije ani kya?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house?	a-pu pa-ki-lo anu kije ani kya?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	ina ishi (*to-day*) ala kēsūa ilueghako (<ilue-, *walk*, + ēghe-, *come*).
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	i-pu pa-mu pa-nu pa-chepfu anipfu luvai (*my father's elder brother's son has taken his younger sister to wife*).

English.	Semā.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	kuru metaoghoi pa-zin aki selekū ani
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	pa-kiche-shou zin pavetsülo.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	ina pa-nu akkeh (*cane*) kuthomo heke.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	pana amishi athoh-shou akhye-ani.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	pana asü (*tree*) hupao (*that*) chilin (*under*) kuru-shou ika-ani.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	pa-fu-ye pa-mu akuchoh (*his elder brother*), *his elder sister*).
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	pa-me (*its price*) ghaka kim-ngo aduli ani.
233. My father lives in that small house.	i-pu aki hupa kutla-lo ngu-ani.
234. Give this rupee to him.	ghaka hipa pa tsil-lo.
235. Take these rupees from him.	ghaka hupao pa-lo keghalalo (kegha-lu-, *mofch-take*).
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	allokeï (*well*) pa he-puzüno, akeghe-pfe pa nāghālo.
237. Draw water from the well	azüki-lo azü pfu-eghelo (*bring water from the spring. Wells are unknown*).
238. Walk before me.	i-zuno iluelo.
239. Whose boy comes behind you?	o-thiu kūu āpumi egh-ani kya?
240. From whom did you buy that?	nono hupahi kū-ki-lo khüvai kya?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	agana (*village*) alhikashimi-ki-lo.

Semā—209

CHĀNG OR MOJUNG.

Page 333, Chāng or Mojung—The List of Words in this language (see pp. 344ff.) was taken under great difficulties as the tribe was at the time hardly known. Mr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., has since then very kindly sent me a corrected list, which I here reproduce. Regarding Mr. Hutton's spelling, it must be explained that in Chang the length of the vowel in any particular word commonly varies between long and short, according to the speaker of the flow of the sentence. It is hence rarely significant. The signs ¯ and ˘ are therefore used only when a vowel is very definitely long or short. Stress is indicated by the acute accent. The letter *ä* indicates the sound of the *a* in 'pant,' and *ä̆* the *u* in 'flutter.' The letter *ó*, which occurs in a few words, represents an *o* slightly broader than the *o* in 'got' perhaps as in 'gone', and shorter than the *oa* in 'broad.' In this way the *a* in the word 'Chang' itself, though marked long on p. 333, is not as long as that of the *ā* in 'father.' Mr. Hutton informs me that, as he hears it, the word 'Mojung' would be better spelt 'Mozung.' He adds, in correction of my statement that there is only one small village on the west face of the Patkoi range:—'There are only two Chang villages west of the Dikhu River, and in administered British territory, but the tribe is almost entirely located west of the Patkoi. The principal village is called Tuensang by Changs, and Mozungjami by Aos.'

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE CHĀNG NĀGĀ LANGUAGE.

English.	Chāng Nāgā.	English.	Chāng Nāgā.
1. One	chio.	25. Your	kā- (*prefixed to noun*).
2. Two	nyi.	26. He	hau.
3. Three	sām.	27. Of him	háu-e-bu (*preceding the noun*).
4. Four	lei.	28. His	hau- (*prefixed to noun*).
5. Five	ngau.	29. They	háu-an.
6. Six	ĕk.	30. Of them	háu-an-é-bu.
7. Seven	nyet.	31. Their	háu-an-é-bu.
8. Eight	ská.	32. Hand	yĕk.
9. Nine	guh.	33. Foot	yō.
10. Ten	an.	34. Nose	kung.
11. Twenty	sau-chio.	35. Eye	nyok.
12. Fifty	ín-chin'-sām [*i.e. the ten short of sixty* (sau-sām).]	36. Mouth	sūmpung.
13. Hundred	sau-ngau.	37. Tooth	hau.
14. I	ngo.	38. Ear	nō.
15. Of me	ngō-bu (*preceding the noun*).	39. Hair	kulo (*of head*), uwi (*of body, or of beasts*).
16. My	kā- *or* kū- (*prefixed to noun*).	40. Head	khū.
17. We	kānn *or* kūnn (*excluding person addressed*), sānn (*including the person addressed*).	41. Tongue	lishang.
18. Of us	kānn-e-bu *or* kūn-e-bu; sān-e-bu (*both preceding the noun*).	42. Belly	shimung, shúmung.
19. Our	kā- *or* kū- (*prefixed to noun*).	43. Back	tāk.
20. Thou	nō.	44. Iron	nām.
21. Of thee	kā-bu (*preceding the noun*).	45. Gold	(*no word*).
22. Thy	kā-(*prefixed to noun*).	46. Silver	sāmpak-nām (*i.e. rupee-iron*).
23. You	kānn.	47. Father	apō.
24. Of you	kān-e-bu (*preceding the noun*).	48. Mother	anyu.

English.	Chăng Nāgā.	English.	Chăng Nāgā.
49. Brother	ajei, ajai (*elder*); ana (*younger*).	76. Bird	ao.
50. Sister	anou (*elder*); ana (*younger*)	77. Go	hau-.
51. Man	măt (*human-being*); pĕau (*male*).	78. Eat	shau-; sau- (*of rice, when 'rice' is not mentioned*).
52. Woman	yakua.	79. Sit	săt-.
53. Wife	yákua, yak; chăm-pa-bu (*housekeeper*).	80. Come	le-.
54. Child	nā-shou.	81. Beat	ngăm-.
55. Son	shou.	82. Stand	leo-.
56. Daughter	yákua shou.	83. Die	hai-.
57. Slave	au, mătau.	84. Give	ku-.
58. Cultivator	... ..	85. Run	lăng-.
59. Herdsman	sháttó-námto chūgh pu (*one who watches*).	86. Up	mūghs.
60 God	.....	87. Near	nyăogbua.
61. Spirit	mūghka (*i.e. from the sky*).	88. Down	panga.
62. Sun	chasyu.	89. Far	sabu, hego.
63. Moon	lĭtnyu.	90. Before	te-tanga.
64. Star	kánchó lĭchu.	91. Behind	paini.
65. Fire	wàn.	92. Who?	au?
66. Water	tei.	93. What?	ai?
67. House	chăm.	94. Why?	ai-la?
68. Horse	kori, kuri (*i.e.* ghōrā, *a borrowed word*).	95. And	tokē.
69. Cow	masū.	96. But	lan; pa (*preceded by participle*)
70. Dog	kei.	97. If	-si (*enclitic to verb*).
71. Cat	tăufla (*domestic*); kān (*wild*).	98. Yes	hāgh, hoūt, hē.
72. Cock	au-pang (*male fowl*).	99. No	ūgh, chi ('*that is wrong*'), aki *or* agi ('*not*').
73. Duck	phatak (*i.e.* batak, *a borrowed word*).	100. Alas	augh-a.
74. Ass	.....	101. A father	apō chie.
75. Camel	... ..	102. Of a father	pō chie-bu (*following governing noun*).

English.	Chāng Nāgā.	English.	Chāng Nāgā.
103. To a father . .	pō chie-aitāng, pō chie-chungto.	128. A good woman .	yáksa maibu chie.
104. From a father . .	pō chie-kā.	129. A bad boy . .	nāshōsi amaibu chie.
105. Two fathers . .	pō ni.	130. Good women . .	yáksa maibu shōng.
106. Fathers . .	pō sie shōng.	131. A bad girl . .	mātei amaibu chie.
107. Of fathers . .	pō sie-bu.	132. Good . . .	maibu.
108. To fathers . .	pō sie-aitāng, pō sie-chungto.	133. Better . . .	kā-bu kei-tōchi ngē-bu kei mai-kē, *your dog-than my dog good-is.*
109. From fathers . .	pō sie-kā.	134. Best . . .	pando-to (*of all*) mai-kē (*is good*).
110. A daughter . .	yáksa shō chie.	135. High . . .	sōkpu.
111. Of a daughter . .	yáksa shō-ē-bu.	136. Higher . . .	-tōchi (*than*) sōk-kē (*is high*).
112. To a daughter .	yáksa shō-aitang, yáksa shō-chungto.	137. Highest . . .	pando-tōchi (*than all*) sōk-ke.
113. From a daughter .	yáksa shō-kā.	138. A horse . . .	kori (*borrowed*).
114. Two daughters . .	yáksa shō ni.	139. A mare . . .	kori pi.
115. Daughters . .	yáksa shō sie.	140. Horses . . .	kori shōng.
116. Of daughters . .	yáksa shō sie-bu.	141. Mares . . .	kori pi shōng
117. To daughters .	yáksa shō sie-aitang, yáksa shō sie-chung-to.	142. A bull . . .	masū pang chie.
118. From daughters .	yáksa shō sie-kā.	143. A cow . . .	masū pi chie.
119. A good man . .	māt maibu chie.	144. Bulls . . .	masū pang shōng.
120. Of a good man . .	māt maibu chie-bu.	145. Cows . . .	masū pi shōng.
121. To a good man . .	māt maibu chie-chungto.	146. A dog . . .	kei chie.
122. From a good man .	māt maibu chie-kā.	147. A bitch . . .	kei nyu chie, kei sawa nyu chie (*a bitch that has never puppied*).
123. Two good men .	māt maibu nyi.	148. Dogs . . .	kei shōng.
124. Good men . .	māt maibu shōng (shōng *suggests a considerable number.*)	149. Bitches . . .	kei nyu shōng.
125. Of good men . .	māt maibu shōng-e-bu.	150. A he goat . .	lōān pang chie.
126. To good men . .	māt maibu shōng-chungto.	151. A female goat .	lōān pi chie; lōān nyu chie (*a big she-goat*); lōān sawa nyu chie (*a goat that has not kidded*).
127. From good men .	māt maibu shōng-kā.	152. Goats . . .	lōān shōng

English.	Chăng Nāgā.	English.	Chăng Nāgā.
153. A male deer . .	meishi pang chie (*a barking deer: no word for "deer" generally*).	179. I beat . . .	ngō ngăm-ta.
154. A female deer . .	meishi pi chie; meishi sawa nyu chie (*one that has not brought forth young*).	180. Thou beatest . .	nyō ngăm-ta.
155. Deer . . .	meishi shōng.	181. He beats . . .	hau-ō ngăm-ta.
156. I am . . .	ngo kia.	182. We beat . . .	kăn-ō (*or* săn-ō) ngăm-ta
157. Thou art . .	nō kia.	183. You beat . .	kān-ō ngăm-ta.
158. He is . . .	hau kia.	184. They beat . .	hau-an-ō ngăm-ta.
159. We are . . .	kănu (*or* sănu) kia.	185. I beat (*Past Tense*) .	ngō ngăm-pō.
160. You are . .	kānu kia.	186. Thou beatest (*Past Tense*).	nyō ngăm-pō.
161. They are . . .	hau-an kia.	187. He beat (*Past Tense*)	hau-ō ngăm-pō.
162. I was . . .	ngo kia.	188. We beat (*Past Tense*)	kăn-ō (săn-ō) ngăm-pō.
163. Thou wast . .	nō kia.	189. You beat (*Past Tense*)	kān-ō ngăm-pō.
164. He was . . .	hau kia.	190. They beat (*Past Tense*).	hau-an-ō ngăm-pō.
165. We were . . .	kănu (sănu) kia.	191. I am beating . .	ngō ngăm-ta.
166. You were . . .	kānu kia.	192. I was beating .	ngō ngăm-pu kia.
167. They were . .	hau-an kia.	193. I had beaten . .	ngō ngăm-an kia
168. Be	ki-ăshi.	194. I may beat . .	ngō ngăm-labu yingkao (*perhaps I shall beat*).
169. To be . . .	ki-	195. I shall beat . .	ngō ngăm-labu.
170. Being . . .	ki jini (*while remaining*).	196. Thou wilt beat . .	nyō ngăm-labu.
171. Having been . .	ki-ănyu.	197. He will beat . .	hau-ō ngănu-labu.
172. I may be . . .	ngo ki-lapăm.	198. We shall beat . .	kău-ō (săn-ō) ngăm-labu.
173. I shall be . . .	ngo ki-labu.	199. You will beat . .	kāu-ō ngănu-labu.
174. I should be . .	ngo ki-labu kia.	200. They will beat . .	hau-an-ō ngăm-labu.
175. Beat . . .	ngăm-ăshi.	201. I should beat . .	. .
176. To beat . . .	ngăm-	202. I am beaten . .	kăto ngăm-ta (*beats me*).
177. Beating . . .	ngăm-jini (*while beating*).	203. I was beaten . .	kăto ngăm-pō.
178. Having beaten . .	ngăm-ănyu.	204. I shall be beaten .	kăto ngăm-labu.

English.	Chāng Nāgā.
205. I go . . .	ngo hau-ta.
206. Thou goest . .	nō hau-ta.
207. He goes . . .	hau hau-ta.
208. We go . . .	kāun (sāun) hau-ta.
209. You go . . .	kāun hau-ta.
210. They go . . .	hau-an hau-ta.
211. I went . . .	ngo hau-kō
212. Thou wentest . .	nō hau-kō.
213. He went . . .	hau hau kō.
214. We went . . .	kāun (sāun) hau-kō.
215. You went . .	kāun hau-kō.
216. They went . .	hau-an hau-kō.
217. Go	hau-āshi.
218. Going . . .	hau-jini (*while going*).
219. Gone . . .	hau-bu (*adjectival*).
220. What is your name? .	kā-bu nyen au?
221. How old is this horse?	kori hau pō (*year*) lating (*how many*)?
222. How far is it from here to Kohima?	ha-ka Kohima la lok chie yinkō?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house?	kā-pō-bu chām-ā shou-si lating ki?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	ngo thāt (*to-day*) sā-ko pai-kō.

English.	Chāng Nāgā.
225. The son of my paternal uncle is married to his younger sister.	kā-po-ung-ho shō-e hau-bu nā ugā-kō.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	kori thupai-bu jin chām ā kia (*no word for 'saddle'*).
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	kori-bu thāk jin chīn-āshi.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	ngō hau-shō-to ā (*cane*) aibu (*much*) ngām-pō.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	hau-ē shui-a nasā lam-shau-bu (*search-eater*) chūg-ta (*is watching*).
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	hau khwo pu-panga kori-thāk-a sāt-ā-kō.
231. His elder brother is taller than his older sister.	hau-jei hau nō-tōchi lō-kō (lō bu-*tall*).
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	khwo-e-bu (*of that*) nām (*price*) nām (*rupee*) nyi adali (*eight anna price*) chie (*one*).
233. My father lives in that small house.	kā-pō chāra hām-bu (*small*) kāni (*that*) kia.
234. Give this rupee to him	nām hō hau-la kū-āshi.
235. Take those rupees from him.	khwo nām hau-kā sung-āshi.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	hau mai-sho (*well*) ngām-ānyu (*having beaten*) lūgh-e (*with creeper*) kūgh-āshi (*bind*).
237. Draw water from the well.	tei-yungla-kā (*from water for drinking*) tei kuba.
238. Walk before me .	kā-thi (*my face*) tanga (*before*) pai-shi (*walk*).
239. Whose boy comes behind you?	au-shou kā-pana pai-ta?
240. From whom did you buy that?	khwo auka chāk-kō (*for chōg-kō*)?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	sang-a (*in village*) nām-seibu-kā (*from a trader*).

TĀNGKHUL.

Pages 480ff.—The following corrections to the List of Words in Tāngkhul are made from Mr. Pettigrew's grammar.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE TĀNGKHUL (UKHRUL) LANGUAGE.

English.	Tāngkhul (Ukhrul).	English.	Tāngkhul (Ukhrul).
1. One	khatra.	26. He	ā.
2. Two	khani.	27. Of him	ā-wui, ā-
3. Three	khathum.	28. His	ā-wui-na (*is his*).
4. Four	mati.	29. They	ā-thum.
5. Five	phangā.	30. Of them	ā-thum-wui, ā-
6. Six	tharuk.	31. Their	ā-thum-wui.
7. Seven	shini.	32. Hand	pāng.
8. Eight	chishat.	33. Foot	phei.
9. Nine	chiko.	34. Nose	nātāng.
10. Ten	tharā.	35. Eye	mik.
11. Twenty	maga.	36. Mouth	khamor.
12. Fifty	hang phangā.	37. Tooth	hā.
13. Hundred	shākha.	38. Ear	khanā.
14. I	i.	39. Hair	kui-sam.
15. Of me	i-wui, i-	40. Head	kui.
16. Mine	i-wui-na (*is mine*).	41. Tongue	nasle.
17. We	i-thum	42. Belly	wuk.
18. Of us	i-thum-wui, i-	43. Back	khumkhor.
19. Our	i-thum-wui.	44. Iron	mari.
20. Thou	na.	45. Gold	sinā.
21. Of thee	na-wui, na-	46. Silver	lupa.
22. Thine	na-wui-na (*is thine*).	47. Father	ā-vā.
23. You	na, na-thum.	48. Mother	ā-va.
24. Of you	na-wui, na-thum-wui, na-	49. Brother	i-shā-chei (*elder*), āgato (*younger*).
25. Your	na-wui, na-thum-wui.	50. Sister	ā-chea-va (*elder*), āgatuiva (*younger*).

English.	Tāngkhul (Ukhrul).	English.	Tāngkhul (Ukhrul).
51. Man	mayār-nao (*male*), mi (*person*).	78. Eat	shei-
52. Woman	sha-nao.	79. Sit	pam-
53. Wife	ā-proi-va.	80. Come	rā-.
54. Child	noshinao.	81. Beat	shao-.
55. Son	ānao mayārnao.	82. Stand	nganing-.
56. Daughter	ānao ngalāva.	83. Die	thi-.
57. Slave	rao.	84. Give	mi-.
58. Cultivator	lui khavā mi.	85. Run	ngasam-.
59. Shepherd	yāo kahoma.	86. Up	āsungshong
60. God	Varivarā.	87. Near	kangalona.
61. Devil	chipi.	88. Down	āchingshong
62. Sun	tsimik.	89. Far	katāva.
63. Moon	kaohāng.	90. Before	rida.
64. Star	sarā.	91. Behind	ākhersang, ākhamk.
65. Fire	mei.	92. Who?	khi-pākhala?
66. Water	tarā.	93. What?	khi?
67. House	shim.	94. Why?	khi-ātā?
68. Horse	sigui.	95. And	angka-la, la.
69. Cow	simuk.	96. But	ka.
70. Dog	fā.	97. If	—— akha.
71. Cat	lāmi.	98. Yes	ma.
72. Cock	har vā (*has*, *har va*).	99. No	angga.
73. Duck	vāna.	100. Alas	iyāvo.
74. Ass	sigui kathā.	101. A father	āvā ākha.
75. Camel	uā.	102. Of a father	āvā ākha-wui.
76. Bird	vānao.	103. To a father	āvā ākha-li.
77. Go	vā-, teat-.	104. From a father	āva ākha-wui sina.

English.	Tāngkhul (Ukhrul).	English.	Tāngkhul (Ukhrul).
105. Two fathers . .	āvā khani.	132. Good . . .	ka-phā.
106. Fathers . .	āvā bing.	133. Better . . .	phā kamai.
107. Of fathers	āvā bing-wui	134. Best . .	phā maikapa.
108. To fathers . .	āvā bing-li	135. High . . .	ka-chui.
109. From fathers . .	āvā bing-wui eina.	136. Higher . . .	chui kamai.
110. A daughter . .	ānao ngalāva ākha.	137. Highest . .	chui maikapa.
111. Of a daughter . .	ānao ngalāva ākha-wui.	138. A horse . . .	sigui ā-vā ākha.
112. To a daughter . .	ānao ngalāva ākha-li.	139 A mare . . .	sigui ā-lā ākha.
113. From a daughter .	ānao ngalāva ākha-wui eina.	140. Horses . .	sigui ā-vā tā-rāk-kha.
114. Two daughters .	ānao ngalāva khani.	141. Mares . . .	sigui ā-lā tā-rāk-kha.
115. Daughters . .	ānao ngalāva bing.	142. A bull . . .	simuk ā-vā ākha.
116. Of daughters . .	ānao ngalāva bing-wui.	143. A cow . . .	simuk ā-lā ākha.
117. To daughters . .	ānao ngalāva bing-li.	144. Bulls . . .	simuk ā-vā tā-rāk-kha.
118. From daughters .	ānao ngalāva bing-wui eina.	145. Cows . . .	simuk ā-lā tā-rāk-kha.
119. A good man . .	mi kaphā ākhana.	146. A dog . . .	fa-vā ākha
120. Of a good man . .	mi kaphā ākha-wui.	147 A bitch . . .	fa-lā ākha
121. To a good man . .	mi kaphā ākha-li.	148 Dogs . . .	fa-vā tā-rāk-kha.
122. From a good man .	mi kaphā ākha-wui eina.	149. Bitches . . .	fa-lā tā-rāk-kha.
123. Two good men . .	mi kaphā khani.	150. A he goat . .	me-vā ākha.
124. Good men . .	mi kaphā bing.	151. A female goat . .	me-va ākha.
125. Of good men . .	mi kaphā bing-wui.	152. Goats . . .	me tā-rāk-kha.
126. To good men . .	mi kaphā bing-li.	153. A male deer .	sāngāi ā-vā ākha.
127. From good men .	mi kaphā bing-wui eina.	154. A female deer . .	sāngāi ā-lā ākha.
128. A good woman . .	shanao kaphā ākhana.	155. Deer . . .	sāngāi tā-rāk-kha.
129. A bad boy . .	noshinao mayārnao ma-kaphā ākhana.	156. I am . . .	i-na.
130. Good women . .	sharao kaphā bing.	157. Thou art . . .	na-na.
131. A bad girl .	noshinao ngalānao ma-kaphā ākhana.	158. He is . . .	ā-na.

English.	Tăngkhul (Ukhrul).
159. We are . . .	ithum-na.
160. You are . . .	na-na, nathum-na.
161. They are . . .	āthum-na.
162. I was . . .	ina sā-sāi.
163. Thou wast .	nana sā-sāi.
164. He was . . .	āna sā-sāi.
165. We were . . .	ithumna sā-sāi.
166. You were . . .	nathumna sā-sāi.
167. They were . .	āthumna sā-sāi.
168. Be . . .	ngasā-lu, sā-lu.
169. To be . . .	ka-ngasā.
170. Being . . .	sā-da.
171. Having been . .	sā-hāi-ra-da.
172. I may be . . .	ina sā-pāi.
173. I shall be . . .	ina sā-ra.
174. I should be .	ina sā-ra-li.
175. Beat . . .	shao-lu.
176. To beat . . .	ka-shao.
177. Beating . .	shao-da.
178. Having beaten . .	shao-hāi-ra-da.
179. I beat . . .	ina shao-wa.
180. Thou beatest . .	nana shao-wa.
181. He beats . .	āna shao-wa.
182. We beat . . .	ithumna shao-wa.
183. You beat . . .	nathumna shao-wa.
184. They beat . .	āthumna shao-wa.
185. I beat (*Past Tense*) .	ina shao-wa.
186. Thou beatest (*Past Tense*).	nana shao-wa.
187. He beat (*Past Tense*)	āna shao-wa.
188. We beat (*Past Tense*)	ithumna shao-wa.

English.	Tăngkhul (Ukhrul).
189. You beat (*Past Tense*)	nathumna shao-wa.
190. They beat (*Past Tense*)	āthumna shao-wa.
191. I am beating . .	ina shao-da lai-li.
192. I was beating . .	ina shao-sāi.
193. I had beaten . .	ina shao-hāi-ra-sāi.
194. I may beat . .	ina shao-pāi.
195. I shall beat . .	ina shao-ra, shao-ga.
196. Thou wilt beat . .	nana shao-ra.
197. He will beat . .	āna shao-ra.
198. We shall beat . .	ithumna shao-ra.
199. You will beat . .	nathumna shao-ra.
200. They will beat . .	āthumna shao-ra
201. I should beat . .	ina shao-ra-li.
202. I am beaten .	i-li shao-wa
203. I was beaten . .	i li shao-sāi.
204. I shall be beaten .	i-li shao-ra sāra
205. I go . .	i tsat-a.
206. Thou goest . .	na tsat-a.
207. He goes . . .	ā tsat-a.
208. We go . . .	ithum tsat-a.
209. You go . . .	nathum tsat-a.
210. They go . . .	āthum tsat-a
211. I went . . .	i tsat-tu-wa
212. Thou wentest .	na tsat-tu-wa.
213. He went . . .	ā tsat-tu-wa.
214. We went . . .	ithum tsat-tu-wa.
215. You went . .	nathum tsat-tu-wa
216. They went . .	āthum tsat-tu-wa.
217. Go	tsat lu.
218. Going . . .	tsat-ta.
219. Gone . . .	tsat-ho wa.

VOLUME V PART I.

BENGALI.

Page 11.—During the twenty years that have elapsed since this volume was published, much progress has been made in the study of the Bengali language and its early literature. For this we are chiefly indebted to the labours of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, a society founded in Calcutta, which has conducted enquiries into both these branches of study on a thoroughly scientific basis. For much of what follows, I am indebted to one of its most learned members, Professor Sunīti Kumār Chatterji, D.Lit. (Lond.).

Regarding the origin of the name 'Bengal', which is discussed on this page, it is now established that, in medieval Bengali literature, the word 'Baṅgāla' (বঙ্গাল) was employed to denote what is now Eastern Bengal. The Province of Bengal consisted originally of four tracts:—

1.	Varēndra or Gauḍa,	corresponding	to	what is now	North Bengal.
2.	Rāḍha,	,,	,,	,,	West Bengal.
3.	Baṅga,	,,	,,	,,	East Bengal.
4.	Samataṭa	,,	,,	,,	The Delta.

In medieval times, in Bengali literature, the word 'Baṅgāla' began to be used as an equivalent for 'Baṅga'.

As early as the closing centuries of the first millennium A. D., the meaning of 'Gauḍa' became extended so as to include West Bengal, that is to say, it was used to connote Varēndra and Rāḍha together, and 'Samataṭa' and 'Baṅga' both came to be used as synonyms for South-East and East Bengal, respectively. During the same period, in Western India, 'Baṅga' became loosely applied to all Bengal, and this application gradually became accepted to some extent in Bengal itself, and helped to the adoption in modern times of the western term 'Bangāla' as the national name. On the other hand, West Bengal, with Nadia for its centre, gradually became known as 'Gauḍa', and thus, in early, — pre-Moslem, — inscriptions, Gauḍa and Baṅga came to be used as terms for West and East Bengal, respectively.

At the present day, Bengalis call the whole country 'Bāṅgalā'[1] or 'Bāṅglā' or 'Bangālā-dēś', in each case, be it observed, the name of the country ending in a long *ā*. This term includes *all* Bengal, North, South, East, and West. But when they say 'Bāṅgāl-dēś', without the final *ā* of Bāṅgālā, they mean East Bengal,—not any specific tract, but the whole area in which the language is characterized by the peculiarities noted in this Survey as belonging to Eastern Bengali. A Bengali-speaker, no matter where he comes from, is called a '*Bāṅgālī*', but a man from East Bengal is called a '*Bāṅgāl*'. The forms 'Bāṅgālā', 'Bāṅgālī', with the wider connotation, are no doubt borrowed from the Hindostānī (or Western Indian) '*Bangālā*' and '*Bangālī*', while the other forms, without the final *ā* or *ī*, are older, being derived normally from the medieval 'Bangāla', and retaining the older connotation of that word. At the present

[1] All these words may indifferently be spelt with *ṅg* or with *ṅ*. Thus, *Bāṅgālā* বাঙ্গালা or *Bāṅālā* বাঙালা, *Bāṅlā* বাঙ্গলা or *Bāṅālā* বাংলা, and so on. So also, lower down, we may have *Bāṅgāl* বাঙ্গাল or *Bāṅāl* বাঙাল for East Bengal.

day 'Bāṅgāl' has become a term of contempt. A West Bengali speaker habitually employs it in a disparaging sense, although he would call himself a 'Bāṅgālī' with the final *ī*; and sometimes an East Bengali person will resent the use of the word 'Bāṅgāl', if accompanied by a tone of voice or gesture of contempt, although he will not object to his patois and his part of the province being called, respectively, 'Bāṅgāl-bhāshā' and 'Bāṅgāl-dēś'. This contemptuous use of the word 'Bāṅgāl' is old. It is found in Western Bengal writings of the 12th century[1], and its use to denote East Bengal carries on the tradition of an earlier state of affairs, in which the employment of the word Bāṅgāla in this sense is attested by epigraphic and literary remains.

All this would seem to show that the mysterious 'City of Bengala' of the Portuguese writers was probably simply the city of Dacca.

Page 14, *line* 11 of Text from below. To the remarks on the Sanskritization, as practised twenty years ago, I gladly add the following account by Professor Sunīti Kumār Chatterji of the present state of affairs:—

During the last two or three decades, there has been quite a revolution in literary Bengali. Bankim's later works already employ a very vigorous style which is more true to the native genius of the language than before; and (except of course in the writings of a clan of Sanskritists) there has been a constant attempt to bring the literary language more in line with the colloquial. Meanwhile the Calcutta colloquial —that used by educated people in West Bengal—rapidly gained ground, Calcutta being the intellectual centre of the Bengali nation, and students from every part of Bengal flocking thither in their thousands every year. This fact has brought about a linguistic unity in Bengal such as was never known before. The upper classes everywhere speak or try to speak the language of the educated people of Calcutta and of the surrounding districts, and the old dialectal peculiarities, at least in the speech of the upper classes, are fast vanishing. We have thus now a standard colloquial which is understood by all classes, and is spoken everywhere by the educated.

Within recent years there has arisen a strong movement to employ this standard colloquial for purposes of ordinary literature. It has a grammar more advanced than that of the literary language, or *sādhu bhāshā*. Thus করিতেছে *karitēchhe* has become ক'রছে *kōrchhe* or ক'চ্ছে *kōchchhe*, and করিয়া *kariyā* has become ক'রে *kōre*; a large amount of colloquial idioms and words are employed, and the syntax is not the stiff, lifeless syntax of High Bengali, but is more flexible, more vivid, and more true to the native spirit. Already in the drama, in poetry, and in most novels, the standard colloquial has obtained a dominant position, but in literary prose there is still a very numerous class of writers who continue to employ only the forms of High Bengali,—forms which represent the state of things in the speech of three or four centuries ago.

While the Standard (Calcutta) Colloquial has deviated considerably from the old form, the East Bengal dialects are on the other hand more Conservative, and preserve to a greater extent the forms of the old language; but it must also be said that among the advocates of the employment of the Standard Colloquial for all literature, there are quite a number of writers from East Bengal who, in speaking, have not even wholly got rid of their East Bengal accent. In short, we have at the present day two forms of Bengali in actual employment,—the *sādhu bhāshā*, which is *sādhu* only in sticking to an older form of grammar, but is not nearly so Sanskritized as it was under the auspices of the Paṇḍits of the College of Fort William and their successors,—and the *chalita bhāshā*. Sir Rabindranāth Tagore uses both with equal strength. . . . . In the Standard Colloquial, as employed in writing, there is ordinarily no attempt to employ any standardized or systematized spelling. Those who are more careful in this matter try to make the spelling true to the pronunciation by inserting an apostrophe, which is intended to show that an *i*-sound has been dropped and that the preceding *a* has been changed to *ō*, *e. g.* করে, he does, is *kōre* in both the literary and colloquial, while করিয়া, having done,—the *kōriyā* of literary language,—has become ক'রে, *kōre*, in the colloquial, and this *kōre* is written ক'রে, or কোরে, and by careless writers simply করে, which may be confused with করে, he does. So হইল, *hōïla* he became, of the literary language, should, for the colloquial, be written হ'ল, *hōlō*, but we find it quite frequently written হোলো, হলো, হোল, or হল.

[1] For instance, Sarvānanda, a writer of West Bengal, in a commentary (dated 1159) on the dictionary called the 'Amarakōśa' in explaining the word *sidhmalā*, dried fish, says with evident contempt, that it is the kind of thing which people who conduct themselves like Baṅgālas enjoy.

Page 16, line 19.—Bengali Literature. Attention must here be drawn to an important book which has been described in two articles in the Journal of the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad for 1323 B. S. (1916 A. D.), and by Father Hosten in Vol. IX of 'Bengal Past and Present'. It is entitled *Crepar Xastrer* [1] (i. e., *Shāstrēr*) *Orth Bhed* or 'The Exposition of the Doctrine of Mercy', an old Bengali account of the Roman Catholic faith composed by Father Frey Manoel da Assumpçaõ, Portuguese Augustinian Missionary at Nagori, Bhawal, near Dacca. It was composed throughout in the Bengali language written in the Roman character on each left-hand page with a Portuguese version facing it on the right, in the year 1734 A. D., and was printed in Lisbon in 1743. A mutilated copy of it has survived in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal This, with the same author's Bengali Vocabulary (see p. 23) and a catechism, both printed in the same year, are probably the first books ever printed in the Bengali language. The *Crepar Xastrer Orth Bhed* is of great importance for the history of that form of speech, for, owing to its being printed phonetically in the Roman character, it gives a very clear idea of the Dacca pronunciation of Bengali in the middle of the 18th century.

I have said that this book is probably one of the first Bengali books printed, but it is possible that there may have been one earlier. I owe to the kindness of Dr L. Barnett of the British Museum the following translation of an extract from the report of Francisco Fernandez (died A. D. 1602) to his Jesuit superiors written in 1599 from the city of Siripura [2]. He says :—

'The children [at the port of Siripura] came out to greet us, singing in procession and begging us most earnestly to teach them and indoctrinate them, because they were idle and lost for lack of a teacher. Their entreaty moved us so much that, being unable ourselves to attend to their instruction, we arranged with one of those in our company that he should set up a school and undertake the [teaching] of these children ; and this was the first, and not the least important, act of our Mission. And in order that it might be more beneficial, I composed a short Catechism of the mysteries of our faith by way of questions and answers, which Father Domingo de Sosa translated into their language, and it is profitable not only to the children but also to the adults and to the Portuguese themselves ; for they teach thereby the Christian doctrine to their male and female slaves and to the people of the land who are subject to them.'

This must be the oldest European work in Bengali, but I do not know whether it was ever printed. Fernandez wrote this letter in January 1599, and embarked on his voyage from Cochin to Bengal in May 1598. So the catechism was composed, and translated by De Sosa, in 1598.

[1] The Portuguese represented the *sh*-sound of Bengali by *x*.

[2] Taken from Bartholomé Alcazar's *Chrono-historia de la Compañia de Jesus, en la Provincia de Toledo*, 2 Parte (Madrid, 1710), pp. 290ff.

ORIYĀ.

Page 370.—Section dealing with Oriyā literature. Babu Monmohan Chakravarti has given me the following fuller note, which should be substituted for the account on this page taken from Beames' Comparative Grammar:—

Excepting a few Baṁsabaḷis, or genealogical works, the entire Oriyā literature is in poetry. The existing works do not go beyond the 16th century A. D.; but Oriyā words and sentences have been found in inscriptions of the 14th century. The earliest compositions appear to have been lost.

Among Pre-British productions the earliest are songs and religious translations. The songs are chiefly in the form of *chautisās*, or groups of four or more couplets, but occasionally in *chhandas* (ordinary verses) or *chhapois* (groups of six couplets). As a rule they deal with the love of Rādhā and Krishṇa, and only rarely with human love. Of the religious poems the most popular are:—

i. The *Bhāgabata* of Jagannātha Dāsa (first half of 16th century).

ii. The *Rābāṇa* [*Rāmāyaṇa*] of Baḷarāma Dāsa (*circa* first quarter of the 16th century).

iii. The *Bhārata* of Sāroḷā Dāsa (not earlier than the first half of the 16th century).

iv. The *Harabaṁśa* of Achyutānanda Dāsa (beginning of the 16th century).

These poems are not translations, but summaries and free adaptations of the Sanskrit originals. They, and especially the *Bhāgabata*, exercised and still exercise an immense influence on the Oriyā intellect and feelings; and, though poetically not of a high order, they paved the way for the later poets.

Among the later poets the chief names are (i) Dīna-krushṇa Dāsa, (ii) Upēndra Bhañja, and (iii) Abhimanyu Sāmantasiṁhāra. Their poetry more or less follows the later Sanskrit classics, and adopts the rules of Sanskrit *alaṁkāras*.

Dīna-krushṇa Dāsa preceded Upendra Bhañja and composed the well-known poem the *Rasa-kallōḷa*, which deals with the early life of Krishṇa at Vṛindāvana and Mathurā. Every line in it begins with the letter *ka*.

Upēndra Bhañja, who flourished towards the end of the 17th century, belonged to the royal family of Gumsura, a petty hill state in the Ganjam District in Madras. With his father, he was driven out in a family war, and is said to have settled in Nayāgarh another petty hill state, now in Orissa. The most celebrated of the Oriyā poets, and the most prolific, his fame chiefly rests on his two fictional poems, the *Lāvaṇyabatī* and the *Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī*, both called after the names of their heroines, and on the *Baidēhīsabilāsa*, which is based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He composed in all forty-two works, of which at least twenty were based on fiction. His poems forms storehouses of rhetorical excellences and show a master's hand in vocabulary and word selection; but, by the use of innumerable Sanskrit synonyms and verbal formations, his verse has been made unintelligible and has further been disfigured by obscene descriptions.

Abhimanyu Sāmantasiṁhāra (A. D. 1758-1806) also came of a Zamīndār's family. He belonged to the Cuttack District, and is said to have died at Vṛindāvana as a Vaishṇava

ascetic. He is credited with six poems, of which the best known is the *Bidagdha-chintāmaṇi*, based on the Sanskrit *Vidagdha-mādhava* of Rūpa Gōsvāmi, the disciple of Chaitanya. No other Oṛiyā poem contains so many rhetorical gems or so much abstract poetry as this work.

A century of British occupation and consequent peace has not yet much stimulated Oṛiyā composition Among recent publications a few poems by Rai Radhanath Ray Bahadur, late Inspector of Schools, seem noticeable, but the bulk of modern works consists of doggrel or of translations or adaptations from English or Bangali. [This was written in 1900.—G. A. G.]

Page 441.—The following Standard List of Words and Sentences in Oṛiyā has been prepared by Babu Monmohan Chakravarti. It is more correct, and is in a more colloquial style than that given on pp. 441ff.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE OṚIYĀ (COLLOQUIAL) LANGUAGE.

English.	Oṛiyā.	English.	Oṛiyā.
1. One	ēka, guṭē, gōṭiē.	26. He	ē.
2. Two	dui.	27. Of him	tāra.
3. Three	tini.	28. His	tāra.
4. Four	chāri.	29. They	ēmānē.
5. Five	pāchā.	30. Of them	ēmānaṅkara.
6. Six	chha.	31. Their	ēmānaṅkara.
7. Seven	sāta.	32. Hand	hāta.
8. Eight	āṭha.	33. Foot	gōra.
9. Nine	naē.	34. Nose	nāka.
10. Ten	daśa.	35. Eye	ākhi.
11. Twenty	kōṛiā.	36. Mouth	muha.
12. Fifty	pachāsa.	37. Tooth	dāta.
13. Hundred	śaē.	38. Ear	kāna.
14. I	mui.	39. Hair	bāla, kēśa.
15. Of me	mōra.	40. Head	muṇḍa.
16. Mine	mōra.	41. Tongue	jibha.
17. We	āmmānē.	42. Belly	pēta.
18. Of us	āmmānaṅkara.	43. Back	piṭhi.
19. Our	āmmānaṅkara.	44. Iron	luhā.
20. Thou	tu.	45. Gold	suni.
21. Of thee	tōra.	46. Silver	rūpā.
22. Thine	tōra.	47. Father	bōpā, bāpa.
23. You	tumē.	48. Mother	bau; (*grandmother*) mā.
24. Of you	tumbhara, (*not respectful*) tōra.	49. Brother	bhāi, (*among Brāhmaṇas*) nanā.
25. Your	tumbhara, (*not respectful*) tōra.	50. Sister	bhaūni, (*among Brāhmaṇas*) nāṇu, (*among lower classes, especially in Puri*) apā.

English.	Oṛiyā.	English.	Oṛiyā.
51. Man	manisa (*homo*); marda (*vir*).	78. Eat	khā-.
52. Woman	tillē; (*female*) mākiṇiā.	79. Sit	basa-.
53. Wife	māpa.	80. Come	ā-.
54. Child	pilā.	81. Beat	mār-.
55. Son	pua.	82. Stand	ṭhiā hō-.
56. Daughter	jhia.	83. Die	mar-.
57. Slave	dāsa.	84. Give	dē-.
58. Cultivator	chashā.	85. Run	daūṛ-.
59. Shepherd	mēṇḍha-rakhuāḷa.	86. Up	uparē.
60. God	Diā.	87. Near	pākhē.
61. Devil	asura, Śaitān.	88. Down	taḷē.
62. Sun	surja.	89. Far	dūra.
63. Moon	chāda.	90. Before	āgē.
64. Star	tārā, tarā.	91. Behind	pachhā.
65. Fire	niā.	92. Who?	kiē?
66. Water	pāṇi.	93. What?	kaapa, (*in Balasore*) kisa
67. House	ghara.	94. Why?	kāhīki, kimpā?
68. Horse	ghōṛā.	95. And	ēhang, ē.
69. Cow	gāi.	96. But	kintu.
70. Dog	kukkura.	97. If	jēbē.
71. Cat	bilēi.	98. Yes	hā.
72. Cock	kukuṛā.	99. No	nāhī.
73. Duck	batak, hāsa.	100. Alas	hāya.
74. Ass	gadha.	101. A father	ēka bapa.
75. Camel	oṭa.	102. Of a father	ēka bāpa-ra.
76. Bird	chaṛhēi.	103. To a father	ēka bāpa-ku.
77. Go	jā- (*root*).	104. From a father	ēka bāpa-ṭhāru

English.	Oṛiyā.	English.	Oṛiyā.
105. Two fathers . .	dui bāpa.	132. Good . . .	bhala.
106. Fathers . . .	bāpa-mānē.	133. Better . . .	apēkhyā kruta bhala.
107. Of fathers . .	bāpa-mānaṅkara.	134. Best . . .	sabu-ṭhāru bhala.
108. To fathers . .	bāpa mānaṅku.	135. High . . .	ūchā.
109. From fathers . .	bāpa-mānaṅka-ṭhāru.	136. Higher . . .	apēkhyā kruta ūchā.
110. A daughter . .	jhia-ṭiē.	137. Highest . . .	sabu-ṭhāru ūchā.
111. Of a daughter . .	jhia-ṭiē-ra.	138. A horse . . .	gōṭiē ghōṭā.
112. To a daughter . .	jhia-ṭiē-ku.	139. A mare . . .	gōṭiē ghōṭī.
113. From a daughter .	jhia-ṭiē-ṭhāru.	140. Horses . . .	ghōṭā-mānē.
114. Two daughters . .	jōṭiē jhia.	141. Mares . . .	ghōṭī-mānē.
115. Daughters . .	jhia-mānē.	142. A bull . . .	gōṭāē aṇḍha.
116. Of daughters . .	jhia-mānaṅkara.	143. A cow . . .	gōṭāē gāi.
117. To daughters . .	jhia-mānaṅku.	144. Bulls . . .	aṇḍha-mānē.
118. From daughters .	jhia-mānaṅka-ṭhāru	145. Cows . . .	gāi-sabu, gāi-mānē.
119. A good man . .	jaṇē bhala lōka.	146. A dog . . .	gōṭiē kukkura.
120. Of a good man . .	jaṇē bhala lōkara.	147. A bitch . . .	gōtiē māi kukkura.
121. To a good man . .	jaṇē bhala lōka-ku.	148. Dogs . . .	kukkura-sabu, kukkura-mānē.
122. From a good man .	jaṇē bhala lōka-ṭhāru.	149. Bitches . . .	māi kukkura-sabu.
123. Two good men . .	dui jaṇa bhala lōka.	150. A he goat . .	gōṭiē aṇḍirā chhēli.
124. Good men . .	bhala lōka-mānē.	151. A female goat . .	gōṭiē māi chhēli.
125. Of good men . .	bhala lōka-mānaṅkara.	152. Goats . . .	chhēli-sabu.
126. To good men . .	bhala lōka-mānaṅku.	153. A male deer . .	gōṭāē aṇḍirā hariṇa.
127. From good men .	bhala lōka-mānaṅka-ṭhāru.	154. A female deer . .	gōṭāē māi hariṇa.
128. A good woman . .	jaṇē bhala tillā.	155. Deer . . .	hariṇa.
129. A bad boy . .	jaṇē manda bālaka.	156. I am . . .	mū huē, mū achhi; āmē hēū, āmē achhū.
130. Good women . .	bhala tillā-mānē.	157. Thou art . . .	tu hua, achhu; tumē hua, achha.
131. A bad girl . .	gōṭiē manda bālikā.	158. He is . . .	sē huē, achhu.

English.	Oṛiyā.	English.	Oṛiyā.
159. We are . . .	āmmānē hēū, achhū.	186. Thou beatest (*Past Tense*).	tu mārilu.
160. You are . . .	tumē hua, achha.	187. He beat (*Past Tense*) .	sē mārilā.
161. They are . . .	sēmānē huanti, achhanti.	188. We beat (*Past Tense*) .	āmmānē mārilū
162. I was . . .	mū thili.	189. You beat (*Past Tense*)	tumē mārila.
163. Thou wast . .	tu thilu.	190. They beat (*Past Tense*)	sēmānē mārilē.
164. He was . . .	sē thilā.	191. I am beating . .	mū māruachhi.
165. We were . . .	āmmānē thilū.	192. I was beating . .	mū māruthili
166. You were . .	tumē thila.	193. I had beaten .	mū mārithili.
167. They were . .	sēmānē thilē.	194. I may beat . .	mū māri pāri.
168. Be	hua.	195. I shall beat . .	mū māribi.
169. To be . . .	hēbā-ku.	196. Thou wilt beat . .	tu māribu.
170. Being . . .	hēu.	197. He will beat . .	sē māriba.
171. Having been . .	hōi.	198. We shall beat . .	āmmānē māribū
172. I may be . . .	mū hōi pāri.	199. You will beat . .	tumē māriba.
173. I shall be . . .	mū hōbi.	200. They will beat . .	sēmānē māribē.
174. I should be . .	mōra hōbā uchita.	201. I should beat . .	mōra māribā uchita.
175. Beat . . .	māra	202. I am beaten . .	mū māra khāichhi.
176. To beat . . .	māribā-ku.	203. I was beaten . .	mū māra khāithili.
177. Beating . . .	māru.	204. I shall be beaten .	mū māra khābi.
178. Having beaten . .	māri.	205. I go . . .	mū jāē.
179. I beat . . .	mū mārē, māri.	206. Thou goest . .	tu jāu.
180. Thou beatest . .	tu māru.	207. He goes . . .	sē jāē.
181. He beats . . .	sē mārē.	208. We go . .	āmmānē jāū.
182. We beat . . .	āmmānē mārū.	209. You go . . .	tumē jāa.
183. You beat . .	tumē māra.	210. They go . . .	sēmānē jānti, jāti.
184. They beat . .	sēmānē mārānti.	211. I went . . .	mū jāithili, gali.
185. I beat (*Past Tense*) .	mū mārili.	212. Thou wentest . .	tu jāthilu, galu

English.	Oṛiyā.
213. He went . . .	sē jāithilā, galā.
214. We went . .	āmmānē jāithilū, galū.
215. You went . .	tumē jāithilā, gala.
216. They went . .	sōmānē jāithilē, galā.
217. Go	jāa.
218. Going . . .	jāu.
219. Gone . .	jāi.
220. What is your name ? .	tōra nā kaaṇa ?
221. How old is this horse?	ē ghōṛāra bayasa kētā ?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Kāśmīra ē-ṭhāru kētā dūra?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	tōra bāpa-gharē kētēli pua achhanti ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	mū āji bēsī bāṭa chāluchhi.
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	mōra khuṛutā-pua bhāi tāra bhaūṇi-ru bibhā hōiachhi.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	dhalā ghōṛāra jin gharē achhi.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	tā piṭhi-rē jin kasha.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	mū tā pua-ku bahut bēta-rē māra mārichhi.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	sē pahara uparē gōru charāu-achhi.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	sē gachha-mūlē gōṭiē ghōṛā uparē basi-achhi.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	tāra bhāi tāra bhaūṇi ṭhāru ḍēṅga.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	tāra dām aṛhēi tankā.
233. My father lives in that small house.	mōra bāpa sōhi sāna gharaṭi-rē rahē.
234. Give this rupee to him	tā ku ē ṭankā-ṭi dia.
235. Take those rupees from him.	tā-ṭhāru sē ṭankā-sabu nia.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	tā-ku khub māra ō daūḍi-rē bāndha.
237. Draw water from the well.	kua-ru pāṇi kāṛha.
238. Walk before me .	mō āga-rē chāla.
239. Whose boy comes behind you ?	tō pachha-rē kāhā pua āsu-achhi ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	kāhā-ṭhāru tā-ku kiṇila ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	gāra jaṇē dōkāni-ṭhāru.

VOLUME VI.

Page 62.—Specimen II of the Awadhī spoken in Lucknow District. In a review of this Volume of the Survey in 'Saraswatī', a magazine published in Allahabad, for May, 1905, the specimens of the Awadhī of Lucknow are criticized as incorrect, and the following alternative version of the second specimen is offered. It is from the pen of Paṇḍit Śyām Bihārī Miśra, whose home is in that District:—

[No. 6.]

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY. MEDIATE GROUP.

EASTERN HINDĪ.

AWADHĪ DIALECT. (DISTRICT, LUCKNOW.)

याक गाँव मँ याकै लम्बरदार कै नान्हिसरी बिटिया रहै । जब वहिकी उमिरि खारा सत्रह बर्स कि भै तब लम्बरदार क वहि कै बियाह कि फिकिरि बाढ़ी । वहे बेरिया नाऊ बाँमन क बोलाय क लरिका ढूँढ़ै पठइनि । थोरे दिनन मँ एकु लरिका मिला । वहि से बिटेवा क बनावनु बना औरु बाँमनु पूँछा ग औ बियाहे कि तयारी भै । लरिका क बापु आवा औ लेय देय क बतकहाव होय लाग । हजार रुपया बहुतु कहे सुनै ठीक भ । तब लम्बरदार राजी खुसी ते घरै गै औ बरात क दिनु बढ़ा ग । दुलहा क बापु पन्द्रह हजार बराती लै कै बड़ी धूम धाम ते दुलहिनि कै घरै आवा औरु दुवारे कि चारु होय लागि । होम दच्छिना कै माँगै मँ पण्डित से तकरार ह्वै गै औ खाटी चलै लागि । बहुत मनईं दूनौं कैती घायल भे । तब बरात रिसाय चली । वहे बेरिया गाँव कै भले मानुस बकट्ठा ह्वै कै बरात मनाय लाये । चौथे दिन बिबाहु भ औ बराती स्वाग भातु बढ़ार खुसी ते खाइनि औ बिदा ह्वै कै अपने घरै आये ॥

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

Yāk-gãw-mā yakai-lambardār-ke nānhisarī biṭiyā rahai. Jab wahi-kī
One-village-in one-landlord-of little daughter was. When her
umiri swārā-satrah-bars-ki bhai, tab lambardār-ka wahi-kā-biyāh-ki
age sixteen-seventeen-years-of became, then the-landlord-to her-marriage-of
phikiri bāṛhī. Wahē-beriyā nāū-bãman-ka bolāy-ka larikā
anxiety increased. At-that-time barber-brāhman-to called-having a-boy
ḍhũṛhai paṭhaini. Thōrē-dinan-mẽ ēku larikā milā. Wahi-sē
to-search-for he-sent. A-few-days-in one boy was-found. Him-with
biṭēwā-ka banābantu banā, auru bãmanu pũchhā-ga au biyāhē-ki
the-girl-of horoscope agreed, and the-brāhman was-consulted and marriage-of
tayārī bhai. Larikā-ka bāpu āwā, au lēy-dēy-ka
arrangement took-place. The-boy-of father came, and taking-giving-of
bat-kahāw hōy-lāg. Hajār rupayā bahutu kahē sunē
word-saying to-be-began. A-thousand rupees much on-talking on-hearing
ṭhik bha. Tab lambardār rājī-khusī-tē gharai gē au
settled became. Then the-landlord pleasure-with to-house went and
barāt-ka dinu badā-ga. Dulʿhā-ka bāpu pandrah
wedding-procession-of day fixed-became. Bridegroom-of father fifteen
hajar barātī lai-kai, baṛī-dhūm-dhām-tē
thousand members-of-procession taken-having, great-pomp-show-with
dulʿhini-kē-gharai āwā, auru duwārē-ki cāru hōy-lāgi.
to-bride's-house came, and doorway-of ceremony to-be-began.
Hōm-dachchhinā-kē-mãgai-mā paṇḍit-sē takrār hwai-gai, au lāṭhī
Fire-sacrifice-gift-of-demanding-in the-priest-with dispute occurred, and bludgeons
chalai-lāgi. Bahut manaĩ dūnaũ-kaitī ghāyal bhē. Tab
to-be-wielded-began. Many men both-sides wounded became. Then
barāt risāy chalī. Wahē-beriyā gãw kē bhalē-mānus
wedding-party being-angry departed. At-that-time the-village-of good-men
yakaṭṭhā hwai-kai barāt manāy-lāyē. Chauthē-din
together become-having the-marriage-party appeased. On-the-fourth-day
biwāhu bha, au barātī-lwāg bhātu-baṛhār khusī-tē
the-marriage took-place, and procession-people rice-great-food pleasure-with
khāini, au bidā hwai-kai apʿnē-gharai āyē.
ate, and leave-taking taken-place-having to-their-own-house came.

Page 86, l. 10.—I say here that the Awadhī of Rae Bareli closely resembles that of the west of Partabgarh. The writer of the review of this volume of the Survey in 'Saraswatī' for May, 1905, who states that he has lived for thirty-seven years in Rae Bareli and speaks the dialect as his native tongue, writes that this is true only for those parts of Rae Bareli that adjoin Partabgarh. He states that elsewhere not only is it different, but is the centre of the tract the language of which is rightly named Baiswārī (see page 9). As a specimen of this 'Baiswārī', as spoken in other parts of Rae Bareli, he gives the following version of the specimen given on pp. 84 and 85 for West Partabgarh. It will be seen that there are considerable differences :—

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY. MEDIATE GROUP.

EASTERN HINDÎ.

AWADHÎ DIALECT. RAE BARELI.

याकन के घर माँ कथा होति रहै। उन गाँव भरे का न्यौता दीन रहै। सुनवैयन माँ एकु अहिरौ रहै। कथा सुनै की बेरिया वहु रोवा बहुत करै। जौ पण्डित कथा बाँचति रहैं उइ वहि का प्रेमी जानि कै निकी तना बैठावैं औ खुब खातिर करैं। याक दिन पण्डित पूँछेन कि भगानि भाई तुम यतना रोवति काहे का हौ। तुम का का जानि परत है। यह सुनि कै अहिरवा औरौ ज्वार ज्वार रोवै लाग। वह ब्वाला कि महराज मोरे एकु भैंसि बियानि रहै। वह नजरुाय गै औ पड़ौना का नगच्याय न देइ। पड़ौना दिन भरि चिल्लान औ संझौ जून मरि गा। वही की तना पण्डित तुमहूँ दिन भरि चिल्लाति हौ। यहि ते महिं का डेरु लागत है कि कतौं तुमहूँ ना वही की नाहिंत मरि जाव॥

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

Yākan-kē ghar-mā̃ kathā hōti-rahai. Un
One(-man)-of the-house-in a(-religious)-recital was-taking-place. He
gā̃w-bharē-kā nyautā dīn-rahai. Sunawaiyan-mā̃ ēku Ahirau
the-whole-village-to invitation given-had. The-audience-among one cowherd-also
rahai. Kathā sunai-kī-beriyā wahu rwāwā bahut karai. Jī
was. The-recital at-the-time-of-hearing he weeping much made. What
paṇḍit kathā bā̃chati rahaī, ui wahi-kā prēmī jāni-kai
Paṇḍit recital reading was, he him of-a-religious-turn-of-mind considering
nikī-tanā baiṭhāwaī au khub khātir karaī. Yāk din paṇḍit
in-a-good-way made-him-sit and much respect made. One day the-Paṇḍit
pū̃chen ki, 'bhagāni bhaī, tum yat^nā rwāwati kahē-kā hau? Tum
asked that, 'Sir brother, you so-much weeping why are? You
kā kā jāni-parat-hai?' Yah suni-kai Ahir^wā aurau jwār
what what understand?' This heard-having the-cowherd still-more violently
jwār rwāwai-lāg. Wah bwālā ki, 'Mah^rāj, mōrē ēku bhaīsi
violently to-weep-began. He said that, 'Reverend-Sir, to-me one she-buffalo
biyāni-rahai. Wah najaryay-gai au paṛaunā-kā nagachyāy na dēi.
calved-had. She became-sick and the-calf to-approach not allowed.

Paṛaunā din-bhari chillān au sâjhalī-jūn mari-gā. Wahī-kī tanā,
The-calf the-whole-day lowed and at-evening-time died. This-of manner,
Paṇḍit, tum'hũ din-bhari chillāti-hau. Yahi-tē mahĩ-kā ḍāru
O-Paṇḍit, you-also the-whole-day lowing-art This-from me-to fear
lāgat-hai, ki kataũ tum'hũ nā wahī-kī nāhĩt mari-jāw.'
seizes, that by-chance you-also not it-of like may-die.'

The Free Translation is as on p. 83, except that in this version it is not stated that it was the Paṇḍit who had issued the invitation to the recitation. This is correct, for such an invitation is not issued by the Paṇḍit reciter, but by the householder who engages him for the ceremony.

Page 185. As noted in the Addenda Minora to page 26, a new edition of Mr. Hírálál's Chhattīsgaṛhī Grammar, was brought out in 1921, under the editorship of Paṇḍit Lôchan Prasād Kāvya-vinōd. That gentleman has very kindly sent me the following version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, in the Chhattīsgaṛhī spoken in the District of Raipur, which has been carefully revised by scholars of that locality. It may therefore be taken as a correct example of at least one form of that dialect, which, of course, varies from place to place, and also according to the personal equation of the speaker. The grammar is the same as that shown on pp. 28 and 29, the only important exception being that the genitive singular of pronouns ends in *-khar* instead of *-kar*. Thus *ōkhar*, instead of *ōkar*, of him. Similarly *tēkhar*, of that, and *ēkhar*, of this. In the original, as sent by the Paṇḍit, no distinction is made between short *e* and long *ē*, or between short *o* and long *ō*. In preparing the specimen for the press, I have thought it best not to attempt to mark these distinctions on my own authority, and hence I have left every *e* and *o* without any diacritical mark. I must add that the interlinear translation is mine, and that I alone am responsible for it.

[No. 44]

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY. MEDIATE GROUP.

CHHATTĪSGARHĪ OR LARIĀ. (DISTRICT RAIPUR.)

एक मनखे-के दू बेटा रहिन । बोखर-सब-ले छोटे-हर अपन ददा-ला कहिस के हमार बाँटा-ला बाँट दे । तो वो-हर जौन पूँजी-पसरा रहिस ते-ला बाँट दिहिस । थोरके दिन-के गये-ले वो छोकरा-हर सब माल-मता अऊ पैसा-कौड़ी-ला ले-के दूसर देस-माँ निकर गय अऊ अंट-पंट खरचा कर-के अपन सब जयजात-ला फूँक डारिस । वही बकर ठौंका दुकाल परिस अऊ छोकर बपुरा भूँखन मरे लागिस । तब वो-हर वही गाँव-के एक भान बसुँधरा घर जा-के रहे लागिस । वो-हर वो-ला रोज सुँवरा चराये-बर खेत-में पठोवय । वो बपुरा-के पेट नहिं भरत रहिस एखर खातिर बोखर मन ललचाइस के महूँ-हर सुँवरा पीला खाये-के भूँसा-ला खातेंव । वोहूँ वो-ला नहिं मिलिस । तब वो-ला ये बात-के सुध आइस अऊ अपन मन-में कहे लागिस के मोर ददा घर-के कँमिया-सौंजिया-ला फेंकत-ले खाये-बर मिलथे, अऊ मैं इहाँ भूँखन मरत हौं । एखर-ले भलुक अपन ददा-मेरी चल देहौं अऊ बोखर मेर कहिहौं के तोर-ले बेगर हो-के चल दियेंव, तेखर फल-ला पायेंव । मैं तोर लड़का कहाये-के जोग नहिं आँव । मो-ला तैं कुछू समझ । अइसने गुन के वो-हर अपन ददा-मेर चलिस । वो-हर थोरके दुरिहा गये रहिस-होहै के बोखर अऊ बोखर ददा-के भेंट भइ गय । बोखर ददा-हर दुरिहा-ले अपन बेटा-ला आवत देखिस । तहाँ-ले बोखर जी-में खुसी समाय गय अऊ वो-हर वो-ला पोटार-के चुमा लिहे लागिस । तब छोकरा बपुरा कहिस के मैं-हर तोर मेर-ले बेगर हो-के चल दिहेंव तेखर-बर फल-ला भगवान-हर दे दिहिस । मैं तोर लड़का कहाये के जोग नहिं आँव । मो-ला तैं कुछू समझ । तब बोखर ददा-हर अपन सौंजिया-ला कहिस के बने-असन धोती निकार-के बाबू-ला पहिरा दे अऊ अँगठी-में सुँदरी अऊ पाँव-में पनही पहिरा दे । अब खावो पीवो मजा करबो, का-बर के मोर लड़का मरे बरोबर हो गये रहिस है, तेखर आज नवा जनम भइस ; गँवाय गये रहिस, ते-ला पायेंव । अऊ वो-मन सबे-कहूँ खुसी मनाये लागिन ॥

वोखर बड़े लड़का खेत-में रहिस। ते-हर जब घर-मेर आइस तो ढोलकी बाजत सुनिस। तब वो-हर एक झन कँमिया-ला बलाय-के पूछिस के हमार इहाँ काये होत है? तब वो-हर बताइस कि अभी तोर भाई आइस है। तेखरे-बर तोर दद्दा-हर नेवता करे है का-बर के वो-हर बने बने आय गय। ए-ला सुन-के वो-हर रिसाय गय अऊ घर-में नहिँ गइस। तब वोखर दद्दा-हर बाहिर आ के वो-ला मनाये लागिस। तब वो-हर अपन बाप-ला कहिस के देख, मैं अनेक दिन-ले तोर संग-ला नहिँ छोड़ेंव अऊ तोर कहे-ला नहिँ टारेंव। तभो-ले तैं-हर मो-ला एक-ठन छेरी पीला घलाय नहिँ दिये जे-माँ मैं-हर अपन संगी जँवरिहा संग मजा करतेंव। जौन-हर माल-बस्त-ला पतुरिया-मनन-ला खवाय-के बैठे है तौने-ला तैं-हर आये देख-के वोखर-खातिर नेवता-हँकारी करत हस। ए-ला सुन-के वोखर दद्दा-हर कहिस के तैं-हर सब दिन से मोर संगे-में हस, मोर-मेर जौन-कुछू हवे तौन सब तोरे आय। तो-ला तो उछाह करे चाही अऊ खुसी मनाय चाही काहे-बर के ए तोर भाई मरे बरोबर हो गये रहिस-है, तेखर आज नवा जनम भइस; गँवाय गये रहिस, ते ला पायेंव॥

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

Ek-man^khe-ke dū beṭā rahin. Okhar-sab-le chhoṭe-har apan-dadā-lā
One-man-of two son were. Them-from the-younger his-own-father-to
kahis ke, 'hamār-bāṭa-lā bāṭ-de.' Tau o-har jaun pūjī-pas^rā rahis,
said that, 'my-share dividing-give.' Then he what property was,
te-lā bāṭ dihis. Thor^ke-din-ke gaye-le o chhok^rā-har
that he-dividing-gave. A-few-days-of going-on that boy
sab-mal-matā-aū-paisā-kauṛī-lā le-ke dūsar-dēs-mā nikar-gay, aū
all-property-and-pice-cowries taken-having another-land-in forth-went, and
aṇṭ-paṇṭ khar^chā kar-kē apan-sab-jay^jāt-lā phūk-ḍāris. Wahī
prodigal expenditure made-having his-own-all-property burni-up. That
bachhar ṭhaūkā dukāl paris, aū chhokar bapurā bhūkhan
year severe famine fell, and the-boy poor-fellow of-hunger
mare-lāgis. Tab o-har wahī-gāw-ke ek jhan basūdh^ra-ghar
to-die-began. Then he that-village-of a person inhabitant's-house
jā-ke rahe-lāgis. O-har o-lā roj sūw^rā charāye-bar khēt-mē
gone-having to-remain-began. He him daily swine feeding-for field-in
paṭhoway. O-bapurā-ke peṭ nahī bharat-rahis, ekhar-khātir okhar
sent. That-poor-fellow-of belly not he-was-filling, this-for his.

man lal'chāis ke 'mahũ-har sũw'rā-pilā khaye-ke bhũsā-lā khātẽw.'
mind longed that 'I-too swine-young-ones eating-of chaff I-may-eat.'

O-hũ o-lā nahī milis. Tab o-lā ye-bāt-ke sudh āis,
That-even him-to not was-got. Then him-to this-thing-of memory came,

aũ apan-man-mẽ kahe-lāgis ke, 'mor-dadā-ghar-ke
and his-own-mind-in to-say-he-began that, 'my-father's-house-of

kāmiyā-saũjiyā-lā phẽkat-le khāye-bar mil'the, aũ maĩ ihã
labourers-servants-to throwing-away-by eating-for is-being-got, and I here

bhũkhan marat-haũ. Ekhar-le bhaluk apan-dadā-merī chal-dehaũ,
of-hunger dying-am. This-than rather my-own-father-near I-will-set-out,

aũ okhar-mer kahihaũ ke, "tor-le begar hō-ke chal-dihẽw,
and him-near I-will-say that, "thee-from apart become-having I-set-out,

tekhar phal-lā pāyẽw. Maĩ tor laĩkā kahāye-ke jog nahī
of-that the-fruit I-received. I thy son of-being-called worthy not

ãw. Me-lā taĩ kuchhū samajh."' Aĩsane gun-ke o-har
am. Me thou anything consider."' Thus considered-having he

apan-dadā-mer chalis. O-har thor'ke-duriha gaye-rahis-hohai ke
his-own-father-near went. He a-short distance gone-had that

okhar aũ okhar-dadā-ke bhẽṭ bhaĩ-gay. Okhar-dadā-har durihā-le
of-him and his-father-of meeting took-place. His-father distance-from

apan-bẽṭā-lā āwat dekhis. Tahã-le okhar-jī-mẽ khusī amāy-gay
his-own-son coming saw. Thereupon his-soul-in happiness filled-became

aũ o-har o-lā poṭār-ke chumā lihẽ-lāgis. Tab chhok'rā
and he him-to embraced-having a-kiss he-took. Then the-boy

bapurā kahis ke, 'maĩ-har tor-mer-le begar ho-ke
the-poor-fellow said that, 'I thee-near-from apart become-having

chal-dihẽw, tekhar-bar phal-lā Bhagawān-har de-dihis. Maĩ tor laĩkā
departed, that-for the-fruit God gave. I thy son

kahāye-ke jog nahī ãw. Me-lā taĩ kuchhū samajh.'
of-being-called worthy not am. Me thou anything consider.'

Tab okhar-dadā har apan-saũjiyā-lā kahis ke, 'bane-asan dhōtī
Then his-father his-own-servant-to said that, 'good-very loin-cloth

nikar-ke bābū-lā pahirā-de, aũ āg'ṭhi-mẽ mũd'rī aũ pãw-mẽ
produced-having my-son-to clothe, and finger-on ring and feet-on

pan'hī pahirā-de. Ab khābo pīho majā kar'bo; kā-bar
shoes put-on. Now we-will-eat we-will-drink rejoicing we-will-do; because

ke mor laĩkā mare-barobar ho-gaye-rahis-hai, tekhar āj nawā janam
that my son dead-equal-to had-become, his today new birth

bhaĩs; gāway-gaye-rahis, te-lā payẽw.' Aũ o-man sabe-kahũ khusī
became; he-had-been-lost, him I-got.' And they every-one rejoicing

manāye-lāgin.
to-celebrate-began.

Okhar baṛe laikā khet-mẽ rahis. Te-har jab ghar-mer āis,
His big son the-field-in was. He when house-near came,

tau ḍhol'kī bājat sunis. Tab o-har ek jhau kāmiyā-lā balāy-ke
then drum playing heard. Then he one-person-servant called-having

puchhis ke, 'hamār-ihẕ̃ kāye hot-hai?' Tab o-har batāis ki,
asked that, 'our-in-house what happening-is?' Then he explained that,

'abhī tor bhāī āis-hai. Tekhare-bar tor-dadā-har new'tā kare-hai,
'just-now thy brother come-is. That-for thy-father feast made-has,

kā-bar ke o-har bane-bane āy-gay.' E-lā sun-ke o-har
because that he well-in-all-respects arrived.' This heard-having he

risāy-gay, aũ ghar-mẽ nahī gais. Tab okhar dadā-har
became-angry, and house-in not went. Then his father

bāhir ā-ke o-lā manāye-lāgis. Tab o-har apan-bāp-lā
outside come having him to-appease-began. Then he his-own-father-to

kahis ke, 'dekh, maī anek-din-le tor-sang-lā nahī chhoṛẽw,
said that, 'behold, I many-days-from thy-company not I-abandoned,

aũ tor-kahe-lā nahī ṭāṛẽw. Tabho-le taī-har mo-la
and thy-spoken-word not transgressed. Nevertheless thou me-to

ek-ṭhan chherī-pīlā ghalāy nahī diye, je-mẕ̃ maī-har
a-single she-goat-young-one even not thou-gavest, which-in I

apan-saṅgī jāwarihā-saṅg majā kar'tẽw. Jaun-har
my-own-companions-friends-with rejoicing I-might-have-made (He-) who

māl-bast-lā putariyā-manan-lā khawāy-ke baiṭhe-hai, taune-lā taī-har
the-property harlots-to given-to-eat having sat has, him thou

āye dekh-ke okhar-khātir new'tā-hākārī karat-has.' E-lā sun-ke
come seen-having him-for feast-calling making-art.' This heard-having

okhar-dadā har kahis ke, 'taī-har sab-din-le mor-sange-mẽ has; mor-mer
his-father said that, 'thou all-days me-with art; me-near

jaun-kuchhū hawai taun-sab tore āy. To-lā to uchhāh
whatever is that-all thine is. Thee-to verily rejoicing

karẽ-chāhī, aũ khusī manāy-chāhī, kāhe-bar ke e
to-make-is-proper, and happiness to-celebrate-is-proper, because that this

tor bhāī mare-barobar ho-gaye-rahis-hai, tekhar āj nawā janam
thy brother dead-equal-to had-become, his today new birth

bhaīs; gāwāy-gaye-rahis, te-lā pāyẽu.'
became; he-had-been-lost, him I-got.'

Page 195.—I am also indebted to Paṇḍit Lōchan Prasād Kāvya-vinōd for the following revised version of the second specimen of the Chhattīsgaṛhī of Bilaspur which was prepared by Mr. Pyarelal Gupta, a gentleman who is a resident in that district, and who is a well-known author. As in the preceding specimens, in the transliteration, I do not mark the difference between long and short *e* and *o*.

[No. 46.]

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY. MEDIATE GROUP.

EASTERN HINDĪ.

CHHATTĪSGARHĪ OR LARIĀ. (DISTRICT BILASPUR.)

एक-ठन गाँव-माँ केवट अउर केवटिन रहिन। ते-कर एक-ठन लड़का रहिस। केवट-हर महाजन-के रुपिया लागत रहिस। तौ एक दिन साव-हर रुपिया माँगे-बर आइस। तौ सियान-मन घर-माँ न रहँय। लड़का घर राखत बैठे-रहय। साव-हर पूँछिस कस-रे बाबू तोर दाई-ददा-मन कहाँ गये-हैं। टूरा-हर कहिस की मोर दाई गये-है एक-के दू करे-बर। औ ददा-हर काँटा-माँ काँटा रूँधे-बर गये-हवैं। तब साव-हर कथय के कैसे गोठियात-हस रे टूरा। तब टूरा कहिस मैं तो ठौका गोठियाथौं साव। चोतेक-माँ टूरा-के औ साव-की लराई भइ-गय। साव-हर कहिस के तैं जौन बात-ला गोठियाये-हस तौन बात-ला सिरतोन कर दे। नइ करबे तो तो-ला साहेब-के कचहरी-माँ ले-जाहौं। तब तो-ला सजा हो-जाही। टूरा-हर कहिस मोर दाई-ददा-मन जतका तोर रुपिया लागत-हैं ते-ला तैं छाँड़-देबे तब मैं ये-कर भेद-ला बताहौं। तौ साव-हर कहिस के भेद-ला नइ बताबे तौ तो-ला कैद करवा-देहौं। तब टूरा-हर कहिस हौ महराज चल। साहेब-लँग चली। केवट-के टूरा औ साव दूनो झन साहेब-लँग गइन। साहेब-लँग साव-हर फिरयाद करिस की महराज मैं आज बिहनिया केवट-के घर गयौं तब केवट औ केवटिन घर-माँ नइ रहिन। वो-कर लड़का रहिस। तब मैं वो-ला पूँछेंव की कस-रे बाबू तोर दाई-ददा-मन कहाँ गये-हैं। तब ये टूरा-हर कहिस के मोर दाई गये-है एक-के दुई करे-बर औ ददा गये-है काँटा-माँ काँटा रूँधे-बर। तब ये-कर औ मोर लराई भइ गय। ये-कर मोर हार-जीत लगे-है। ये-कर नियाव-ला कर-दे। साहेब-हर टूरा-ले पूँछिस की कस-रे टूरा ये-कर भेद-ला बतैबे। टूरा कहिस हौ महराज साव-हर सबो रुपिया-ला छाँड़ देही ना। तब साहेब-हर साव-ला पूँछिस की ये-कर भेद-ला टूरा-हर बताय-देही तो तैं सबो रुपिया-ला छाँड़ देबे-ना। साव कहिस हौ महाराज। औ नइ बताही तौ सजा हो-जाही-न महराज।

साहेब कहिस अच्छा तुम-मन चुपे-चाप ठाढ़े रहा। साहेब टूरा-ला पूँछिस कस-रे टूरा तैं कैसे कैसे साव-ला गोठियावे। टूरा कहिस मैं ऐसन गोठियायौं के साव पूँछिस के कस-रे बाबू तोर दाई-ददा-मन कहाँ गये-हैं। तब मैं कह्यौं के मोर दाई गये-है एक के दुई करे-बर औ ददा गये-है काँटा माँ काँटा रूँधे-बर। सुना महराज मोर दाई गये है चना दरे-बर। तब एक-ठन के दू दार होये। ये-कर भेद इया अय महाराज। दूसर बात ऐसन अय के मोर ददा-हर भाटा-बारी-माँ काँटा रूँधे-बर गये-रहिस। तब महराज भाटा-माँ काँटा होये। तब मैं कह्यौं काँटा-माँ काँटा रूँधे गये-है। मोर मेर इया साव-हर कजिया करे लागिस। साव-हर बोतेक-माँ बड़बड़ाये लागिस। साहेब कहिस चुपे रव साव। तैं हार-गये। इया टूरा-हर जीत-गइस। टूरा-हर सिरतोन बात-ला बताइस-है। रुपिया-ला छाँड़ दे॥

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

Ek-ṭhan gā̃w-mā̃ kewaṭ aŭr kewᵃṭin rahin. Te-kar ek-ṭhau laïkā
One village-in a-fisherman and a-fisherwoman were. Them-of one son
rahis. Kewaṭ-har mahājan-ke rupiyā lāgat-rahis. Tau ek din sāw-har
was. The-fisherman banker-of money owed. Then one day the-banker
rupiyā māge-bar āis. Tau siyān-man ghar-mā̃ na rahāy. Laïkā ghar
money to-demand came. Then the-elders house-in not were. The-boy house
rakhat baithe-rahay. Sāw-har pūchhis, 'kas-re, bābū, tor dāï-dadā-man
guarding seated-was. The-banker asked, 'well, boy, thy mother-father-(plur.)
kahā̃ gaye-haï?' Ṭūrā-har kahis ke, 'mor dāï gaye-hai ek-ke dū kare-bar,
where gone-are?' The-boy said that, 'my mother gone-is one-of two making-for,
au dadā-har kā̃ṭā-mā̃ kā̃ṭa rūdhe-bar gaye-hawaï.' Tab sāw-har kahay
and father thorns-in thorns fencing-for gone-is.' Then the-banker said
ke, 'kaise goṭhiyāt-has, re ṭūrā?' Tab ṭūrā kahis, 'maï to
that, 'how are-you-talking, O boy?' Then the-boy said, 'I surely
ṭhaukā goṭhiyāthaũ, Sāw.' Otek-mā̃ ṭūrā-ke au sāw-ke larāï
true am-saying, Sir.' Thereupon the-boy-of and the-banker-of quarrel
bhaï-gay. Sāw-har kahis ke, 'taï jaun bāt-lā goṭhiyāye-has taun
became. The-banker said that, 'thou what words said-hast those
bāt-lā sirᵃton-kar-de. Naï-karᵃbe to to-lā sāheb-ke
words true-make. If-thou-wilt-not-do-(so) then thee the-Sāhib-of
kachahᵃrī-mā̃ le-jāhaũ. Tab to-lā sajā-ho-jāhī.'
court-into I-shall-carry-away. Then thee-to punishment-will-be.'

Ṭūrā-har kahis, 'mor dāī-dadā-man jat^ka tor rupiyā lāgat-haī
The-boy said, 'my mother-father how-much thy rupees owe

te-lā taī chhā̃ṛ-debe, tab maī ye-kar bhed-lā batāhaū.'
that thou will-give-up, then I this-of meaning will-tell.'

Tau sāw-har kahis ke, 'bhed-lā naī batāhe, tau
Thereupon the-banker said that, 'the-meaning not thou-will-tell, then

to-lā kaid-kar^a wā-dehaū.' Tab ṭūrā-har kahis, 'hau, Mah^arāj, chal.
thee I-shall-get-imprisoned.' Then the-boy said, 'yes, Sir, come.

Sāheb lāg chalī.' Kewaṭ-ke ṭūrā au sāw dūno
The-Sāhib near let-us-go.' The-fisherman's son and the-banker both

jhan sāheb lāg gaīn. Sāheb lāg sāw-har phir^yād karis
persons the-Sāhib near went. The-Sāhib near the-banker complaint made

ke, 'Mah^arāj, maī āj bihaniyā kewaṭ-ke ghar
that, 'Sir, I to-day in-the-morning the-fisherman-of house-to

gayaū. Tab kewaṭ au kew^ṭin ghar-mā̃ naī rahin.
went. Then the-fisherman and the-fisherwoman the-house-in not were.

Wo-kar laīkā rahis. Tab maī wo-lā pũchhẽw ke, "kas-re
His son was. Then I him asked that, "well

bābū, tor dāī-dadā-man kahā̃ gaye haī?" Tab ye
boy, thy parents where gone are?" Then this

ṭūrā-har kahis ke, "mor dāī gaye-hai ek-ke dui
boy said that, "my mother gone-is one-of two

kare-bar, au dadā gaye hai kā̃ṭā-mā̃ kā̃ṭa rũdhe-bar." Tab
making-for, and father gone is thorns-in thorns fencing-for." Then

ye-kar au mor larāī bhaī-gay. Ye-kar mor hār jit
this-one's and my quarrel became. This-one's my defeat victory

lago-hai. Ye-kar niyāw-lā kar-de.' Sāheb-har ṭūrā-le pũchhis ke,
is-staked. This-of decision do.' The-Sāhib the-boy asked that,

'kas-re ṭūrā, ye-kar bhed-lā bataibe?' Ṭūrā kahis, 'hau,
'well boy, this-of the-meaning will-you-tell?' The-boy said, 'yes,

Mah^arāj, sāw-har sabo rupiyā-lā chhā̃ṛ-dehī-nā?' Tab sāheb-har
Sir, the-banker all money will-give-up-(or-)not?' Thereupon the-Sāhib

sāw-lā pũchhis ke, 'ye-kar bhed-lā ṭurā-har batay-dehī, to taī
the-banker asked that, 'this-of meaning the-boy will-tell, then thou

sabo rupiyā-lā chhā̃ṛ-debe-nā?' Sāw kahis, 'hau, Mah^arāj. Au
all the-rupees will-give-up-or-not?' The-banker said, 'yes, Sir. And

naī-batāhī tau sajā-ho-jāhī-na, Mah^arāj?' Sāheb kahis,
he-will-not-tell then will-he-be-punished-(or-)not, Sir?' The-officer said,

'achchhā, tum-man chupe-chāp ṭhārhe rahā.' Sāheb ṭūrā-lā
'all-right, you silently standing remain.' The-Sāhib the-boy-to

pũchhis, 'kas-re, ṭūrā, taī kaise kaise sāw-lā goṭhiyāyē?' Ṭūrā
asked, 'well, boy, then how how the-banker spoke?' The-boy

kahis, 'maĩ aisan goṭhiyâyaũ ke, sāw pũchhis ke, "kas-re,
said, 'I in-this-way spoke that, the-banker asked that, "well,
bābū, tor dāī-dadā-man kahā̃ gaye-haĩ?" Tab maĩ kahyaũ ke, "mor
boy, thy parents where gone-are?" Then I said that, "my
dāī gaye-hai ek-ke duī kare-bar, au dada gaye-hai kā̃ṭā-mā̃
mother gone-is one-of two making-for, and the-father gone-is thorns-in
kā̃ṭā rũdhe-bar." Sunā, Mahᵃrāj, mor dāī gaye-hai chanā dare-bar.
thorns fencing-for." Hear, Sir, my mother gone-is pease to-split.
Tab ek-ṭhan-ke dū dār hothai. Ye-kar bhed iyā ay,
Then one(-pea)-of two split-peas becomes. This-thing-of meaning this is.
Mahᵃrāj. Dūsar bāt aisan ay ke mor dada-har bi āṭa-barī-mā̃
Sir. The-other thing so is that my father brinjal-garden-in
kā̃ṭā rũdhe-bar gaye-rahis. Tab, Mahᵃrāj, bhāṭā-mā̃ kā̃ṭā hothai.
thorns fencing-for gone-was. Then, Sir, brinjals-in thorns are.
Tab maĩ kahyaũ, "kā̃ṭā-mā̃ kā̃ṭā rũdhe gaye-hai." Mor mer iyā
Then I said, "thorns-in thorns to-fence gone-is." Of-me with this
sāw-har kajiyā kare lāgis.' Sāw-har wotek-mā̃ baṛᵃbaṛāye lāgis.
banker a-fight to-make began.' The-banker thereupon to-murmur began.
Sāheb kahis, 'chupe raw, Sāw. Taĩ hār-gaye. Iya ṭūrā-har
The-Sāhib said, 'silent remain, O-banker. Thou art-defeated. This boy
jit-gais. Ṭūrā-har sirᵃton bāt-lā batais-hai. Rupiyā-lā chhā̃ṛ-de.'
has-won. The-boy true things has-spoken. Rupees give-up.'

VOLUME VII.

Page 194.—I am indebted to Mr. R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., for the following list of words in the Kuḍâḷī dialect, as spoken by Marāṭhās, Bhaṇḍāris, etc. of the Malvan and Vengurla Talukas of the Ratnagiri District :—

	Kuḍâḷi word.		Equivalent in Marāṭhī.	Meaning.
आडसार	*āḍ"sār*	शहळें	*śahāḷẽ*	A tender coco-nut.
आफडणें	*āphaḍ"ṇẽ*	शिवणें	*śiv"ṇẽ*	To touch.
आयट	*āyaṭ*	साँचा	*sā̃chā*	A mould.
आयदान	*āy"dān*	भांडे	*bhā̃ḍẽ*	A utensil.
इरस	*iras*	चाकाचा आस	*chākā-chā ās*	The axle of a wheel.
उडकी	*uḍ"kī*	उडी	*uḍī*	A jump.
उपणें	*up"ṇẽ*	पेरणें	*pēr"ṇẽ*	To sow.
उबला	*ub"lā*	दरवाजाचो चौकट	*dar"waja-chī chaukaṭ.*	The frame of a door.
उमळणें	*umaḷ"ṇẽ*	धुणें	*dhuṇẽ*	To wash.
कामेरीण	*kāmēr"ṇ*	मोलकरीण	*mōl-karīṇ*	A maid-servant.
कुरडो	*kur"ḍō*	आंधळा	*ā̃dh"ḷā*	Blind.
खोराण	*khōrāṇ*	कोनाडा	*kōnhāḍā*	A niche.
खोला	*khōlā*	पान	*pān*	A leaf.
गजाल	*gajāl*	गोष्ट	*gōshṭa*	A story, tale.
गराद	*garād*	मोठी खिडकी	*mōṭhī khiḍ"kī*	A large window.
गिचकी	*gich"kī*	घेरी	*ghērī*	A swoon.
गीम	*gīm*	उन्हाळा	*unhāḷā*	Summer.
गुंडो	*guṇḍō*	दगड	*dagaḍ*	A stone.
जंगी	*jaṅgī*	लहान खिडकी	*lahān khiḍ"kī*	A small window.
झिलगो	*jhil"gō*	मुलगा	*mul"gā*	A boy.
तळप	*taḷap*	खडकाळ जमीन	*khaḍ"kāḷ jamīn*	Rocky soil.
नवणी	*naṇ"ṇī*	बेणणें	*bēṇ"ṇẽ*	Weeding.
नाल	*nāl*	नारळ	*nāraḷ*	A coco-nut.
पिलाँव	*pilā̃v*	पोलाद	*pōlād*	Steel.

Kuḍāṭī word.		Equivalent in Marāṭhī.		Meaning.
पुडियाँ	*puḍiyā̃*	धोतर	*dhōtar*	A costly waistcoat worn on ceremonial occasions.
पेंचणाँ	*pẽch^{a}ṇā̃*	चिरणें	*chir^{a}ṇẽ*	To split.
पोलो	*pōlō*	गाल	*gāl*	The cheek.
फाल्याँ	*phālyā̃*	उद्याँ	*udyā̃*	Tomorrow.
बकरा	*bak^{a}rā*	थोडें	*thōḍẽ*	A little.
मानाय	*mānāy*	गडी	*gaḍī*	A labourer.
राजू	*rājū*	दोर	*dōr*	A rope.
वळय	*vaḷaya*	मालघर	*māj-ghar*	The central compartment of a house.
सकळ	*sakaḷ*	लवकर	*lavakar*	Soon.
सोमताँ	*sōm^{a}tā̃*	ताबडतोब	*tābaḍ-tōb*	Immediately.
हडगी	*haḍ^{a}gī*	टोपली	*tōp^{a}lī*	A basket.
हाडणाँ	*haḍ^{a}ṇā̃*	आणणें	*āṇaṇẽ*	To bring.
हाँवडणाँ	*hā̃vaḍ^{a}ṇā̃*	हांकणें	*hā̃k^{a}ṇẽ*	To drive.
हौंडको	*hōḍ^{a}kō*	खळगा	*khaḷ^{a}gā*	A ditch.
होरणाँ	*hōr^{a}ṇā̃*	नेणें	*nēṇẽ*	To carry.

VOLUME VIII—PART II.

As these Addenda were passing through the press, I received valuable information regarding the Dardic languages, and other forms of speech current on the North-West Frontier, from Dr. Morgenstierne, collected by him during a residence in Kabul, where he had unique opportunities for meeting speakers of many languages of Eastern Afghanistan. With great liberality he has placed at my disposal the following abstract of the results of his researches, so far as they regard the tongues of Western Dardistan. His additional notes regarding Eranian languages will be found in the Addenda to Volume X (p. 385). These abstracts have been given by him with the kind permission of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture (Norsk Institutt for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning). His materials will, in due course, be published in full by that Society. The first set of notes furnished by him deals with the Kāfir languages, and is as follows. I am responsible for the spelling of the words, which (in regard to vowels) I have here and there altered from Dr. Morgenstierne's in order to agree with the rougher system followed in the Survey. The letter *å* indicates an open *ā*, between *a* and *o*.

Bashgalī (Katī). [Survey, Vol. VIII, Pt. ii, pp. 32ff.]

Bashgalī is spoken not only in the Bashgal valley, but also in the valleys of Ktivī, Kulum, and Ramgel in Western Kāfiristān. As the name 'Bashgal' denotes only the lower part of the valley round Kāmdēsh, it would be better to call the language Katī, as the whole tribe speaking it is called. The two sections of the Katī-speaking people are now separated by the Prasfis (Presuns), but according to their traditions, they originally all came from Ktivī (Ktī). The absence of important dialectic differences seems to indicate that the separation has not lasted for a very long time.

In some cases the Western Katī has preserved older forms. *E.g.*, corresponding to Bashgalī (Kāmdēsh) *shto*, four, we find *chtvá*.

It must be observed that the ordinary Indian *ṛ* is not met with in Katī. The sound usually written thus is a post-alveolar, spirantic *r*, without any flap, which I write *r̔*. It never occurs after dentals, but regularly after *k, g, p, b*. E.g., *trā*, three; *drū*, a hair; thin; but *gr̔ám*, village; *br̔á*, brother.

The first Sentences of the Parable in the Dialect of Ramgel.

Ew	manchi	dyu	m^{a}r^{a}	vāĩsyâ-m^{a}m.	St^{a}	dyâ	p^{a}-mīj^{a}		
One	*man*	*two*	*children*	*had-formerly.*	*The*	*two*	*from-among*		
pr̔^{a}m^{a}r̔	pāeṭs	tât^{a}st^{a}	jī-kun^{a},	'ōi	tâ,	kaste	tuste	mâl	
young	*boy*	*father-to*	*saying-does,*	'O	*father,*	*whatever*	*thy*	*goods*	
asht-bâ,	emâ	beṭi	kiti	ave.'	St^{a}	mâl	beṭi	k^{a}r̔āsyā-m^{a}m	
are-may-be,	*to-us*	*division*	*having-made*	*give.'*	*He*	*goods*	*dividing*	*made-then,*	
st^{a}	ptāsya-m^{a}m.	Chvâk	wâs	pushtyē	pr̔^{a}meĩr̔	pāeṭs	mâlâ		
to-them	*he-gave-then.*	*Some*	*time*	*afterwards*	*younger*	*son*	*goods*		
wasiñēiti,	pa	udeshe	g^{a}lā	guâsyâ-m^{a}m.					
having-collected,	*to*	*foreign*	*countries*	*he-went-then.*					

WAI-ALĀ (WĀIGALĪ). [Survey, pp. 45ff.]

There are two main dialects of Wāigalī. To the one group belong the dialect described in the Survey, the language of the vocabularies given by Burnes and Lumsden, and also the dialect of Wr'enchegal (locally pronounced Zhōnjigal) which I had occasion to study. To the other group belong the form of speech described in Vigne's vocabulary, and the dialect of Kēgal in the lower part of the Wāigal valley.

As will be seen from the vocabularies, the chief differences consist in the Kēgal (marked K. in the specimen below) dialect having *ew* for 'one,' while the Zhōnjigal (marked Zh. below) dialect has *ēk*, and, in the personal pronouns, *e.g.*, K. *aṅ*, I, Zh. *yē*. Wāigalī possesses both the Indian *ṛ* and the alveolar *r* of Katī.

The first Sentences of the Parable in the Dialects of Wāigalī.

K.	Ew	manaṣhā	bā	dū	pūtr	oṛē.	Dūyā̃	kēnī	kŏ̃ṣhṭō	pūtras
Zh.	Ēk	manaṣh"	bā	dū	pūtr	ōṛī.			Kōṣhṭō	putr"s"
	One	*man*	*of*	*two*	*sons*	*were.*	*The-two*	*among*	*the-younger*	*son*

K.	tātisē-ken	mā̃trē,	'tatō,	tū	bā	māla	māṭi,	ũ	
Zh.	tatōs	matsāi,	'O-ta,	ĩmā	maṭ:ni	māla		ĩ	
	father-his-to said,		*'father,*	*thee*	*of*	*goods*	*having-divided,*	*my*	
			'O-father,	*my*	*share*	*of-goods*		*to-me*	

K.	māṭānē	ũ	grē.'	Alī	tā̃	kānē	tāb"	
Zh.	maṭi		so.'	Tatōs		māl	ũ	brāwā̃
	share	*to-me*	*give.'*	*Then*	*them*	*amongst*	*his*	
	having-divided		*give.'*	*The-father*		*the-goods*	*these*	*brothers-to*

K.	māl	māṭōi.		Kiti	wās	patārīl	kŏ̃ṣhṭō	pūtras
Zh.		maṭi	pratōt.	Ēk-kiti	wās	pat"k"r"-ke	kōṣhṭō	putr"s"
	goods	*he-divided.*		*Some*	*days*	*afterwards*	*the-younger*	*son*
		having-divided	*he-gave.*					

K.	saparak	tāb"	māl	eṣhāi	kr'ōt,	ew	sudū	gōla	ken	disāi.
Zh.		taṣho-bā	māl	āṣhāi	kr'ō,	ēk	sudā	gāl"	k"	samaū.
	all	*his*	*property*	*collected*	*made,*	*one*	*far*	*country*	*to*	*he-went.*

WASĪ-VERI OR VERON (PRASŪ). [Survey, pp. 59ff.]

Of Prasū (*i.e.*, Veron) I had only the opportunity to collect a short vocabulary, which agrees fairly with that given in the Linguistic Survey of India. Most of the words agree with Katī, although transformed in their appearance through strange phonetical changes.

ASHKUND (ASHKŪ). [Survey, p. 68.]

Ashkū is spoken in the mountains between the Alingār and the Pech valleys, and is divided into two dialects. The western, spoken in Majegal and Masevi towards Mangu, is characterized by the transition of *kr*, *gr*, *pr*, and *br* to *kl*, *gl*, *pl*, and *bl*, respectively, (but *śr*, *dr*, remain unchanged, just as in Katī the dentals have dentalized the *r*). E.g., *klōm*, roof; *glam*, village; *plā̃*, baby; *bla*, brother; against eastern Ashkū

krum ; . . ; prẽ and *bru*. The eastern dialect is spoken towards the Pech valley, in Titīn, Tserũ, and possibly in Vāmā. In Kurdâr Pashaī is spoken.

The language is called Ashkũ (eastern dialect) or Ashkũṛũ (western dialect), but the name is said to have no meaning like 'Bare Mountains.'

It will be seen that Ashkũ is closely related to Wāigalī, but in some cases sides with Katī. The Kāfir language described by Trumpp is identical with the Majegal dialect, and also the few sentences given by Tanner (P. R. G. S., III, pp. 291ff.) are in Ashkũ.

The First Sentences of the Parable in Ashkũ.

A	mats	dō	zaga	vāstege.	Kī	lakurā	mr'āk	dias	belẽi,
One	*man*	*two*	*sons*	*had.*	*This*	*younger*	*boy*	*father-his-to*	*said,*
'O	dia,	tōa	māl	m"ṭī	yũ	gūi.'	Dāi	māl	
'O	*faiher,*	*your*	*property*	*having-divided*	*to-me*	*give.'*	*The-father*	*property*	
m"ṭī	zagāṛes	m"ṭī	pr'ōte.	Tsīt	wās				
having-divided	*between-his-sons*	*having-divided*	*gave.*	*Some*	*days* (*later*)				
lakureste	zagās	māl	āṣḥōitsi	aūngei,	zada	gula	ta	ge.	
the-younger	*son-his*	*property*	*having-collected*	*took,*	*other*	*country*	*to*	*went.*	

Dr. Morgenstierne has also supplied the following lists of words in the above languages. As before, I am responsible for the spelling of the words, which (in regard to vowels) I have here and there altered from Dr. Morgenstierne's in order to agree with the rougher system followed in the Survey.

English.	Katī (i.e. Bashgalī of Survey).		Waigalī.	
	(Kulum).	(Bargamaṭal).	(Kōgal).	(Ṭhōnjigal).
1. One	ew	.....	ew	ēk
2. Two	dū	.....	du	dū
3. Three	trā	.....	trē	trē
4. Four	chtvā	shṭᵉvā	chatā	chatā
5. Five	pūch	puch	pũch	pōch
6. Six	ṣhū	.....	ṣhū	ṣhū
7. Seven	sūt	.....	sōt	sōt
8. Eight	wūṣhṭ	ūṣhṭ	ōṣhṭ	ōṣhṭ
9. Nine	nū	nū	nū	nū
10. Ten	duṯa	.....	dōsh	dōsh
11. Twenty	vᵉṯaᵉ	.....	vishī	vishī
12. Fifty	dyuṯao duṯa	dyūṯaᵉ duṯa	du vishī o dōshī	dōsh o dōsh
13. Hundred	puchᵉ vᵉṯaᵉ	puch vᵉṯaᵉ	pũch vishī	pūch vishī
14. I	ūza, wūṯa	ū	aṅᵉ	yō
15. Of me	yā, yēme	ī, yā	ā	ī, i
16. Mine	yēste	īsā	emō	imᵉ
17. We	emā	yimā	amī	yāmā
18. Of us	emā	yimū	amō	yama
19. Our	emāste	yimūsā	amāṣᵉ	imā
20. Thou	tū	tū	tū	tū
21. Of thee	tū	tū	tū	tū
22. Thine	tuste	tūsā	tūbᵉ	tōbā
23. You	shā	shā	vī	vī
24. Of you	shā	shā	vā	.....

KĀFIR LANGUAGE.

Prasū (*i.e.* Wasi-veri or Veren of Survey).	Asuruū (*i.e.* Asuruund or Survey).		English.
	(Tāin).	(Majogal).	
ipāu	ach	ach	1. One.
lū	dō	dā	2. Two.
chī	trā	tre	3. Three.
chpū	tsatā	tsatā	4. Four.
wachū	pōnch	ponts	5. Five.
wnṣhū	ṣhū	ṣhu	6. Six.
sātā	sōt	sōt	7. Seven.
asto	ōṣhṭ	ōṣhṭ	8. Eight.
nū	nō	no	9. Nine.
lez	dus	dus	10. Ten.
dzā	vishī	vishī	11. Twenty
lejjobiz	dō vishī a dus	.....	12. Fifty.
wnchegzū	.....	.....	13. Hundred.
.....	ai	ai	14. I.
.....	yū	yū, yūi mash	15. Of me.
.....	imā	ima, imōa	16 Mine.
.....	im^{a}	im^{a}	17 We.
.....	im^{a}	.....	18 Of us.
.....	imba	ima	19. Our.
.....	tū	tū	20. Thou.
.....	tō	tō	21. Of thee.
.....	tōa	tōa	22. Thine.
.....	vī	yā	23. You.
.....	yā	.....	24. Of you.

English.	Katī (i.e. Bashgali or Siyāh).		Wānalī.	
	(Kulum).	(Bazgamaṭal).	(Kōgal).	(Zhōnjigal).
25. Your	shāste	shāst	vāmᵃ	imbā
26. He	stᵃ	stᵃ	yī, sā	se, skᵃ
27. Of him	stᵃ, stā	.....	yā, tā	skā, tasho
28. His	steste	.....	yomo, tābᵃ	tasho bā, tōbᵃ
29. They	stᵃ	.....	yā, tā	te
30. Of them	stᵃ	..	.....	.....
31. Their	.....	.. ..	tamᵃ	...
32. Hand	dushi	dusht	dōsht	dōsht
33. Foot	kyur	kyur	kyūr	papā
34. Nose	nasur'	nasur'	nās	nasū
35. Eye	achi	achī	achē	achē
36. Mouth	ashi	ashī	āsh	āsh
37. Tooth	dut	dut	dōt	dōt
38. Ear	kār	kār	kār	kār
39. Hair	drū, zhyū	dᵘrū, (*a single hair*) zhū.	kēta, choṛōk, (*female hair*) drū.	keta, drō
40. Head	shāi	shāi	shai	zhēi
41. Tongue	dita	dita	jip	jip
42. Belly	ktyāl	ktāl	kuta, shē	kūta, vaṭikāl
43. Back	pᵃṭi	pṭi	uchē, yāpaṭi	uchē, yāpaṭi
44. Iron	chimē	chimᵃ	chimā	chimār'
45. Gold	sun	sun	sūn	sōn
46. Silver	rū	arū	ᵃrē	urēi
47. Father	tā	tā	tātū	tatā
48. Mother	nū	nū	yēī	āye
49. Brother	br'ā	br'ā	brā	brāhō
50. Sister	sus	sus	sōs	sāsā

Prasū (*i.e.* Wasī-veri or Venus of Survey).	Ashkūn (*i.e.* Ashkund or Survey). (Tāsin).	Ashkūn (*i.e.* Ashkund or Survey). (Majegal).	English.
.....	yāmba	.....	25. Your.
.....	ki	sᵃ	26. He.
.....	kya	.....	27. Of him.
.....	kyawa	.....	28. His.
.....	kyāī	kyāⁱ	29. They.
.....	kyāeī	.....	30. Of them.
.....	kyāwa	.....	31. Their.
lust	dōsh, chapāl	dus, chapāl	32. Hand.
ṡēvāl	kūr	kur	33. Foot.
nes	kāsārā	kᵃsᵃrᵃ	34. Nose
izhī	aṡāī	aṡāō	35. Eye.
ish	āshī	āshī	36. Mouth
letum	dont	dost	37. Tooth.
yūma	karmuṭā	kamᵃṭᵃ	38. Ear.
shūi	ẓhū, drō	zhū, (*a single hair*) dro	39. Hair.
jī	shā	shē	40. Head.
wurdzukū	zhū	zhū	41. Tongue.
yūl	vāsh	banī	42. Belly.
.....	piṡhṭī	piṡhṭī	43. Back.
shīme	ṡaimā	ṡaimᵃ	44. Iron.
sū	sōn	sun	45. Gold.
urū	arū	urᵃ	46. Silver.
yāi	dāī	dāi	47. Father.
nan	aṡau	aṡau	48. Mother.
bab	brᵃ	bla	49. Brother.
sīus	sus	sus	50. Sister.

English.	Kafi (i.e. Bashgali or Suwezi).		Wâigali.	
	(Kulum).	(Bargamatal).	(Kâgal).	(Zhâmjigal).
51. Man	manchi	manchi	manuṣh	manaṣh
52. Woman	shtrī	shtri	mēshi	mõshi
53. Wife	shtyâr	.....	ishtrī	ishtʷr'
54. Child	mᵃrᵃ	mᵃdrᵃ	ćanā	ćanamana
55. Son	pitr, pāeṭa	pitr, pāeṭa	pūtr	zaghâ, pūtʷr
56. Daughter	jūk	jūk	jū	jū
57. Slave	lavᵃn	.....	ḷoōn	.....
59. Shepherd	pᵃlō	.....	pashipā	pashpā
60. God	Imr'â	.....	Traskin	Trasken
61. Devil	yuṣh	.....	yōṣh	yōdh
62. Sun	sū	sū	sō	sōi
63. Moon	mâs	mās	mās	mâs
64. Star	shtâ	r'nshtâ	tārā	tāra
65. Fire	ṣûâ	ṣûâ	ẽī	ẽr'
66. Water	awᵃ	âw	ẽw	ẽw
67. House	amâ	amã	amā	amẽ
68. Horse	wushᵘp	ćshᵘp	gōṛa	gōṛa
69. Cow	gâ	gâ	gâ	gã
70. Dog	kr'uyt	kr'ut	tatẽ	tsõ
71. Cat	pshāsh	pshāsh	pishã	.....
72. Cock	nᵃkᵃ kyur	.....	nõ-kūkū	nᵃr'-kukú
73. Duck	ar'	ar'	.....	ārí
74. Ass	kur	kur	gadā	gadā
75. Camel	shtyūr	shtyur	ūk	ōk
76. Bird	mr'ᵃheṭa	mr'ᵃheṭa	nĩgaṭsâ	nĩgeṭsá
77. Go	.....	ātum[1]	dilom[1]	gēam[1]

[1] First person singular of the present, and so throughout.

Prasūn (i.e. Wasi-veri or Veron of Survey).	Ashkūn (i.e. Ashkund of Survey).		English.
	(Tōtin).	(Majegal).	
v^{a}rjomi	mate	maje	51. Man.
vesti	ishtremali	ishtremali	52. Woman.
.....	.....	...	53. Wife.
kyarā	prā	piā	54. Child.
pinik	marēk	zag^{a}, marēk	55. Son.
lūshtuk	mārēk	zā mārēk	56. Daughter.
.....	lāveṇ	laveṇ	57. Slave.
...	peshpā	pishamete	59. Shepherd.
.....	...	Kudāi, Imrā	60. God.
.....	yuṣh	yuṣh	61. Devil.
ūsūk	sō	so	62. Sun
mesege	mas	mas	63. Moon.
istīk	ista	istā	64. Star.
anegho	aṅā	aṅō	65. Fire.
awe	abō	abō	66. Water.
vārek	amā	amā	67. House.
urī	gōṛā	gōṛu	68. Horse.
guṭā	ga	ga	69. Cow.
k^{a}r^{a}āk	kuṛī	kuṛī	70. Dog.
pshigī	pisane	p^{a}chūk	71. Cat.
mush kakaghe	kukuṛ	kukuṛ	72. Cock.
.....	nalā	.....	73. Duck.
korū	khar	k^{a}r^{a}ṭek	74. Ass
.....	ūkān (*sing.*)	shutār	75. Camel.
nīdze	niṅasā	niṅase	76. Bird.
.....	dēm[1]	dim[1]	77. Go.

[1] First person singular of the present and so throughout.

English.	Kafi (i.e. Bashgali of Shewer).		Wāigali.	
	(Xuium).	(Bazgamaṭal).	(Kēgal).	(Ẓbānjigal).
78. Eat	yūnūm[1]	yūtum	yūam	yōam
79. Sit	nishinᵃm	nishitᵃm	nishinom	nishinom
80. Come	ẓgalᵃm (*fut.*)	aṭaābom	elom	aṭeāṙ'om
81. Beat	viēnᵃm	viētum	vēnom	vier'om
82. Stand	uṭinᵃm	utitum	atinom	utinom
83. Die	mr'ēnᵃm	mr'ētum	mrānom	mrēam
84. Give	pr'enᵃm	pr'ētum	palom	prēam
85. Run	nargᵃnᵃm	achunatum	.....	sāuyōom
156. I am	wūṭa asᵃm	.....	am	ōṛim, böm
157. Thou art	tū asish	.....	osh	ōṛish, bōsh
158. He is	aiᵃ asᵃ	asᵃ	oi	ōṛi, bö
159. We are	omā asᵃmish	.....	omish	ōṛimish, bömish
160. You are	shā asᵃṙ	.....	ow	ōṛi, böṛō
161. They are	aiᵃ ashi	ashi	ōi	ōṛi (?), böt
179. I beat	.....	.....	.....	.....
180. Thou beatest	.....	.....	.....	.....
181. He beats	.....	.....	.....	.....
182. We beat	.....	.....	.....	.....
183. You beat	.....	.....	.....	.....
184. They beat	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] First person singular of the present, and so throughout.

Prasū (i. e. Wasi-veri or Veron of Survey).	Ashkū (i. e. Ashkund or Suryer).		English.
	(Yidin.)	(Mujegal.)	
..	yūm	yum	78. Eat.
...	nishem	nishim	79. Sit.
...	ślim	śyam	80. Come.
..	viśum, lāum . . .	lālom, lām . . .	81. Beat.
...	utinsom	utinestem . . .	82. Stand.
...	mr'em	...	83. Die.
...	pr'ōm	plēm	84. Give.
...	leshtēom . . .	...	85. Run.
...	ai sem	(a)s'm	156. I am.
...	tū sei	as's	157. Thou art.
...	yakā sei	seī	158. He is.
...	im' semish . . .	...	159. We are.
...	vi seg	...	160. You are.
...	yakāī sen . . .	s"n	161. They are.
...	...	nishinest-"m, *I am sitting* .	179. I beat.
...	...	nishinést-es, *thou art sitting*	180. Thou beatest.
...	...	nish.nést-s, *he is sitting* .	181. He beats.
...	...	nishinést-"mish, *we are sitting.*	182. We beat.
...	...	nishinést-eke, *you are sitting.*	183. You beat.
...	...	nishinést-ene, *they are sitting.*	184. They beat.

Kāśr—257

PASHAI (PASHAI). [Survey, pp. 89 *ff.*]

This language is spoken not only in the Kunar valley and in Laghman, but also in a zone extending from Wāigal in the East to Gulbahār (NE. of Chārikār) in the West. It is divided into a great number of considerably diverging dialects. These can be arranged in four groups.

(1) The North-Western Group, comprising the dialects near Gulbahār, in the Shutul valley, etc. It is characterized by the preservation not only of *tr*, *dr*, but also of *kr*, *gr*, *pr*, *br*, and *mr*, (e.g., *kᵃṛum*, work; *kᵃrū*, shouting; *mᵃṛū*, dead; *bᵃrōi*, *bᵃṛōi*, brother), by the form *mōmā*, you, and by the ending of the first person plural, as in *aīs*, we are. This suffix presents the transitional form between the Khōwār *-as*, Pashai *-as*, *-aes*, and Veron (Prasū) *-msho*, Wāigalī and Katī *-misk* (from *-masi* > * *-mäš*).

The frequent transition of *ā* to *ō* and *ū*, and the formation of the present with *t* (*zhētoyem*, I am eating) connects this group with, —

(2) The dialects spoken in the Özbīn valley (west of Laghman, about Bali Khel and Ghas) and in the upper Alishang valley (about Najīl).

Here *kr* and *pr* result in *ṣḥ*, and *gr* and *br* in *l*, while *tr* and *dr* are preserved (Özbīnī *ṣḥam*, work; *ṣḥavōr* (<*prahāra-*), wounded; *lōmᵃ*, a village; Najīlī *lāy*, brother; but *tra*, three; *drōnōk*, rainbow.

(3) The dialects of Tagau, Nijrau, and Bedrau (in Ishpī, Iskyōn, Lauṛovān, etc.). Here also *pr* and *kr* result in *l* (*e.g.* Lauṛovānī *laār*, wounded; *lām*, work).

In all these three groups of dialects, the aspiration of medials has to some extent been preserved.

(4) This group comprises all the dialects of Laghman, Alingār, Kunar, and the lower Pech valley. Here *br*, *gr*, and also *dr* have developed into *l*, while *pr*, *kr*, and *tr* result in *ṭḥl* or similar sounds.

The First Sentences of the Parable in the Dialect of Kona Dīh, near Gulbahār.

Ī ādam dō putra dārāi. Tē kuchāst putrā-i-yakaṭī dādas-āī
One man two sons had. Them from-among son-the-small father-his-to
mārāta, 'ai dādā, mui takhsīmas-am dē dā.' Mālā tanka
said, 'O father, to-me part-mine (sign of acc.) give.' Property his-own
dā takhsīm kawats, tē dētea. Kē wakht pachawā putrā-i yakaṭī
(acc.) division he-made, to-them he-gave. Some time afterwards son-the-small
chūkas-a dē gugia, sudūre jē gūī.
all-his (acc.) seized, far to went.

In the Dialect of Lauṛovan (Tagau).

Ī ādamas dō ōya hāich. Suratalā putras-ā bāvai māraīkyē, 'āi
One man-to two children were. The-younger son-his father-to said, 'O
bāba, kor ke tānkyāi jirāē yēitik, maina dāya.' Bādaz
father, whatever that own part-thine comes, to-me give.' Afterwards

bāsa mal gurāik, aḍa suratalai dāikyē, aḍa aulai dāikyē.
father-his property seized, the-half younger-to gave, the-half elder-to gave

Bādaz suratala putrasā, aḷṭ[a], nau dū kān, chūikya kor ke
Afterwards the-younger son-his, eight, nine days after, all whatever that

jirāy-a yeyâik, jam kak[a]. Sudūrāi vatan gyīk.
part-to-his had-come, collected made. Far country went.

Dr. Morgenstierne has also supplied the following List of Words in the various dialects of Paṣhai :—

SPECIMENS IN THE PASHAT LANGUAGE.

English.	Group 1.	Group 2.		Group 3.	Group 4.	
	(Gulbahār.)	(Ozbie.)	(Najil.)	(Lampواn.)	(Waigal.)	(Darra-i-nūr.)
1. One	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī.
2. Two	dō	dō	dō	dō	dō	dō.
3. Three	trā	trā	tra	tra	th̲hlā	th̲lā
4. Four	chār	chōr	chōr	chār	chār	chār
5. Five	ṛānja	pōuj	pānzh^{a}	pānja	panch	pañj.
6. Six	khā	ṇhha	ṇha	ṇhhā	ṇhā	ṇhe.
7. Seven	sāta	sāt^{a}	sāt^{a}	sāta	sat	sat.
8. Eight	aṣḥṭa	āṣḥṭ^{a}	āṣḥṭ^{a}	āṭta	aṣḥṭ	aṣḥt.
9. Nine	nawa	naw^{a}	nāv	nau	nō	nō.
10. Ten	dā	dāe	dāl	daya	dā	dē.
11. Twenty	west	v^{a}st	v^{a}st	v^{a}st	vest	vest.
12. Fifty	pinjā	...	...	dūya u dai	...	...
13. Hundred	sad, pānj^{a} wust.	...	...	pānja viyā	...	...
14. I	ā	mō	mū	ā	mum, (ā)	ā.
15. Of me	mūi (*mshi*), ā (*a me*).	...	mū	mam	mum, (mam)	mum.
16. Mine	mau, mūsi	mau	mōy	maina	mōnā, (mōnū)	mēnā, mūul.
17. We	hamā	...	hamā	hamā	amā	amā
18. Of us	hamā	hamōt	...	hamā	...	...
19. Our	hamāst	...	...	hamās	...	...
20. Thou	tā	...	tā	tā	(tā)	tā.
21. Of thee	tāi (*tshi*)	...	tā	tau	...	tō.
22. Thine	tau, tāst	tau, tōs	tōy	taina	(tōnā)	...
23. You	mōmā	myā	miā	myā	(emā)	ōmā
24. Of you	mōmā	...	miā	myā	...	...

English.	Group 1.	Group 2.		Group 3.	Group 4.	
	(Gulbahār.)	(Ozbīn.)	(Najīl.)	(Laqorān.)	(Waigal.)	(Darra-i-nūr.)
25. Your	mānēst	myōoć	...	myš (P)	...	..
26. He	sa, sam	...	sa	ase	...	sē
27. Of him	tō, tēsō	...	...	ātē, tō	...	.
28. His	tēst	ahyūd	...	tēse	...	...
29. They	tēma	..	..	uma	...	..
30. Of them	tō	...	...	ātēda	...	.
31. Their	tēmēst	...	...	...	...	..
32. Hand	hōst, chapilā	asti-ōm	hcst	hās-ī	ast-ōm	ast-yem
33. Foot	pāi	...	...	pā	pē-em	pā.
34. Nose	nāat	nōa	nōot	nāe-ā	nāa-ī	nās.
35. Eye	achhāi	achī	achī	achhi	auch, (anchī)	auch.
36. Mouth	gilāu	gᵉlōn	dūr	gilāu	...	dōr.
37. Tooth	dandūn	dōn	dandā-yem	dān-d	daud-ōm	dān.
38. Ear	kayū, kōi	khōi	kayoṭī-m	kai	kāṛ	hāṛ.
39. Hair	lām	zhāir	zhūtrī-em	zhūtr	lūsh	chāl
40. Head	ṣhir	kapōl	kapal-am	ṣhir, kapāl	air	ṣhir.
41. Tongue	jiba	jīb	jib-ōm	ǰᵊp	jev-ām	jeb.
42. Belly	gāre	...	kuchi-em	kūch	kuchī-m	...
43. Back	kūi	navaṭī	pi-om	navati	gēṇ-im (*wurst*)	gyēn.
44. Iron	chimūr	āhenū	chūmur	chūmār	(chumfir)	chemār.
45. Gold	tᵊlā	tᵊlā	tᵊla	tᵊlā	(telā)	ṣhōpeg zar
46. Silver	nokrā	zar	zar	nokra, ṣhelak zar	(zar)	ṣheleg zar.
47. Father	dādā	bāᵃ	bāw	bāw	bābā-m	tatī.
48. Mother	āi	āi	āī	ai	āyā-m	aī
49. Brother	bᵊṛāi	...	lāyo-m	lāyā	lāa-m	lāyā-m.
50. Sister	saiwā	sāyā-m	sayo-m	sayā	sōṭek	sāyā-m.

English.	Group 1.	Group 2.		Group 3.	Group 4.	
	(Gulbahār.)	(Ozbīn.)	(Najū.)	(Lesgorān.)	(Waigal.)	(Dara-i-nūr.)
51. Man	wᵃrᵃmalū	...	vīr	vīr	...	ādᵃmī.
52. Woman	māẓī	...	ajezū, māẓī.	azᵃzā	zāeb	zālp.
53. Wife	...	...	māẓe-kaletrīm.	maẓī	...	ẓālekā.
54. Child	bālkāl (pl.)	...	...	bāṛā	...	...
55. Son	putrᵃ	putri-em	putri-em	pūrᵃ	puṯālī-m	puṯālī-em
56. Daughter	jānjika, wēya.	janaekaṭī	viya-m	vāy	kīṭālek	kiṭālek.
59. Shepherd	...	...	...	...	(paẓwalā)	...
61. Devil	...	...	...	...	(dō)	...
62. Sun	aura	sur	sur	sur	sur	sur.
63. Moon	māṭau	mōī	mō	mai	mā	māī.
64. Star	sitāru	...	sitāru	ᵃstārich	tayuṛīk	tāra.
65. Fire	lokana, izhnai.	angōr	angōr	anṛar	angār	aṅār.
66. Water	wūrk	ōrg	ōrg	varᵃk	wark	warᵃk.
67. House	andarā	vōi	yōi	vai	gōbiā	gōbiā.
68. Horse	gōṛā	gōṛō	gōṛā	gōṛā	gōṛā	gōṛā.
69. Cow	gāvaṇḍī	gāvaṇḍī	gōluā	gaṛṛḍī	gōlaā	gā, gōlaā.
70. Dog	ẓūā	ẓūōa	ẓūng	ẓūā	ẓūriā, (ẓūuiā).	ẓūṛiā.
71. Cat	pishūk	puẓbāk	pᵃẓbāk	pẓhāk	aṇḍarek	uṇḍalī.
72. Cock	khurūs, (hen) kukūṛ.	khurūs, (hen) kūkūṛ	khurūs, (hen) ᵃstᵃrī kakuṛī	khurūs, (hen) kukuṛī.	bāā	kukūṛ
73. Duck	...	...	murghāvī	ohūchūla	murghavī	...
74. Ass	ulūk	khōr	khōr	ẓhōr	khareṭā	kareṭā.
75. Camel	uẓhtūr	ẓhūtūr	ẓhūtūr	ūṭhūr	autir	ẓhutur.
76. Bird	pakhīm	paçḥīn	paçḥīn	parᵃnda	(jinawar)	...
77. Go	parōwam[1]	...	...	param[1]	...	pa[1]!
78. Eat	zhōwam	zhāitaem[1]	zhātayam[1]	ayam	ōgam[1]	yat!
79. Sit	nīṭikam	...	nīkem	nᵃyīkam	nōvām	nōō!

[1] Present sing. 1, and so throughout, except in the last column, in which it is imperative sing. 2.

English.	Group 1.	Group 2.		Group 3.	Group 4.	
	(Gulbahār.)	(Ozbir.)	(Najil.)	(Lauṛovān.)	(Waigal.)	(Parra-l-nūr.)
80. Come	...	...	šilekem (*I came*)	yagām	...	ēt!
81. Beat	hanwam	...	hantayam	hanam	...	...
82. Stand	ḍakam	...	ẓhōnam	ẓhānam	...	...
83. Die	murṭ (*dead*)	...	...	lik (*dead*)	...	...
84. Give	dōwam	...	...	dāyam	...	...
85. Run	dawetim	...	...	chatᵃgam	...	...
156. I am	im	...	yam	ama	...	aim.
157. Thou art	I	...	ā	āī	...	aī.
158. He is	a, shī	...	a, shī	asta (*m.*), a (*f.*), shīk (*n.*)	...	aa, shī.
159. We are	aīs	...	yōu	ama	...	ais.
160. You are	unda	...	undᵃ	āi	...	ai.
161. They are	un, shin	...	un	ān	...	ain.
179. I beat	...	zhātaam, *I am eating.*	...	...	nēvām, *I sit down.*	ākam, *I am eating.*
180. Thou beatest	...	zhāttōe, *thou art eating.*	...	...	nēvai, *thou sittest down.*	āaki, *thou art eating*
181. He beats	...	zhātō, *he is eating.*	...	...	nēvās, *he sits down.*	yāghe (?), *he is eating.*
182. We beat	...	zhātōaa, *we are eating.*	...	...	nēvās, *we sit down.*	ākaa, *we are eating.*
183. You beat	...	zhāitonde, *you are eating.*	...	...	nēvai, *you sit down.*	āako, *you are eating*
184. They beat	...	zhāitōa, *they are eating.*	...	...	nēvian, *they sit down.*	ākan, *they are eating.*

TIRĀHĪ.

Page 110.—On page 2, line 22, of Part ii of Volume VIII, I stated that no specimens could be obtained of the Tirāhī language. All that had hitherto been known about it was contained in a short list of words published by Leech in the year 1838.[1] This was sufficient to show that it belonged to the Kalāsha-Pashai Sub-Group of the Kāfir Group of the Dardic languages.

According to Leech, the speakers once inhabited the Tirā Valley (hence the name of the tribe and of their language), now the home of the Afrīdī Afghāns, and, in consequence of a feud breaking out between the Orakzāīs and the Afrīdīs, they left that tract and settled in the Ningrahar country, where they are now found. Their principal villages are at the present day said to be Jaba, Mitarānī, and Barā-khēl. Jaba is shown on sheet 38J of the four miles to the inch Indian Survey degree sheets, and on sheet 14 of the Indian Atlas sheets on the same scale. It is situated in the Kōṭ-darra Valley south of the Kābul River, about 20 miles in a direct line west of Dakka Fort, and about half way between Dakka and Jalalabad, but south of the main road.

Among their Afghān neighbours, these people have not the best of characters, and a Tirāhī is generally unwilling to admit that he is a member of the tribe or that he knows anything of its language. So far has this gone that in the neighbouring parts of British India, in the Peshawar District, there is an idea very generally current that the Tirāhī language is only a kind of gibberish used by transfrontier criminals when they wish to speak among themselves without being understood by outsiders.

For more than twenty-five years I had been endeavouring to secure specimens of this form of speech, but without success. Finally, Sir Aurel Stein added to the heavy debt of obligations owed by me to him by undertaking the search for a man who could speak it. In March 1919, by the friendly help of the late Colonel Sir George Roos-Keppel, then the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, an old labourer was found in Peshawar who professed to know Tirāhī. Unfortunately, to this accomplishment was added the fact that he was a confirmed opium eater, and after a few words and sentences had been collected from him, the attempt at probing his befogged memory had to be abandoned. Sir Aurel, however, did not abandon the quest, and his next attempt was more successful. In December 1921, through the help of his old and devoted Surveyor, Khan Sahib Afraz-gul, now of the Survey of India, there was found an intelligent old man named Shāh Rasūl, whose original home was in Jaba, but who had left his country for many years and was now resident in Nawa-kala. When Sir Aurel found that long absence from his home had impaired his facility in speaking his mother tongue, Shāh Rasūl secured the presence of a younger man whose memory was more trustworthy. Both the men were completely illiterate, and Sir Aurel found some difficulty in getting them to understand grammatical niceties such as the distinction between the different tenses of a verb; but, with their aid, he succeeded in writing down a Tirāhī translation of the Urdū version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and in compiling a valuable list of words and illustrative sentences. These he has most

[1] J. A. S. B., Vol. vii (1838), pp. 783-4.

kindly placed at my disposal; and from them I have been able to compile the following grammatical sketch of the language. This is not complete, but it gives a very fair idea of the general features of Tirāhī. I also add the version of the Parable as written down by Sir Aurel (with an English interlinear translation of my own) together with the list of words and sentences prepared by him, and to the whole I append a vocabulary, which includes not only all the words in the above-mentioned specimens but also all those contained in Leech's word-list of 1838. There are a few words and phrases the meaning of which I have not succeeded in making clear to my own mind, and such I have marked with notes of interrogation, but even with these I think that, thanks to Sir Aurel Stein, a considerable advance in our knowledge of an interesting language has been attained.

As already stated, Tirāhī is certainly a Dardic language, and is closely connected with Kalāshā, Pashai, and Gawar-bati, but it is also to be noted that it shows clear points of relationship with Ṣhiṇā and Kāshmīrī, Dardic languages spoken far to the North-East. Compare, for instance, Tirāhī *sure*, a child, with Kāshmīrī *shur*ᵘ ; *mala*, a father, with Ṣhiṇā *mālō* and Kāshmīrī *mālᵘ* ; and *utha* (not *uṭha*), stand up, with Kāshmīrī *wōth*. As usual in Dardic languages, there are several words which have preserved in a remarkable manner the forms that obtained in the Sanskrit of two thousand years ago. Such are *dēn*, a cow, as compared with the Sanskrit *dhēnuḥ*, and *ast*, a hand, as compared with the Sanskrit *hastaḥ*. It is hardly necessary to add that, surrounded as the speakers are by Afghāns, they have freely borrowed from Paṣhtō.

The Pashai already referred to is spoken in Laghmān, north of the River Kābul. Ningrahār, where Tirāhī is spoken, lies to the south of that river. Further south, again, in Wazīristān, we come upon Ormurī, an Eranian form of speech, used by an immigrant tribe distinct from the Afghāns. It is evident that at the time when the Ormuṛs arrived at their present site, they found themselves in close contact with a tribe of Dardic origin, for their language, though Eranian, shows clear traces of Dardic influence. Further south we come to the Khētrāns of Thal-Chotiālī. These people speak a corrupt Lahndā much mixed with Dardic forms. Finally, as has been pointed out in Volume VIII, Part i of the Survey, still further south we come to Sindhī, and in this, too, we find relics of some old Dardic language. In this way, Tirāhī forms an important link connecting the Dardic languages spoken in Dardistān, north of the Kābul, with a chain of three languages which show traces of ancient Dardic influence, and reach down to the mouth of the Indus. It is not necessary here to discuss the question of the extension of Dardic languages further south. It is sufficient to state that traces of them have been recognized in the Bhīl languages of Central India, and even, with considerable plausibility, in the Kōkaṇī dialect of Marāṭhī. If this last identification is finally accepted, Tirāhī gives us the hitherto missing link in a chain of languages once reaching from the Hindūkush to Goa.

In the following pages, I give a reference for each word quoted, showing its original location. In such references "Par." indicates the version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, quoted by verse-number, and "L." indicates the List of Words and Sentences prepared by Sir Aurel Stein.

Pronunciation.

It must be remembered that the materials collected depend almost entirely on what was uttered by two illiterate men. Sir Aurel Stein, in recording the Tirāhī words uttered by them, most rightly refrained from any attempt at securing apparent uniformity, but wrote down for each word as nearly as possible the exact sound he heard in each particular case. In recording a language which has previously been reduced to writing, there is a more or less fixed standard of spelling and of pronunciation with which it is possible to secure conformity; but when a language has no standard,—and to a less extent, even in every language which has a standard,—the actual pronunciation of each word varies each time it is uttered, according to its collocation in the sentence or the mood of the speaker. In languages like English or Hindōstānī, these changes are partly held in check by the existence of a standard to which the speaker insensibly conforms, but in a language such as Tirāhī which has no standard, they are much more considerable, and we find the same word pronounced by these men in very different ways at different times. For instance, for 'man' the speakers at one time said *ādᵊm* and at another time *adam;* for 'good,' at one time *braḍa,* and at another *breḍa;* and for 'child,' at one time *badᵊna,* with no stress on the penultimate, and at another time *baḍdna,* with a strong stress on the penultimate. Under such circumstances, it would at present be dangerous to lay down any rules for a standard pronunciation of Tirāhī, and we must await further information on the subject. Suffice it to say here that this uncertainty occurs chiefly in regard to the vowels, and that the consonantal system appears to be pretty constant and to agree with that of the other Dardic languages.

The Article.

There appears to be an indefinite article corresponding to the Persian *yā i wahdat* and the Kāshmīrī *-ā.* It is formed by adding *i* to the noun. A pretty certain example is *kharab badani,* a bad boy (*badᵊna*) (L. 129).

For the definite article, the demonstrative pronoun *le* or *lā* is very commonly employed. Thus :—

le pakīrasi ek āna de, give one anna to the faqir (L. 84).

le parāna kuzᵊras zīn, the saddle of the white horse (L. 226).

le zīn kuzᵊra dāk khum thā, put the saddle on the horse's back (L. 227).

le kila ek banyā-ma achhita ti, (I) have bought (it) from a shopkeeper of the village (L. 241).

chāna mala la breḍa batsa kukkto, thy father slaughtered the good calf (Par. 27).

lā gana putᵊr ghusā khum gā, the elder son became in anger (Par. 28).

The demonstrative pronoun *lema* is similarly used before place-names. Thus :—

lema Jaba-manzum sawa kuzᵊra braḍē tina, in Jaba all horses are good (L. 140).

lema Kābula-manzum sawe barē kharāba tina, in Kābul all mares are bad (L. 141).

DECLENSION.

Nouns Substantive.

Gender.—There are not sufficient materials to form any rules as regards gender. All that can be said is that the feminine gender is recognized, and that many feminine nouns end in *e* or *ē* when, in India, they would end in *ī*. Thus we have *strē* (Indian *strī*), a woman (List, 52, 53, 128); *ackchke* (Kâshmirī *ächk'*), an eye (L. 35); *dē* (Indian *dhī*), a daughter (L. 56, 110); *baṛē*, a mare (L. 139). With this we may compare *braḍa adam*, a good man (L. 120), and *braḍa strē*, a good woman (L. 128), but *braḍē strē*, good women (L. 130); *sura*, small (L. 28), but *surē*, a little girl (L. 56); *sawa kus^ra*, all horses (L. 140), and *sawe baṛē*, all mares (L. 141); *ti*, he is (L. 158), and *tē*, she is (L. 53, 56).

Declension.—The *Nominative* case singular calls for no remarks. It takes no termination. When a noun is the subject of a transitive verb in a tense derived from the past participle, it is put into the Agentive case, which will be described further on.

The *Accusative* case singular is the same in form as the nominative. Thus:—

le pakīrasi ek āna dē, give one anna to the faqīr (L. 84).
asto-manzum angur ṯsyā, pade-manzum panā ṯsiyā, put ye a ring on the hand, put ye a shoe on the foot (Par. 22).
ek breḍa baṯsa ānines, bring ye a good calf for him (Par. 23).
kwi-ma wwa prēla, draw water from the well (L. 237).
khushālī karém, let us make rejoicing (Par. 23).
le adam brok do, beat that man well (L. 236).
le khat malasi dēm, I give this letter to the father (L. 103).

The object of a transitive verb in a tense derived from the past participle is, as usual in connected languages, put in the nominative case, the subject being put into the case of the Agent. The following examples will suffice:—

chāna mala lā breḍa baṯsa kukhto, thy father slaughtered the good calf; lit. the good calf was slaughtered by the father (Par. 27).
mala gaṇa putrasi jawab dita, the father gave answer to the elder son; lit. by the father answer was given to the elder son (Par. 31).
mala rām kere, the father made compassion; lit. by the father compassion was made (Par. 20).
sure put^r tānu māl jama kere, the younger son collected his property; lit. by the younger son his property was made collected (Par. 13).

General Oblique case.—The General Oblique case singular is sometimes the same in form as the nominative. Thus:—

ghusā khum, in anger (Par. 28).
badmāshī khum, in debauchery (Par. 13).
kwi-ma, from the well (L. 237).
kursi-ma, from the chair (L. 82).
dāk khum, (put) on (the horse's) back (L. 227). Cf. *dāka khum* below.
hukm-ma bāhr, outside (*i.e.*, against) an order (Par. 29).
nazar-manzum, in (thy) sight (Par. 18). Cf. *nazaram-manzum* below.
put^r khum, on the son (L. 228).

More often it ends in *a*, even when the nominative singular does not end in that letter. Thus :—

panda khum, (nom. *pand*), on a journey (L. 224).

dāka khum (nom. *dāk*), (riding) on the back (of a horse) (L. 230). Cf. *dāk khum* above.

le mulkᵉ-manzum (nom. *mulk*), in that country (Par. 14). Cf. *mulke-manzum* below.

mala tarafē (nom. *mala*), towards the father. *mala-ma*, from a father (L. 104).

māla-manzum (nom. *māl*), in the property (Par. 12). Cf. *māla taksīm*, division of the property (Par. 12).

dāma khum (nom. *dām*), (bind) with a rope (L. 236).

braḍa adama-ma (nom. *adam*), from a good man (L. 122).

thāna-manzum (nom *thān*), in the house (L. 83, 130, 223, 226, 233).

khāra khum (nom. *khār*), on the top (L. 229).

lema wakta khum (nom. *wakt*), at that time (L. 162). So *wakta-manzum* (L. 163).

When a general oblique case is followed by an enclitic word beginning with a consonant, that consonant is sometimes doubled, and one of the pair is added to the oblique case. Thus :—

chāna nazaram-manzum (for *nazara-manzum*), in thy sight (Par. 21).

brichat-tōna (nom. *brich*), under a tree (L. 230). Cf. *ut tī*, for *ā tī*, he has come, given below under the perfect tense.

Occasionally we find the general oblique case ending in some other vowel. Such are :—

mala tarafē (nom. *taraf*) *ū*, he came in the direction of (*i.e.*, towards) the father (Par. 23).

le mulke-manzum, in that country (Par. 14). Cf. *mulkᵉ-manzum* above.

pade-manzum (nom. *padē*), on the foot (Par. 22).

uṛe (or *ōre*)-*manzum*, in his heart (Par. 16, 17). The Nom. Sing. of this word appears to be *uṛe*, as in Par. 22.

teukᵉ daze pas (nom. *daz*), after a few days (Par. 13).

asto-mānzum (nom. *ast*), on the hand (Par. 22).

jango-wakta (nom. *jang*), at the time of fighting (L. 163).

Two words are irregular. The word *dē*, a daughter, has its oblique singular *dun*, and *spaz*, a sister, has *spazun*. These will be dealt with lower down.

Another form of the oblique ends in *asi*, often shortened to *as* or *is*. This is most often used as a dative, but is also used in other collocations. Thus :—

braḍa adamasi, to a good man (L. 121). *le rūpai le adamasi dē*, give this rupee to that man (L. 234).

dēsi, to a daughter (L. 112).

gā dūr mulkasi, he went to a far country (Par. 13).

malasi, to a father (L. 103). *mē tānus malasi bazem*, I shall go to my father (Par. 18). *le malasi jawāb dita*, he gave answer to the father (Par. 29).

mē le adām diyanasi dita wa, I gave that man for a beating (*i.e.*, to be beaten) (L. 177).

mān samo tre ādᶜmo khārasi da bazam, we three men all go to the town (L. 17).
masi munāsib, proper for me (Par. 21).
le pakīrasi ek āna dē, give one anna to the faqīr (L. 84).
mala gaṇa putrasi jawāb dita, the father gave answer to the elder son (Par. 31).
au az thānasi ēma, I come to the house to-day (L. 80).
tas pukhla kere, made conciliation to him (Par. 28).
ek tānu naukaris ga ti, he is gone to one of his servants (Par 26).

This termination is also commonly used for the genitive, and, in this case, *as* seems to be more commonly employed than *asi*. Thus:—

lemas shisi (nom. *shi*) *kimat*, the price of that thing (L. 232). Here we have both *as* and *(a)si*.
braḍa adamas thān bōgha ti, the house of a good man is near (L. 120).
le parána kurᶜras zīn, the saddle of the white horse (L. 226).
le thān malas ti, this is the father's house (L. 102).
chāna sanās (nom. *sanā*) *danis brōk trighna tīna*, the teeth of thy dog are very sharp (L. 146).
myāna trōras putᶜr, the son of my uncle (L. 225).

It should be noted that it is sometimes difficult to say whether this termination *as* is a case termination, or is a pronominal suffix. In the following, *as* probably means 'his':—

tānu mālas badmāshī khum chi kere, he wasted *his* substance in riotous living (Par. 13). But in this instance it is also possible that *mālas* is a dative used as a definite accusative.
le malas gā, his father went (Par. 28). Here the *as* is almost certainly a pronominal suffix.

In the following, the termination *asi* forms the general oblique case:—

khā thānasi bōgha ō, when he came near the house (Par. 25).

Sometimes the termination *asi* is employed where we should use the ablative. Thus:—

te kāma adamasi (or *adama-ma*) *achhita ti*, from what man didst thou buy that (L. 240)?
myāna dunsi khat ut ti, a letter has come from my daughter (L. 113).
lema jaisi (nom. *jai*) *Kashmīr katēsi dūr ti*, how far is Kashmir from this place (L. 222)?

We have an ablative of comparison in:—

lema brijasi le kaza ti, this is higher than that tower (L. 136).
lemas spazunsi le adᶜmas brā kaza ti, the brother of that man is taller than his sister (L. 231).

We shall see subsequently that an ablative of comparison can also be made with the help of the postposition *ma*.

With regard to the above examples, note that the words *dē*, a daughter, and *spaz*, a sister, form the oblique singular by adding *un*,—thus, *dun* and *spazun*. Note also that, as we shall see, the termination *asi* also occurs in the plural. It seems probable that here plural forms have been carelessly used for the singular.

We have just seen that the *Genitive* is commonly indicated by the termination *as*. It may also be indicated by simply prefixing the unaltered word to the governing noun. Thus :—

le kila ek banyā-ma, from a shopkeeper of the village (L. 241).
brēkkta (? nominative) *khāra kkum*, on the top of a hill (L. 229).
kuẓ'ra dāk kkum, on the horse's back (L. 227). Cf. *kuẓ'ras zīn*, the horse's saddle, in 226.
chāna mala thāna-manzum, in thy father's house (L. 233).
myāna mal' brōk mazdurāno wāna, there were many servants of my father (Par. 17).
tsālī tsindar, a goat's kid (Par. 29).
āsmān nazar-manzum, in the sight of heaven (Par. 18, 21).
domāna āwāz, the sound of a drum (Par. 25).
galix wakta khum, at the time of theft (L. 164).

It is probable that the *Agentive* case singular employed for the subject of a verb in a tense formed from the past participle, should be described as identical in form with the general oblique case as in other Dardic languages. But, as we have seen, this general oblique case is itself often identical in form with the nominative, and it happens that the few instances of the Agentive that occur in the Parable all also agree in form with the nominative singular. It may be mentioned that in Ormuṛī, an Eranian language, spoken not far off in Waziristan, which is much influenced by Dardic, the Agentive is always the same in form as the nominative.

The following examples of the Agentive case of nouns substantive are found in the Parable. No instances occur in the List of Words :—

sūrē put'r mala ditanas, the younger son said to the father (Par. 12). See the remarks on *ditanas* on p. 294, under the head of the past tense.
sure put'r tānu māl jama kere, the younger son collected his property (Par. 12).
le adam tānu tsakalānsi prēgī, that man sent (him) to his fields (Par. 15).
mala tānu naukarānosi aṛī, the father said to his servants (Par. 22).
mala gaṇa putrasi jawāb dita, the father gave answer to the elder son (Par. 31).

In two cases the Agentive case is formed by the addition of the postposition *na* (compare the Hindostānī *nē*). This postposition is more often used to form a dative, and in the first of the two instances it is employed in both senses :—

putre-na le-na aṛī, the son said to him (Par. 21).
le-na lāsi aṛī, he said to him (Par. 27).

Closely allied to the Agentive is the Instrumental case. One example of it occurs in the Parable, in which it is formed by the postposition *ni* :—

ao lemaji odasta-ni marā gam, I am dying here of hunger (Par. 17).

The Dative case has been already dealt with in connexion with the termination *asi*. As just stated, it is also formed with the help of the postposition *na*. Thus :

le-na aṛī, said to him (Par. 21).

This dative form is also (as in other languages) employed to make a definite accusative, as in :—

lemaṇ-na breḍa jāmā-na anā, bring ye for him the good garment (Par. 22).

Formation of the Plural.—The plural is often the same as the singular. This is especially the case when a noun ends in *a* or *ā*, but there are also other cases :—

mala, fathers (sing. *mala*) (L. 106) ; *kuᵉra*, horses (sing. *kuᵉra*) (L. 140) ; *sanā*, dogs (sing. *sanā*) (L. 148).

panā, in *pado-manzum panā tsiyā*, put ye a shoe (or shoes) on his foot (or feet), may be either singular or plural (Par. 22).

osē, deer (sing. *osē*) (L. 155).

az ȯrōke stōre (sing. *stōre*) *tīna*, to-day there are many stars (L. 64).

myāna khāna-manzum brōk braḍē sirē (sing. *sirē*) *tīna*, in my house there are many good women (L. 130).

lema-ma lē rūpai (sing. *rūpai*) *aohhēto*, take those rupees from him (L. 235).

le ādam tānu māl (sing. *māl*) *tsarū ti*, that man is grazing his cattle (L. 229).

dē, daughters (sing. *dē*) (L. 115). *dēn*, cows (sing. *dēn*) (L. 145). *gō*, bulls (sing. *gō*) (L. 144).

le myāna dē panzi sansar (sing. *sansar*) *tē*, this my daughter is fifteen years (old) (L. 111).

lema Kābula-manzum sawe baṛē (sing. *baṛē*) *khārābu tīna*, in Kabul all mares are bad (L. 141).

Sometimes *a* is added to form the plural. Thus :—

ek adᵉmas do putᵉra (sing. *putᵉr*) *wāna*, a certain man had two sons (Par. 11).

ohāna mala thāna-manzum katisi putᵉra tīna, how many sons are there in thy father's house (L. 223) ?

le ādᵉma (sing. *ādᵉm*) *khārab tīna*, those men are bad (L. 29). Cf. *ādᵉmo*, below.

tā tro ādᵉmes kokkyar tīza, you three men are clever (L. 23).

braḍa adama (sing. *adam*) *lema khār-manzum brōk tīna*, there are many good men in this town (L. 124).

Sometimes the plural ends in *e* or *ē*. This is especially a feminine ending, but it may also be masculine. Thus :—

tsālē (sing. *tsālī*), she-goats (L. 152).

chāna sanās dante (sing. *dant*) *brōk trighna tīna*, the teeth of thy dog are very sharp (L. 146).

The word *wrani* is plural, but I do not know the singular. It occurs in *prēgī wrani tsarai*, sent (him) to feed (?) sheep. I presume that the word means 'sheep,' and that it has been used, in order to avoid giving offence by using the word for 'swine.' Compare the Ormuṛī *wrai*, a sheep. In Paṣhtō, the same word means 'lamb.'

The plural ends in *o* in *mēn samo tre ādᵉmo khārasi da bazam*, we three men all go to the town (L. 17). Compare, however, *ādᵉma*, above. In *muzdurāno*, servants (Par. 17), *o* has been added to a Paṣhtō or Persian plural. In two other words *a* is similarly added instead of *o*. These are *ukhāna* (sing. *ukh*), camels, and *marghāna* (sing. *marghā*), birds. With *ukhāna*, compare the Paṣhtō *ukhān*, oblique *ukhāno*.

The *Oblique Plural* ends in *an*. Thus :—

braḍa adaman thāna sūra tīna, the houses of the good men are small (L. 125).

sawa braḍa adaman le khabar dē-o, give the news to all good men (L. 126).

wranin khō, (?) the food of the sheep (Par. 16). Here the meaning of *khō* is doubtful. Regarding the meaning of *wrani*, see above.

sawa brijan-ma le brij kaza ti, that is the highest of all towers (L. 137).

In the following the oblique plural ends in *ī*, apparently a singular form – *chāna māl-maṭā strīzī* (sing. nom. *strīza*) *khum chi kere*, he wasted thy substance on females (Par. 30).

Sometimes we find an oblique plural ending, as in Persian in *ān*. Thus:—

gaṇa puṭ'r tsakalān-manzum wā, the elder son was in the fields (Par. 25).

sawa thānān-ma chāna thān braḍa ti, thy house is the best of all houses (L. 134).

It ends in *āna* in *tānu dōstāna sama*, with my friends (Par. 29).

At other times we have the Paṣhtō oblique plural in *ānō*. Thus:—

tānu mazdūrānō khum mē sama karē, make me equal among thy servants (Par. 19). Compare the nominative plural *mazdurāno* (Par. 17) mentioned above.

In the following we have *-gāna*, which may be compared with the Paṣhtō *-gānō*:—

lētik sansaragāna chāna khidmat au da karem, for so many years I am doing thy service (Par. 29).

In this connexion also may be mentioned the irregular noun *dē*, a daughter, which has *dun* for its oblique plural, as well as for its oblique singular (L. 116-118). Thus, *myāna dun umar*, the age of my daughters (L. 116). As already stated, it seems probable that *dun* is properly only plural, and, that when used for the singular, it is simply an instance of carelessness.

On the other hand, the singular is often used instead of the plural, as in:—

domāma āwāz, the sound of drums (Par. 26).

lema tre bad'na (plural) *malasi* (plural) *khabar ut ti*, information has come from the fathers of these three children (L. 109).

pade-manzum (sing. nom *padā*) *panā tsiyā*, put ye shoes (or a shoe) on his feet (or foot) (Par. 22).

The use of the singular form *malasi* for the plural ablative is further illustrated by the following examples, in which the singular termination *asi* reappears as *si* added to the plural oblique case:—

dunsi, to or from daughters (L. 117-8).

le adam tānu tsakalānsi prēgī, that man sent (him) to his fields (Par. 15).

braḍa adamansi khabar ut ti, news has come from good men (L. 127).

mala tānu naukarānosi aṛī, the father said to his servants (Par. 22). In this example, the termination *si* has been added to a borrowed Paṣhtō form.

Subject to the foregoing remarks, the following paradigms may be quoted from the Standard List of Words and Sentences (Nos. 101-9, 119-127, 110-8):—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	*mala*, a father.	*mala*.
Gen.	*malas*	*mála*.
Dat.	*malasi*	*málasi*.
Abl.	*mala-ma*	*malasi*.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	*braḍa adam*, a good man	*braḍa adama.*
Gen.	*braḍa adamas*	*braḍa adaman*
Dat.	*braḍa adamasi*	*braḍa adaman.*
Abl.	*braḍa adama-ma*	*braḍa adamansi*
Nom.	*dē*, a daughter	*dē.*
Gen.	*dē*	*dun.*
Dat.	*dēsi*	*dunsi.*
Abl.	*dunsi* (? plural).	*dunsi.*

Other relations of time or place are indicated with the aid of postpositions. Of these, the following have been noted :—

bōgḫa, near, governing the dative, as in :—

ḫkā thānasi bōgḫa ō, when he came near the house (Par. 25).

bāhr, outside, governing the ablative, as in :—

ao chāna hukum-ma bāhr nā gim, I did not go outside (*i.e.*, disobey) thy command (Par. 29).

dapāra, for the sake of, borrowed from Paṣhtō, and governing the general oblique case, as in :—

te lema dapāra breḍa baṯsa kukḫto, for his sake thou slaughteredst the good calf (Par. 30).

ḫkum. The general meaning of this seems to be 'on', but there are other derivative meanings. It governs the general oblique case :—

le zin kuzᵉra dāh ḫkum thā, put the saddle on the horse's back (L. 227).

lema adᵉmas putᵉr ḫkum mē brok dutina kere tina, I have made many stripes on that man's son (L. 228).

le ādem tāna māl brekḫta ḫkāra ḫkum ṯsarā ti, that man is grazing his cattle on the top of the hill (L. 229)

le ādam kuzᵉra dāka ḫkum spāra ga, that man is mounted on a horse's back (L. 230).

chāna māl-maṭā strzi ḫkum chi kere, wasted thy property on females (Par. 30).

ao az gana panda ḫkum gā wāma, I went on a long way to-day (L. 224).

lē gana putᵉr gḫussā ḫkum gā, the elder son became on anger (*i.e.*, became angry) (Par. 28).

le adam dama ḫkum tare, bind that man with a rope (L. 236).

mē suro wāma lema wakta ḫkum, at that time I was small (L. 162).

le adam dūr wa galiz wakta ḫkum, that man was away at the time of theft (L. 164).

tānu mazdūrāno ḫkum mē sama karē, make me like (one) among thy servants (Par. 19).

ḫkarē, near, with, governing the general oblique case, as in :—

tē mēḫka mē ḫkarē wē, thou wast always with me (Par. 31).

lā ḫkare natī gā (Par. 15) appears to mean 'took refuge near him,' but is doubtful.

ma is usually a postposition of the ablative. It is added to the general oblique case. Thus :—

an lema kursi-ma uthum, I stand up from this chair (L. 82).

mala-ma, from a father (L. 104).

braḍa udama-ma khabar ut ti, news has come from a good man (L. 122).

lema-ma lā rūpai achhito, take those rupees from him (L. 235).

kuī-ma uwa prēla, draw water from the well (L. 227).

lema-ma lā brok braḍe wa, from this (*i.e.*, because) he was very well (Par. 27).

We have ablatives of comparison in :—

myāna-ma chāna thān braḍa ti, thy house is better than mine (L. 133).

sawa thānān-ma chāna thān braḍa ti, thy house is better than all houses (L. 134).

sawa brijan-ma le brij kaza ti, this tower is higher than all towers (L. 137).

Certain postpositions or prepositions govern the ablative with this *ma*, as in :—

hukum-ma bāhr, outside an order (Par. 29), already quoted.

pas diyan-ma, after beating, *i.e.*, having beaten (L. 178).

This postposition is occasionally found with other meanings, as in :—

lema-ma breḍa jāmā-na anā, bring ye for him the good garment (Par. 22).

lema-ma khabar gā ti, of (*i.e.*, concerning) him it is said (L. 27).

Sometimes it appears to be used to form a genitive, as in :—

te-ma, of thee (L. 21) ; *tā-ma*, of you (L. 24).

lema-ma kram kharāb ti, their business is bad (L. 31). It is, however, impossible to be certain about the first two without any context, and the last sentence perhaps means 'owing to them the business is bad'.

manzum, in, with other derived meanings. It is used with the general oblique case. Thus :—

le mulke-manzum brōk grānī wē, a great famine happened in that land (Par. 14).

le wṛe-manzum le khiyāl wa, in his heart there was this thought (Par. 16). So *lā tānu ōre-manzum aṛī*, he said in his heart (Par. 17).

chāna nazar-(or *nazaram-*) *manzum gunagār bēm*, I am a sinner in thy sight (Par. 18, 21).

az myāna thāna-manzum ek dēn m'ra gā lē, to-day a cow has died in my house (L. 83).

myāna thāna-manzum brōk braḍe sirē tīna, there are many good women in my house (L. 130).

lema Jaba-manzum sawa kuz'ra braḍē tīna, in Jaba all the horses are good (L. 140).

lema Kābula-manzum sawe baṛē kharāba tīna, in Kābul all the mares are bad (L. 141).

chāna mala thāna-manzum katiśi put'ra tīna, how many sons are there in thy father's house ? (L. 223).

le parána kuz'ras zin myāna thāna-manzum, in my house (is) the saddle of the white horse (L. 226).

le sān gana put'r tsakalān-manzum wā, his eldest son was in the fields (Par. 25).

lema asto-manzum angur tsiya, pade-manzum panā tsiya, put ye a ring on his hand, put ye shoes on his feet (Par. 22).

to suro wāz jango wakta-manzum, thou wast small at the time of fighting (L. 163).

lema-manzum sūrē, the younger from among them (Par. 12).

myāna māla-manzum ki hissa owē, from in the property the share which comes as mine (Par. 12).

pas, after, is used both as a preposition and as a postposition. When used as a preposition, it governs the ablative case, as in *pas dīyan-ma*, after beating (L. 178). When used as a postposition, it governs the general oblique case, as in *ṯsuk^a daze pas*, after a few days (Par. 13).

patī, after, governs the general oblique case, as in:—

lema patī mala tarafe u, after that he came towards the father (Par. 20).

patīkana, behind, governs the genitive in:—

chana patīkana kāmik badāna da ē, whose boy comes behind thee? (L. 239).

sama, with, together with, governs the dative in:—

ki tānu dōstāna sama khushālī kere, that I made merry with my friends (Par. 29).

It gives the force of a dative in:—

mē sama (or *masī*) *munāsib*, proper for me (Par. 19, 21).

It seems to mean 'equal to' in:—

tānu mazdūrāno khum mē sama karē, make me equal to thy servants (Par. 19).

tōna, under, probably governs the general oblique case, as in *brichai tōna*, under a tree (L. 230).

waza, under, may be used in the above sentence instead of *tōna* (L. 230).

Nouns Adjective.

Adjectives appear sometimes to change for gender and number, but the available materials are not sufficient for laying down any general rules. All that can now be said is that the termination *e* or *ē* occurs most frequently in the case of adjective agreeing with feminine nouns or with masculine plural nouns. But this is by no means a universal rule. For this reason, it is best to give here simply a list of all the adjectives noted, with the context in which they occur.

odasta, hungry, in *lā brōk odasta gā*, he became very hungry (Par. 14).

braḍa or *breḍa*, good. Used attributively in:—

le breḍa ādᵃm ti, he is a good man (L. 26).

breḍa jāmā-na anā, bring ye the good garment (Par. 22)

breḍa baṯga, the good calf (Par. 23, 27, 30).

Judging from L. 119-127, when this word is used attributively, it does not change in masculine declension.

For the feminine singular, we have *braḍa strē*, a good woman, and for the feminine plural, we have *myāna thāna-manzum brōk braḍē strē ṯina*, in my house there are many good women (L. 130).

This word is used predicatively in :—

chāna thān braḍa ti, thy house is good (L. 22).

az surē braḍa ti, today the sun is bright (L. 62).

myāna thāna-ma chana thān braḍa ti, thy house is better than mine (L. 133, so 134).

We have *braḍe* or *braḍē*, instead of *braḍa*, in the following :—

lā brok braḍe wa, he was very well (Par. 27).

dīyan braḍe na ti, it is not good to beat. In both these cases *braḍe* is masculine singular. It is masculine plural in :—

lema Jaba-manzum sawa kuz^ra braḍē tīna, in Jaba all the horses are good (L. 140).

lema sawa braḍe tīna, they are all good (L. 161).

brok or *brōk*, much, many. Used attributively in :

brōk grānā (fem.) *wē*, there was a great famine (Par. 14).

myāna mala lā sūrē thāna-manzum brōk umar langā ti, my father is living in that small house for a long time (L. 233).

myāna mal^ brōk muzdurāno wāna, there were many servants of my father (Par. 17).

myāna thāna-manzum brōk braḍē strē tīna, in my house there are many good women (L. 130).

We have *brōke* in :—

az brōke stōre tīna, to-day there are many stars (L. 64).

The word is used adverbially, in the sense of 'very', in :—

lā brōk odasta gā, he became very hungry (Par. 15).

mē brōk gunagar tim, I am very sinful (Par. 21).

lā brok braḍe wa, he was very well (Par. 27).

chāna sanās dante brōk trighna tīna, the teeth of thy dog are very sharp (L. 146).

le adam brok do, beat that man well (L. 236).

bēwukūf, in *te bēwukūf tis*, thou art a fool (L. 157).

dūr, far. Used attributively in :—

lā be gā dūr mulkasi, and he went to a far country (Par. 13).

Predicatively in :—

lā dūr wa mala bīchī, he was far, the father saw him (Par. 20).

le adam dūr wa galiz wakta khum, that man was far away at the time of the theft (L. 164).

gaṇa, great, long, elder, as in :—

so az gaṇa panda khum gā wāma, I walked a long way today (L. 224).

le sān gaṇa put^r tsakalāu-manzum wā, his elder son was in the fields (Par. 25. So 28).

mala gaṇā putrasi jawāb dita, the father gave answer to the elder son (Par. 31).

gar, lost, in :—

le gar gā wa, he had been lost (L. 24. So 32).

kokhyār, clever, in :—

to kokhyār tis, thou art clever (L. 20).

tā tre ād^ma kokhyār tiza, you three men are clever (L. 23).

kāzir, present, in :—

mē kāzir gam, I am present (L. 156).

dāzī kāzir bazum, I shall be present (?)today (L. 173).

lē sawa kāzir wāma, they were all present (L. 167).

jaltī, speedy, quick, as in : –

lā jaltī ā, he came quickly (*i.e.*, he ran) (Par. 20).

jaltī bō, go ye quickly (Par. 22).

jinde, living, alive, in :—

kāla jinde gā, now he became alive (Par. 24, 32).

kaza, high, tall, as in :—

lema brijasī le kaza ti, this tower is higher than that (L. 136).

sawa brijan-ma le brij kaza ti, this tower is higher than all towers (L. 137).

lemas spazunsi le adᵃmas brā kaza ti, that man's brother is taller than his sister (L. 231).

kharāb, bad, attributive, as in :—

kharāb badani, a bad boy (L. 129).

ek kharāb kumār, a bad girl (L. 131).

Predicatively in :—

le ādᵃma kharāb tīna, those men are bad (L. 29).

lema-ma kram kharāb ti, their business is bad (L. 31).

tao sawa khārābe tiza, you are all bad (L. 160).

lema Kābula-manzum sawe barē khārāba (fem. pl.) *tīna*, in Kābul all mares are bad (L. 141).

khushāl, happy, in *urē khushāl gā*, the heart became happy (Par. 32).

loī, red, in *loī zar*, red precious metal, *i.e.*, gold (L. 45).

munāsib, proper, as in :—

mē sama (or *masi*) *munāsib nā ti*, it is not proper for me (Par. 19, 21).

khushālī karan munasib wa, it was proper to make rejoicing (Par. 32).

parána, white, as in :—

parana zar, white precious metal, *i.e.*, silver (L. 46).

le parána kuzᵃras zēn, the saddle of the white horse (L. 226).

sura, sūrē, sure, small, younger. Attributively in :—

lema-manzum sūrē putᵃr mala dītanas, from among them, the younger son said to his father (Par. 12).

tsukᵃ daze pas sūre putᵃr tānu māl jama kere, after a few days the younger son collected his property (Par. 13).

myāna mala lā sūrē thāna-manzum brōk umar langā ti, my father is living a long time in that small house (L. 233).

le surē (fem.) *myāna dē tē*, this little one is my daughter (L. 36).

Used predicatively in :—

lemo thān sura ti, his house is small (L. 28).

mē sūro [sic] *wāma lema wakta khum*, at that time I was small (L. 162).

to suro [sic] *wāz fango wakta-manzum*, at the time of fighting thou wast small (L. 163).

It will be observed that in the predicative examples, the final vowel is *a* or *o*, not *ē*.

saw, sawa, all, as in :—

lā saw māl chiz kere, he wasted all his substance (Par. 14).

lema Jaba-manzum sawa kuz"ra braḍē tīna, in Jaba all horses are good (L. 140).

sawa braḍa adaman le khabar dē-o, give the news to all good men (L. 126).

sawa thānān-ma chana thān braḍa ti, thy house is better than all houses (L 134)

sawa brijan-ma le brij kaza ti, this tower is higher than all towers (L. 137).

lema Kabula-manzum sawe baṛē (fem. pl.) *kharāba tina*, in Kābul all mares are bad (L. 141).

This word is often used to indicate a plural, as in :—

āo sawa gharībane tima, we (all) are poor (L. 159)

tao sawa kharabe tiza, you (all) are bad (L. 160).

lema sawa braḍe tina, they (all) are good (L. 161).

tao sawa bōgha wāma, you (all) were near by (L. 166).

lē sawa hāzir wāma, they (all) were present (L. 167).

trighna, sharp, as in :—

chāna sanās dante brōk trighna tina, the teeth of thy dog are very sharp (L. 146).

tsuk", a few, as in *tsuk" daze pas*, after a few days (Par. 13).

Pronouns.

The pronoun of the **First Person** appears under the following forms :—

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	*ao, au*, or *mē*, I.	*ao, āo, mōn.*
Agent.	*mē.*	*ao.*
Gen.	*myāna,*	*mydna.*
	masi-da, da mē.	*masī.*
Dat.	*masi*, (?) *mē sama.*	...
Obl.	*mē.*	...

The following are examples of the use of the above forms :—

Singular Nominative.

ao lemaji odasta-ni marā gam, I am dying here of hunger (Par. 17).

ao chāna hukum-ma bāhr nā gim, I went not outside thy command (Par. 29).

ao ditam, I strike (L. 179).

ao az gaṇa panda khum gā wāma, I walked a long way to-day (L 224)

ki chāna put"r au dēm, that I may be thy son (Par. 19, 21).

chāna khidmat au da kerem, I am doing thy service (Par. 29).

mē tānu malasi bazam, I will go to my father (Par. 18).

mē āsmān be chāna nazar manzum gunagār bēm, I am a sinner in the sight of heaven and of thee (Par. 18. So 21).

mē kazir gam, I am present (L. 156).

mē suro wāma lema wakta khum, at that time I was small (L. 162).

mē dēma, I am beating (L. 191). *mē ba-dēm*, I shall beat (L. 195).

Agentive.

mē dita wa, I struck (L. 184).

mē le adam diyanasi dita wa, I gave that man for a beating (*i.e.*, to be beaten) (L. 177).

lema adᵘmas putᵘr khum mē brok dītina kere tēna, by me many blows have been made on that man's son (L. 228).

Genitive.

wranin kkō myāna shpun bē khō, (?) the food of the sheep (is) also the food of me the shepherd. The meaning of this sentence is doubtful (Par. 16).

myāna mē-kana bo, walk before me (L. 238).

This *myāna* is more generally employed as a possessive pronoun. When so used, it does not change for gender, number, or case. Thus:—

le myāna putᵘr muṛa gā wa, this my son had died (Par. 24).

myāna mala lā sūrē thāna manzum brōk umar langā ti, my father lives for a long time in that small house (L. 234).

le strē myāna khāna tē, this woman is my wife (L. 53).

lē surē myāna dē tē, this little girl is my daughter (L. 56).

myāna malᵘ brōk mazdurāno wāna, there were many servants of my father (Par. 17).

az myāna thāna-manzum ek dēn nᵘra gā tē, to-day a cow has died in my house (L. 83. So 130, 226).

myāna trōras putᵘr le myāna spazam manas ti, the son of my uncle is married to my sister (L. 225).

myāna dunsi khat ut ti, a letter has come from my daughter (L. 113).

myāna dun umar, the age of my daughters (L. 116).

Used predicatively, we have:—

myāna māla-manzum ki hissa owē, amongst the property the share which comes (as) mine (Par. 12).

kassa myāna wa, whatever was mine (Par. 31).

Sometimes *myāna* is preceded by the demonstrative pronoun *le*, without affecting the meaning, as in:—

le myāna dē panzi sansar tē, my daughter is fifteen years (old), (L. 111). So *le myāna spazam* given above. But compare *le myāna putᵘr*, this my son (Par. 24).

Note that in *myāna spazam*, already twice quoted, not only is *myāna* prefixed to the noun, but the pronominal suffix *am* appears also to be added to the end of the noun. This, however is the only example of this pronominal suffix, if it really is such. The whole phrase is *myana spazam manas ti*, and the final *m* of *spazam* may possibly be explained as a doubling of the following *m* in *manas*, as is the case in *nazaram-manzum* explained on p. 269 *ante*.

Sometimes the Pashtō preposition *da*, of, is used to form the genitive of this pronoun. The only examples are in L. 15, where we have *masi-da* or *da mē* given as equivalent to 'of me'.

Dative.

lā masi dē, give that to me (Par. 12).

tē masi tsālē ṭsindar nā dīta, thou didst not give to me a goat's kid (Par. 29).

masi (or *mē-sama*) *munāsib nā ti*, it is not proper for me (Par. 19, 21).

Oblique.

mē-sama mumāsib, as above.

da mē, of me, as above.

tē mēkka mē kharē wō, thou wast always with me (Par. 31).

Plural Nominative.

ao dē kam (? *khām*) *khushali karem*, let us eat, let us make rejoicing (Par. 23).

pas diyan-ma ao gōma, after beating we went away (L. 178).

āo sawa gharibāne tima, we are all poor (L. 159). Similarly, *āo sawa wāma*, we all were (L. 165); *ao ditama*, we beat (L. 182); *ao ba dōma*, we shall beat (L. 198); *ao gā wāma*, we go (? went) (L. 208).

mēn samo tre ādᵊmo khārasi da bazam, we three men all go to the town (L. 17).

Agentive.

ao mī-kana dita wāma, we struck formerly (L. 188).

Genitive.

The only authorities for *masī* and *myāna*, the genitives plural, are those in L. 18, 19.

I have no information as to the dative and oblique plurals of this pronoun.

The pronoun of the **Second Person** appears under the following forms:—

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	*tu, to, te, tō*, thou.	*tu, tao, tā*.
Agent.	*te, tō*.	*tā*.
Gen.	*chāna*, (verily thine) *chānam*, *te-ma*.	*chāna*. *tā-ma*.
Dat.	...	...
Obl.	*te, tē*.	*tā*.

The following are examples of the use of the above forms:—

Singular Nominative.

tu de gā wāza, thou goest (? wentest) (L. 206).

to hokhyār tis, thou art clever (L. 20).

to suro wāz jango wakta kkum, at the time of fighting thou wast small (L. 163).

te bēwukūf tis, thou art foolish (L. 157).

te ditana, thou strikest (L. 182).

te ba dēm, thou wilt strike (L. 197).

tē mēkha mē kharē wē, thou wast ever with me (Par. 31).

Agentive.

te lema dapāra breda batsa kukhto, thou slaughteredst for him the good calf (Par. 30).

te dita wa, thou struckest (L. 186).

te le bāna kāma adamasi achita ti, from whom have you bought that? (L. 240).

tē masi tsālī tsiadar nā dita, thou didst not give to me a she-goat's kid (Par. 29).

Genitive.

chāna patᵊr-kāna kāmik badāna da ē, whose boy comes at the back of thee (*i. e.* behind thee) (L. 239).

This *chāna* is more often employed as a possessive pronoun When so used, it does not change for gender, number, or case. Thus:—

chāna putᵊr au dōm, (it is not proper that) I should be thy son (Par. 19, 21).

chāna brā ŭ ti, thy brother is come (Par. 27).

chāna khidmat au da kerem, I am doing thy service (Par. 29).

chana lā puiʷr ō, this thy son came (Par. 30).

chāna māl-maṭa strīzē khum chi kere, wasted thy substance on females (Par. 30).

chana brā muṛa gā wa, thy brother had died (Par. 32).

chāna thān braḍa ti, thy house is good (L. 22).

chāna nām ki ti, what is thy name (L. 220).

chāna mala lā breḍa baṭsa kukhṭo, by thy father the good calf was slaughtered (Par. 27).

chana sanās dante brōk trighna tīwa, the teeth of thy dog are very sharp (L. 146).

chāna kuzʷra umar kaṭēsi ti, how much is the age of thy horse (L. 221)?

chāna nazar (or *nazaram*)-*manzum gunagār bōm*, in thy sight I am a sinner (Par. 18, 21).

chāna mala thāna-manzum, in thy father's house (L. 223).

ao chāna hukum-ma bāhr nā gim, I did not go outside thy command (Par. 29).

kasa myāna wa, lā chānam ti, whatever was mine, that is thine verily (=Urdū *tērā-hē*) (Par. 31).

The ablative seems also to be used with the force of the genitive, as in *te-ma*, of thee (L. 21), *tā-ma*, of you (L. 24). There are, however, no examples of these forms. See the remarks above (p. 275 *ante*) in connexion with the postposition *ma*.

Plural Nominative.

tu de ga wāza, you go (? you went) (L. 209).

tao sawa khārābe tiza, you are all bad (L. 160).

tao sawa bōgha wāma, you were all near by (L. 166).

tā tre ādʷma hokhyār tiza, you three men are clever (L. 23).

tā dītama, you beat (L. 183); *tā ba dēma*, you will beat (Par. 199).

Agentive.

tā mi-kana dita wa, formerly you struck (L. 189).

The List of Words gives *chāna* as meaning 'your' as well as 'thy', (L. 25), and (L. 24) gives *tā-ma*, an ablative form, for 'of you', corresponding to the *te-ma* of the singular. But, as in the case of the singular, there are no examples of the use of these forms.

From the above accounts of these two pronouns, we gather that the oblique forms and the direct forms are often confused, one being used instead of the other, and that the singular forms are commonly used as plurals. The true division of the forms seems to be as follows :—

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Direct.	Oblique.	Direct.	Oblique.
First person.	*ao, au.*	*mē.*	? *ao.*	*mēn.*
Second person.	*tu, to.*	*te, tō.*	*tao.*	*tā.*

The **Demonstrative Pronoun** is *le, lā*, or *lema*, this, that, he. Judging from the available examples, there do not appear to be separate words for 'this' and for 'that', though we might expect that *le* was used for the one, and *lā* for the other. In the examples, *lema* is not used for the nominative singular, and seems to be used only in the

oblique cases of the singular and generally in the plural. *Le* or *lā* is also used where we should employ the definite article, and is also found prefixed to possessive pronouns and to place-names, where we should omit any demonstrative pronoun. The pronoun is used both as a pronoun and as a pronominal adjective, without distinction of form. The following are the forms found in the examples :—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	*le, lā,* this, that, he.	*le, lā, lema.*
Agent.	*le, lā, le-na.*	*le, lān.*
Acc.	*le, lā, lās.*	*lā.*
Gen.	*le,* (?) *le sān, lā, lema, lemo, lemas.*	*lema-ma.*
Dat.	*le, lesi, lāsi, lās, le-na, lemas.*	...
Obl.	*le, lā, lema.*	*lema.*

The following are examples of the use of these forms :—

Singular Nominative.

ure-manzum le khāyāl wa, in the heart was this thought (Par. 15).
te le bāna kāma adamasi aokita ti, from what man was that (?)thing bought by thee (L. 240)?
le strē myāna khāna tē, this woman is my wife (L. 53).
le kī gā ti, what is this that has happened (Par. 26) ?
le breḍa ādᵉm ti, he is a good man (L. 26).
le gar gā wa, he had been lost (Par. 24).
le bēwukūf ti, he is foolish (L. 158).
le dita ti, he beats (L. 181) ; *le ba dōm,* he will beat (L. 197) ; *le gā wa,* he goes (? he went) (L. 207).
chāna la putᵉr ō, this thy son came (Par. 30).
kasa myāna wa, lā chānam ti, whatever was mine, that is thine verily (Par. 31).
lā bē gā dūr mulkasi, and he went to a far country (Par. 13).
lā brōk odasta gā, he became very hungry (Par. 14).
ek adᵉma lā khare natī gā, he (?) took refuge near a man (Par. 15).
la dūr wa . . . lā jaltī ū, he was distant . . . he came quickly (Par. 20).
lema-ma lā brok braḍa wa, because he was very well (Par. 27).

Agentive.

le malasi jawāb dita, by him answer was given to the father (Par. 29).
le mi-kana dōta wa, formerly he struck (L. 187).
la māla taksīm kere, by him division of the property was made (Par. 12).
lā saw māl ohiz kere, by him all the property was wasted (Par. 14).
lā tanu ōre-manzum arē, by him it was said in his heart (Par. 17).
le-na lāsi arē, by him it was said to him (Par. 27).

Accusative.

le khat malasi dēm, I give this letter to a father (L. 103).
le rūpai le adamasi dē, give this rupee to him (L. 234).
le pānu, clothe ye him (Par. 22).
lā masi dē, give that to me (Par. 12).

lās kukkto, slaughter it (Par. 23). Here the dative (like the Hindōstānī *us-kō*) is used as a definite accusative.

Genitive.

le uṛe-manzum le khiyāl wa, in his heart this thought was (Par. 16).

le adᵐmas brā, the brother of that man (L. 231).

lā azi (fem.) *achhite*, took his mouth, *i e.*, kissed him (Par. 20).

le sān gaṇa putᵐr tsakalān-manzum wā, his elder son was in the fields (Par. 25). The translation of *le sān* by 'his' is very doubtful. This is the only passage where the form occurs, and there are no analogies.

lema asto-manzum angur tsiya, put ye a ring on his hand (Par. 22).

lemo thōn sura ti, his house is small (L. 27).

lemas ṣpazunsi le adᵐmas brā kaza ti, that man's brother is taller than his sister (L. 231).

lemas shisi dowaḍi rūpai kimat ti, the price of that thing is two and a half rupees (L. 232).

Note that in the two instances in which we have *lemas*, that word is, in each case, followed by a word beginning with *s*. It is possible that the final *s* of *lemas* is merely a doubling of the *s* that follows, like the *m* in *nazaram*, and that *t* in *brichat*, to which attention is drawn on p. 269 *ante*.

Dative.

le rūpai le adamasi dē, give this rupee to that man (L. 234).

lesi bo aram, I will say to him (Par. 18).

lāsi kī nā dila, no one gave to him (Par. 16).

lās pukhlā kere, made conciliation to him (Par. 28). Compare the remarks above about *lās* used as a definite accusative.

le-na lāsi aṛi, by him to him it was said (Par. 27).

putre-na le-na aṛi by the son to him it was said (Par. 21). Regarding the form *le-na*,—here a dative, and in the preceding passage an agentive,—see the remarks about *na* on p. 271 *ante*.

lemas tsēr kere, asked to (*i.e.*, from) him (Par. 26).

Oblique.

le mulke-manzum brōk grāni (fem.) *wē*, in that country there became a great famine (Par. 14). So *le mulke-manzum* in Par. 15.

le pakīrasi ek āna dē, give one anna to the faqīr (L. 84).

lā pōre, after that (Par. 14).

lā sūrē thana-manzum, in that small house (L. 233).

au lema kursi-ma uthum, I rise from this chair (L. 82).

lema jaisi Kashmīr katēsi dūr ti, how far is Kashmīr from this place (L. 222)?

lema brijasi le kaza ti, this tower is higher than that (L. 136).

lema patī mala tarafe ā, after that he came in the direction of the father (Par. 20).

lema-ma breḍa jāmā-na anā, bring ye for him the good garment (Par. 22).

lema-ma lā rūpai achhito, take those rupees from him (L. 235).

lema-ma khabar gā ti, of (*i. e.*, concerning) him it is said (L. 27).

lema-ma, from this, also='because'. Thus, *lema-ma lā brok braḍe wa*, because he was very well (Par. 27).

te lema dapāra breḍa batsa kukhto, thou for his sake slaughteredst the good calf (Par. 30).

Plural Nominative.

leād^ma khārāb tīna, those men are bad (L. 29).

le ditama, they beat (L. 184); *le ba dēma*, they will beat (L. 200).

lē sawa kāsir wāma, they were all present (L. 167).

lema sawa brāḍe tīna, they are all good (L. 161).

Agentive.

le mā-kana dita wama, formerly they struck (L. 190).

tanu khushalī lān kere, by them their own rejoicing was made, *i. e.*, they made their rejoicing (Par. 24).

Accusative.

lema-ma lā rūpai achhito, take those rupees from him (L. 235).

Genitive.

lema tre bad^na malasi khabar ut ti, information has come from the fathers of these three children (L. 109).

lema-ma kram kharāb ti, their business is bad (L. 31). This is doubtful. See the remarks on p. 275 *ante*.

Oblique.

lema-manzum sūrē put^r mala aitana, from among them the younger son said to the father (Par. 12).

The following are examples of the use of this pronoun as a definite article:—

le pakīrasi ek āna dē, give one anna to the faqīr (L. 84).

le parāna kuz^ras zīn, the saddle of the white horse (L. 226).

le zīn kuz^ra dāk khum thā, put the saddle on the horse's back (L. 227).

le kila ek banyā-ma achhita ti, I have bought (it) from a shopkeeper of the village (L. 241).

chāna mala lā breḍa batna kukhlo, thy father slaughtered the good calf (Par. 27).

lā gana put^r ghussā khum gā, the elder son became in anger (Par. 28).

The words *le adam*, that man, are often used to mean simply 'he'. Thus:—

le adam tānu tsakalānsi prēgī, he sent (him) to his fields (Par. 15).

le adam dūr wa galiz wakta khum, he was away at the time of theft (L. 164).

mē le adam diyanasi dita wa, I gave that man (*or* him) to be beaten (L. 177).

le ādam tāna māl tsarū ti, he is grazing his cattle (L. 229).

le ādam kuz^ra dāka khum spāra gā, he is sitting on a horse's back (L. 230).

le adam brok do, beat him well (L. 236).

le ad^mas brā, his brother (L. 231).

le rūpai le adamasi dē, give that rupee to him (L. 234).

lema ad^mas put^r khum mē brok ditina kere tīna, I have made many stripes on his son (L. 228).

le ād^ma khārāb tīna, they are bad (L. 29).

The following are examples of this pronoun prefixed to a possessive pronoun:—

le myāna put^r muṛa gā wa, this my son had died (Par. 24). Here the demonstrative pronoun has its proper force, but in the following it does not require representation in English:—

le myāna dē panzā sansar tē, my daughter is fifteen years (old) (L. 110).

myāna trōrae putʷr le myāna spasam manas ti, the son of my uncle is married to my sister (L. 225).

Somewhat similarly this pronoun is prefixed to place-names, as in:

lema Jaba-manzum sawa kuzʷra braḍē tēna, in Jaba all horses are good (L. 140).

lema Kābula-manzum sawe baṛē kharāba tina, in Kābul all mares are bad (L. 141).

The **Reflexive Possessive Pronoun** is *tānu*, own, which, like the Hindostānī *apná*, always refers to the logical subject of the sentence. It does not seem to change for gender, number, or case, unless the form *tāna*, which occurs once (L. 229), is a plural in agreement with a plural noun (*māl*=cattle). The following are examples of its use:

mē tānu malasi bazam, I will go to my father (Par. 18).

ki tānu dōstāna sama khushālē kere, that I (might have) made rejoicing with my friends (Par. 29).

tānu mazdūrāno khum mē sama karō, make me equal among thy servants (Par. 19).

ovra putʷr tānu māl jama kere . . . . tānu mālas badmāshi khum chi kere, the younger son collected his property . . . . wasted his property in debauchery (Par. 13).

ek tānu naukaris ga ti, he has gone to one of his servants (Par. 26).

lā tānu ōre-manzum aṛē, he said in his heart (Par. 17).

mala tānu naukarānosi aṛi, the father said to his servants (Par. 22).

le adam tanu tsakalānsi prēgi, that man sent (him) to his fields (Par. 15).

tanu khushālī lān kere, they made their rejoicing (Par. 24).

le ādam tāna māl brēkhta khāra khum tsarū ti, that man is grazing his cattle on the top of the hill (L. 229). Here, as above remarked, *tāna* is perhaps plural, in agreement with *māl*.

The **Relative Pronoun** is *ki*, who, which, as in:—

chāna lā putʷr ō, ki chāwa māl-maḍā strizī khum chi kere, this thy son came, who wasted thy substance on females (Par. 30).

myāna māla-manzum ki hissa ovē, amongst the property the share which comes as mine (Par. 12).

The **Interrogative Pronoun** is *kāma*, who?, the genitive of which is *kāmik*, whose? The neuter is *ki*, what? The following are examples of this pronoun: –

le adam kāma ti, who is that man (L. 92)?

te le bāna kāma adamasi achhita ti, from what man didst thou buy that (?) thing (L. 240).

chāna patī-kana kāmik badāna da ē, whose boy comes behind thee (L. 239)?

le ki ti, what is this (L. 93)?

chāna nām ki ti, what is thy name (L. 220)?

le kā gā ti, what (is) this (that) has happened (Par. 26)?

ki sawab ti, what cause is it? *i.e.*, why? (L. 94).

The **Indefinite Pronouns** are *kī*, anyone, and *kasa*, whatever. Thus:—

lāsi kī nā dīza, anyone did not give to him (Par. 16). Here it will be observed that *kī* is in the Agentive case.

kasa myāna wa, tō chānam ti, whatever was mine, that is verily thine (Par. 31).

Other **Pronominal Adjectives** are *lētik*, so many; *katēsi*, how much ?; and *katisi*, how many ? Thus :—

lētik sansaragana chāna khidmat au da kerem, for so many years I am doing thy service (Par. 29).

chana kuz°ra umar katēsi, how much is the age of thy horse (L. 221) ?

lema jaisi Kashmīr katēsi dūr ti, from this place how much distant is Kashmīr (L. 222) ?

chāna mala thāna-manzum katisi put°ra tāna, how many sons are there in thy father's house (L. 223) ?

CONJUGATION.

Auxiliary Verbs and Verbs Substantive.—In the present tense, the most common verb substantive is *tim*, I am. It is conjugated as follows :—

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*tim*, I am.	*tima*.
2.	*tis*.	*tiza*.
3.	*ti*; fem. *tē*.	*tāna*.

Examples of its use are :—

brōk gunagār tim, I am a great sinner (Par. 21). In the corresponding passage in verse 18, we have *bēm* (see below) instead of *tim*.

tu kokhyār tis, thou art clever (L. 20).

te bēvukūf tis, thou art a fool (L. 157).

munāsib nē ti, it is not proper (Par. 19, 21).

le breḍa ād°m ti, he is a good man (L. 26).

lemo thān sura ti, his house is small (L. 28).

lema-ma kram kharāb ti, their business is bad (L. 31).

kasa myāna wa, lē chanam ti, whatever was mine, that is thine verily (Par. 31).

as surē braḍa ti, to-day the sun is bright (L. 62).

le bad°na myāna putr ti, this child is my son (L. 54).

chana nām ki ti, what is thy name (L. 220) ?

chāna kuz°ra umar katēsi ti, how much is the age of thy horse (L. 221) ?

lema jaisi Kashmīr katēsi dūr ti, how far is Kashmir from here (L. 222) ?

lemas spazussi le ad°mas brā kaza ti, his brother is taller than his sister (L. 231).

lemas shisi dowaḍā rūpai kimat ti, the price of that thing is two rupees and a half (L. 232).

Possession is indicated in :—

le thān malas ti, this house belongs to the father (L. 102).

For the feminine, we have :—

eka strē tē, there is one woman (L. 52).

le strē myāna khāna tē, that woman is my wife (L. 53).

le surē myāna dē tē, this little one (fem.) is my daughter (L. 56)

le myāna dē panzi sansar tē, my daughter is fifteen years (old) (L. 111).

For the plural, we have:

āo sawa ghārībāna tima, we are all poor (L. 159).

tā tre ādᵐma hokhyār tiza, you three men are all clever (L. 23).

tao sawa khārābe tiza, you are all bad (L. 160).

le ādᵐma khārāb tīna, those men are bad (L. 29).

ax brōke stōre tīna, to-day there are many stars (L. 64).

myāna thāna-manzum brōk braḍē strē tina, in my house there are many good women (L. 130).

lema sawa braḍa tina, they are all good (L. 161).

chāna mala thāna-manzum katisi putᵐra tīna, how many sons are there in thy father's house (L. 223)?

The above are all examples of the use of this verb as a verb substantive. It is also commonly used as an auxiliary verb, helping to form the present definite or the perfect tense. Examples of these uses will be found under the head of these tenses.

The corresponding past tense of the verb substantive is conjugated as follows:—

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*wāma*, I was.	*wāma*.
2.	*wāz*, *wē*.	*wāma*.
3.	*wā* (*wa*); fem. *wē*.	*wana*, *wāma*.

With the above we may compare the Paṣhtō *wu*, he was. It will be noticed that the form *wāma* may be used for any person of the plural. I suspect that this properly belongs to the first person, and that custom allows it to be used optionally for either of the other two persons. It seems also to be likely that the *wāz* of the second person singular, is really a second person plural (compare *tiza*, you are, of the present), and that the original plural forms are therefore (1) *wāma*, (2) *waz* (or *wāza*), and (3) *wāna*. This would bring the conjugation of this tense into line with the present. It is quite common in the languages of this part of the world for the second person singular to be confounded with the second person plural. The following are examples of this tense used as a verb substantive:—

me suro wāma tema wakta khum, at that time I was small (L. 162).

to suro wāz jango wakta-manzum, at the time of fighting thou wast small (L. 163).

tō mēkha mē khare wē, thou wast ever with me (Par. 31).

le adam dūr wa galiz wakta khum, that man was away at the time of theft (L. 164). Similarly Par. 20.

le uṛe-manzum le khiyāl wa, this thought was in his heart (Par. 16).

le sān gaṇa putᵐr tsakalāu-manzum wā, his elder son was in the fields (Par. 25).

lema-ma lā brok braḍe wa, because he was very well (Par. 27).

andarun gāwa uṛe na wā, the heart was not for going (*i.e.*, he did not wish to go) inside (Par. 28).

kasa myāna wa, lā chānum tū, whatever was mine, that is thine verily (Par. 31).

khushāli karan munāsib wa, it was proper to make rejoicing (Par. 32).

le mulke-manzum brōk grānē wē, there was (*i.e.*, became) a great famine (fem.) in that land (Par. 14).

ao sawa wāma, we all were (L. 165).

tao sawa bōgẖa wāma, you were all near by (L. 166).

ek adᵊmas do putᵊra wāna, of a certain man there were two sons (Par. 11).

myāna mala brōk mazdurāno wāna, of my father there were many servants (Par. 17).

le sawa hāzir wāma, they were all present (L. 167).

According to L. 202, 'I am beaten' is translated by *mē dita wāma*. Perhaps this really means 'I was beaten'.

The above are all examples of the use of this tense as a verb substantive. It is also freely used as an auxiliary verb. See below.

There is in Paṣhtō another verb substantive, *dai*, he is, which appears in Tirāhī under the form *dē* (*de*) or *da*. It is almost always employed as an auxiliary verb forming the present tense, and will be fully considered under that head. In Par. 19 and 21, however, there is a word *dēm*, which seems to be the first person singular of this verb, and to mean 'I may be', being distinct from *dēm*, I give, or I beat. The words are the same in both passages. They are *munāsib nā ti ki chana putᵊr au dēm*, it is not proper that I may be thy son.

The irregular verb *bo-*, go (*bazam*, I go; *gā*, went), is frequently used as a verb substantive. It is fully discussed under the head of the Active Verb. Here I may quote the one example available of its use in the first person singular present:—

chāna nazar-manzum gunahgār bēm, I am a sinner in thy sight (Par. 18). In the corresponding passage in verse 21, *tim* is used in place of *bēm*. The two words are therefore convertible in meaning.

Active Verb. *Verbal Nouns.*—There is a verbal noun ending in *n*. Thus:—

khushāli karan munāsib wa, it was proper to do rejoicing (Par. 32).

diyan braḍe na ti, it is not good to beat (L. 176).

As examples of oblique cases singular of this verbal noun, we have:—

mē le adam diyanasi dita wa, I gave that man for a beating (*i.e.*, to be beaten) (L. 177).

pas diyan-na ao gēma, after beating we went away (L. 178).

For the plural, we have:—

mē brok ditina kere tina, many beatings were made by me (*i.e.*, I gave many stripes) (L. 228). Another oblique verbal noun, forming an infinitive of purpose, ends in *ai*, as in *prēgē wrani ṯzarai*, sent him to graze sheep (Par. 15). In Par. 28, *andarun gāwa uṛe na wā*, *gāwa* appears to be used as a kind of verbal noun or infinitive, 'his heart was not for going (*i.e.*, he did not wish to go) inside'.

Imperative. The second person singular of the Imperative may have the form of the bare root, as in:—

lā masi dē, give that to me (Par. 12).

le pakīrasi ek āna dō, give one anna to the faqir (L. 84).

braḍa adamasi le khat dē, give this letter to a good man (L. 121).

le rūpai le adamasi dē, give this rupee to him (L. 234).

bo, be! (L. 168).

jaltī bō, go quickly (Par. 22). This perhaps is a plural.
myāna mī-kana bo, go (*i.e.*, walk) before me (L. 238).
le zīn kuz°ra dāk khum thā, put the saddle on the horse's back (L. 227).

It often ends in *a*, as in *utha*, stand up (L. 82); *mira*, die (L. 84); *giya*, run (85). So:—

kuī-ma uva prēla, draw water from the well (L. 237).

Sometimes it ends in *o*, as in:—

lema-ma lā rūpai achhito, take those rupees from him (L. 235).
bīcko, behold! (Par. 29).
le adam brok do, beat him well (L. 236).
sawa broḍa adaman le khabar dē-o, give this news to all good men (L. 126).

In one instance it ends in *e*, *viz.*, in:—

dūma khum tare, bind with a rope (L. 236).

In the forms *ēza*, come (L. 80); *diz* (L. 81) or *daz* (L. 175), give, beat; and *bēza*, sit (L. 79) the letter *z* forms part of the verbal base, and is not a part of the personal termination. This will be explained under the head of the present tense.

The second person plural appears generally to end in *a* or *ā*, as in:—

breḍa jāmā-na anā, bring ye the good coat (Par. 22).
lema asto-manzum angur tsiya, paḍe-manzum panā tsiya, put ye a ring on his hand, put ye shoes on his feet (Par. 22).

But sometimes we have *u* or *o*, as in:—

le pānu, clothe ye him (Par. 22).
ek breḍa batsa ānines, lās kukhto, bring ye for him a good calf, slaughter ye it (Par. 23). In *ānnes*, in this sentence, we have two pronominal suffixes, *viz.* *-in*, it (accusative), and *-es*, for him, so that the full word *ānines* means 'bring-ye-it-for-him.'

It will be observed that the above terminations are also used in the singular. Indeed, in some cases it is difficult to decide whether the word is singular or plural. This is entirely in accord with the declension of substantives (*ante*, p. 272), in which little heed is paid to the distinction of number, so long as this is plain from the context.

Present.—As in the other Dardic languages, and as in the Ghalchah languages, the present tense is also used for the future, though there are at the same time special forms for the latter tense. If present or future time has to be emphasized, this is done by prefixing the verb substantive *dē* or *da*, he is, for the present, and *ba* (as in Paṣhtō) for the future. This, however, is not always done. The forms given for the present in the List of Words and Sentences are as follows:—

Sing.	Plur.
1. *ditam.*	*ditama.*
2. *ditana.*	*ditama.*
3. *dita ti.*	*ditama.*

I doubt, however, if these are really present forms. They look to me more like forms of the past (or, in the third person singular, of the perfect) tense of the root *dē*, beat, of which the past participle is *dita*. Sir Aurel Stein's informant was quite illiterate,

and Sir Aurel Stein tells me himself that he had difficulties with him in regard to the isolated tense forms, so that it is permissible to assume that the informant could not be prevented from misunderstanding the forms put to him for translation into his own language. Before leaving the above paradigm attention may be called to the fact that all the three persons of the plural are the same in form. We have observed the same state of affairs in the *past* tense of the verb substantive.

The following forms of the present occur elsewhere :—

au az thānusi ēma, I come to the house to-day (L. 80).

au lema kursi-ma uthum, I stand up from this chair (L. 82).

mē āsmān be chāna nazar-manzum gunagār bēm, I am a sinner in heaven's and thy sight (Par. 18).

bēzum, I sit (L. 79).

munāsib nā ti ki chāna put^r au dēm, it is not proper that I may be thy son (Par. 19).

le khat malasi dēm, I give this letter to a father (L. 103).

dēm, I beat (L. 82) ; *dēmo*, I am beating (L. 191). It is evident that the illiterate informant was unable to distinguish between a present and a present definite.

ki hissa owē, the share which comes (Par. 12).

So far we have examples of the simple present. The following are examples in which present time is defined with the help of *dē* (*de*) or *da* :—

chāna patī-kana kāmik badāna da ē, whose boy comes behind you (L. 239) ?

ao dē kam (? *khām*) *khushalī karēm*, let us eat, let us make rejoicing (Par. 23). Here we have the present used as a present subjunctive or imperative.

lētik sansaragana chāna khidmat au da karēm, for so many years I am doing thy service (Par. 29).

au da bazam, I go (L. 77).

mēn samo tre ād^a mo khārasi da bazam, we three men all go to town (L. 17).

The last two examples draw attention to the fact that, at least in the case of some verbs, a present base is formed by the addition of the letter *z*, and that the same base is also used for the imperative. Thus :—

From the root *bo-*, become, be, go, we have *baz-am*, as above.

From the root *bē-*, sit, we have *bēz-um*, I sit (L. 79).

From the root *ā-*, come, we have *ēz-a*, come thou ; and also *ēma*, I come (L. 80).

From the root *dē-*, give, beat, we have *diz* (L. 81) or *daz* (L. 175), beat thou, and also *dēm*, I beat (L. 81).

If we remember that the letters *z* and *j* are often interchanged, we shall recognize this same verbal present base in Ṣḥiṇā, in which language also the present and the future have the same form, and in which also the root *bu-* means both 'become' and 'go'. In Ṣḥiṇā the present-future of this verb runs as follows :—

Sing.	Plur.
1. *bujæm*, I go.	*bujōn*.
2. *bujè*.	*bujgāt*.
3. *bujè*.	*bujèn*.

From the above examples, we get the following forms of the Tirāhī present :—

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ēma*, I come; *dēma*, I give, I beat. *uthum*, I stand up; *bēm*, I become, I go; *bēzum*, I sit; *dēm*, I give, I beat. *da kerem*, I do, *da bazam*, I go.	*dē kām* (? *kham*), let us eat; *dē karēm*, let us make; *da bazam*, we go.
2.	...	...
3.	*owē*, he comes; *da ō*, he comes.	...

It will be observed that, although this paradigm is very incomplete, the forms are mutually very consistent, and that they differ widely from those given in the paradigm taken from the List of Words and Sentences. Perhaps the forms *ēma* and *dēma*, which end in *a*, are really plurals, and the forms *dē kām*, *dē karēm*, and *da bazam*, which do not end in *a*, are really singulars.

Present Definite.—The Present Definite is formed with the aid of the verb substantive. The following examples occur, but only one is certain :—

myāna mala lā sūrē thāna-manzum brok umar langā ti, my father is living for a long time in that small house (L. 233). Here possibly we should read *lan gā ti*, in which *gā ti* is a perfect, meaning 'has been'.

myāna trōras putʷr le myana spazam manas ti, the son of my uncle is married to my sister (L. 225). This also is very doubtful.

le ādam tāna māl tsarū ti, that man is grazing his cattle (L. 229).

As explained above, the form *dita ti* (L. 181), though given as a present, is probably a perfect.

Future.—As already explained, the future is the same in form as the present, although, when emphasis is laid on the futurity, the syllable *ba* or *bo* is prefixed, as in Paṣhtō. The List of Words (195-200) gives the following paradigm :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ba dēm.*	*ba dēma.*
2.	*ba dēm.*	*ba dēma.*
3.	*ba dēm.*	*ba dēma.*

It will be observed that in the above no distinction of person exists. It is probable that this is only an instance of the carelessness already observed in the case of the past of the verb substantive and of the present. It is probable,—indeed, I may say that it is certain,—that any other form of the present may also be used preceded by *ba*. The following examples of this tense are found elsewhere :—

mēn tānu malasi bazam, lesi bo aṛam, I will go to my father, I will say to him (Par. 18). Here there is no prefixed *ba* to *bazam*, but there is *bo* prefixed to *aṛam*.

dēzā hāzir bazum, (?) today I shall be present (L. 173). The translation of *dēzā* in this sentence by 'today' is a mere guess. Here again the *ba* is not prefixed.

Past.—As in other Dardic languages, the past tense is formed from the past participle, to which pronominal suffixes may or may not be added. It must be considered under two aspects, *viz.*, (*a*) the past tense of intransitive verbs, and (*b*) the past tense of transitive verbs.

(*a*) Intransitive Verbs.—The past participle of the verb *ba-*, go, is *gā*, gone. When used as a past tense, *gā* means 'he went', but also, as in other Dardic languages, is used to mean 'he became', and hence 'he is'.

The only other intransitive verb occurring in the Parable is the verb *ā-*, come, of which the past participle is *ū* or *ō*.

The following are examples of the use of these two past participles as past tenses :—

ao marā gam, I went (or became) dead, I am dead (Par. 17).

mē kāzir gam, I am present (L. 156).

ao chāna kukum-ma bāhr nā gim, I did not go outside thy order (Par. 29). From these examples we gather that for 'I went' we may have either *gam* or *gim*. The vowel is probably an indeterminate sound like the *fatḥa-ĕ-afgḫānī* of Paṣhtō.

For the third person singular, we have :—

lā bē gā dūr mulkasi, and he went to a far country (Par. 13).

lā brōk odasta gā, he became very hungry (Par. 14).

lē gaṇa put'r gḫussa kḫum gā, the elder son went on anger (*i. e.*, he became angry) (Par. 28).

kāla jinda gā, now he became alive (Par. 24, 32).

uṛē kḫushāl gā, the heart became joyful (Par. 32).

le ādam kuz'ra daka kḫum spāra ga, he is riding on a horse's back (L. 230).

For *ū* or *ō* we have :—

lema patī mala tarafe ū, after that he came towards the father (Par. 20).

lā jaltī ū, he came quickly (Par. 20).

kala ū, he is now come (Par. 24).

kḫā thānasi bōgḫa ō, gidāu nagḫāra domāma āwāz ū, when he came near the house, the sound of singing, music, (and) drum came (Par. 25).

chāna lā put'r ō, this thy son came (Par. 30).

For the first person plural, we have :—

pas diyan-ma ao gēma, after beating (him) we went away (L. 178).

(*b*) Transitive Verbs.—As usual, these are construed as passives, with the subject in the Agentive case. Thus :—

mē brok ditisa kere tīna, by me many blows have been made (*i.e.*, I struck many blows) (L. 228). This is really an example of the perfect, but is given here as a specimen with a plural object.

ki tēnu dōstāma sama kḫushālī kere, that (I might) have made rejoicing with my friends (Par. 29).

tē masi ṭṣālī ṭṣindar nā dita, thou didst not give to me a goat's kid (Par. 29).

te lema depāra breḍa baḫsa kuḫḫto, by thee, for his sake, the good calf was slaughtered (Par. 30).

lā azī (fem.) *achhite*, his mouth was taken (*i.e.* (he) kissed him) (Par 20).
aṛī, he said (Par. 17, 22).
putre-na le-na aṛī, the son said to him (Par. 21).
le-na lasi aṛī, he said to him (Par. 27).
lā dūr wa. mala bēchī, he was distant, the father saw (him) (Par. 20).
lāsi kī nā dita, no one gave to him (Par. 16).
le malasi jawāb dita, he gave answer to the father (Par. 29).
chāna mala lā breḍa batsa kukhto, thy father slaughtered the good calf (Par. 27).
lā māla taksīm kere, he made division of the property (Par. 12).
sure putʷr tānu mālas jama kere, the younger son collected his property (Par. 13).
lā tānu mālas badmāshī khum chi (or *chiz*) *kere*, he wasted his property in riotous living (Par. 13, 14, 30).
mala rām kere, the father made compassion (Par. 20).
lemas tsīr kere, (he) made enquiry from him (Par. 26).
le adam prēgi wrani tsarai, that man sent (him) to feed sheep (Par. 15).
tānu khushālī lān kere, by them their rejoicing was made (Par. 24).

I am unable to explain with certainty the phrase *sūré putʷr mala ditanas*, the younger son said to the father (Par. 12). The word *dita* usually means 'given', but, assuming that it can also mean 'addressed', judging from the analogy of other Dardic languages, we may perhaps explain *ditanas* as *dita-n-as*, in which *-n-* is a pronominal suffix meaning 'by him', and *-as* as a suffix meaning 'he'. The whole would then be literally 'by the younger son the father was-addressed-by-him-he, which is quite a common idiom in, for instance, Kāshmīrī. We may compare with this word *ānines*, which is similarly analysed on p. 290.

Perfect.—A perfect is formed by adding the verb substantive *tim*, etc., to the past participle. Thus :—

lema adʷmas putʷr khum mē brok ditina kere tīna, by me many stripes have been made on that man's son (L. 228).
le kilo ek banya-ma achhita ti, (by me) (it) was bought from a shopkeeper of the village (L. 241).
te le bāna kāma adomasi achhita ti, from whom has that thing been bought by thee (L. 240)?
chāna brā ŭ ti, thy brother has come (Par. 27).

In this it will be observed that the word for 'come' is written *ŭ*, with a short mark over the *u*. The same sound is apparently represented elsewhere, by doubling the initial *t* of *ti*, and writing *ut ti*, as has occurred in *nazaram-manzum* and *brichat-tōna* as pointed out on p. 269 *ante*. Thus :—

lema tre badʷna malasi khabar ut ti, information has come from the fathers of these three children (L. 109).
myāna dunsi khat ut ti, news has come from my daughter (L. 113).
braḍa adama-ma khabar ut ti, news has come from a good man (L. 122). So L. 127.

The perfect of *bo-*, go, is *gā ti*, as in :—

ek tānu naukaris ga ti, he has gone to one of his servants (Par. 26)

The perfect *gā ti*, he has gone, is also used to mean 'it has become', *i.e.*, 'it is happening'. Thus:—

le kī gā ti, what is happening (Par. 26)?

lema-ma khabar gā ti, of him news is happening, *i.e.*, of him it is said (L. 27).

In the following *gā tē* (fem.) is used as part of an intensive compound verb:—

az myāna thana-manzum ek dēn m'ra gā tē, to-day a cow has died in my house (L. 83).

Pluperfect.—Similarly a Pluperfect is formed by adding *wā*, the past tense of the verb substantive. In the List of Words (205-209) *gā wa*, etc., are shown as presents, but this is probably a mistake of the informant. Certain examples of this pluperfect are:—

ao az gaṇa panda khum gā wāma, I went a long way to-day (L. 224).

le myāna put'r muṛa gā wa . . . le gar gā wa, this my son had died . . he had become lost (Par. 24. So 32).

The forms given in the List of Words 295-209 are:—

Sing.	Plur.
1. *mē gā wāmā.*	*ao gā wāma.*
2. *tu de gā wāza.*	*tu de gā wāza.*
3. *le gā wa.*	...

For the second person of both numbers, the List gives *tu de gā wāza*, and perhaps, in these cases, the pluperfect has been converted into a present by the prefixing of *de*, a word which we have seen is in other cases employed to form the present tense.

Passive.—The only example of the Passive voice is *mē dita wama*, I am beaten (L. 202)

DARDIC FAMILY.

TIRĀHI.

(Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., 1922.).

11. Ek ad'mas do put'ra wāna. 12. Lema-manzum sŭrè
One of-man two sons were. Them-among by-little
put'r mala ditanas, 'ai mala, myāna māla-manzum
son father was-addressed-by-him-he, 'O father, my property-in
ki hissa owē, lā masi dē.' Lā māla taksīm
what share comes, that to-me give.' By-him of-property division
kere. 13. Tsuk' daze pas sŭrē put'r tānu māl
was-made. Few days after by-little son his-own property
jama kere. Lā bē gā dūr mulkasi, tānu
collected was-made. He and went to-a-far to-country, his-own
mālas badmāshī khum chi kere (k'r'). 14. Lā
his-property debauchery on expenditure was-made. That
pōre lā saw māl chiz kere, le
(?)after by-him all property expended was-made, that
mulke-manzum brōk grānī wē. Lā brōk odasta gā.
country-in great famine was. He very hungry went.
15. Le mulk'-manzum ek ad'ma lā khare nati-gā. Le
That country-in one man he near (? took-refuge). By-that
adam tānu tsakalānsi prēgī wrani tsarai. 16. Le
man to-his-own fields he-was-sent sheep for-grazing. His
ure-manzum le khiyāl wa ki 'wranin khō myāna shpun
heart-in this thought was that 'of-sheep (?) food of-me (?)shepherd
bē khō ;' lāsi kī nā dita. 17. Lā tānu
also (?) food ;' to-him by-any-one not was-given. By-him his-own
ōre-manzum aṛī, 'myāna mal' brōk mazdurāno wāna, grē re
heart-in it-was-said, 'of-my father many servants were, ? ?
ditana, ao lemaji odasta-ni marā gam. 18. Mē tānu
(?)were-given, I here hunger-by dead went. I to-my-own
malasi bazam, lesi bo-aṛam, "ai mala, mē āsmān be chēna
father will-go, to-him I-will-say, "O father, I of-heaven and thy
nazar-manzum gunagār bēm. 19. Kāla mē sama munāsib na ti
sight-in sinner am. Now me for proper not is
ki chāna put'r au dēm. Tānu mazdūrāno khum mē sama
that thy son I may-be. Thine-own servants amongst m like
karē" '. 20. Lema patī mala taraife ū Lā dūr wa
make" '. That after in-father's direction he-came. He far was

mala bīchī, mala rām kere, lā jaltī ū,
by-the-father he-was-seen, by-the-father pity was-made, he quickly came,
asta wrinde(urinde), lā asī achhite. 21. Putre-na le-na
hand (?)grasped, his mouth was-taken. The-son-by him-to
aṛī, 'ai mala, mō āsmān be chāna naẓaram-manzum brōk
it-was-said, 'O father, I of-heaven and thy sight-in much
gunagār tim, masi munāsib nā ti ki chāna putʼr au dēm.'
sinner am, for-me proper not is that thy son I may-be.'
22. Mala tānu naukarānosi aṛī, 'jaltī bō,
By-the-father to-his-own servants it-was-said, 'quickly go,
lema-ma braḍa jāma-na anā, le pānu; lema asto-manzum
him for the-good garment bring-ye, him clothe; his hand-on
angur tsiya, paḍa-manzum panā tsiya. 23. Ek breḍa batsa
ring put-ye-on, feet-on shoes put-ye-on. A good calf
ānines, lās kukhto, ao dē-kām (? khām) khushālī karēm.
bring-ye-it-for-him, it slaughter, we may-eat rejoicing may-make.
24. Le myāna putʼr muṛa gā wa, kāla jinde gā; le gar gā
This my son dead gone was, now alive went; he lost gone
wa, kāla ū.' Tānu khushālī lān kere.
was, now came.' Their-own rejoicing by-them was-made.

25. Le-sān gaṇa putʼr tsakalān-manzum wā. Khā thānasi bōgha
(?) His big son fields-in was. When to-house near
ō, gidān naghāra domāma āwāz ū. 26. Ek tānu
he-came, of-singing of-music of-drums sound came. To-one his-own
naukaris ga ti lemas tsīr kere, 'le kī gā ti ?'
to-servant gone he-is to-him enquiry was-made, 'this what gone is?'
27. Le-na lāsi aṛī, 'chāna brā ŭ-ti, chāna mala lā
By-him to-him it-was-said, 'thy brother come-is, by-thy father the
breḍa batsa kukhto, lema-ma lā brok braḍe wa. 28. Lā gaṇa
good calf was-slaughtered, that-for he much good was. The big
putʼr ghussā khum gā, andarun gāwa uṛe na wā. Le malas
son anger on went, within to-go heart not was. The his-father
gā, lās pukhlā kere. 29. Le malasi jaẓab dita,
went, to-him conciliation was-made. By-him to-father answer was-given,
'bīcho, lētik sansaragāna chāna khidmat au da-kerem, ao chāna
'see, so-many years thy service I am-doing, I thy
hukum-ma bāhr nā gim; magar tō masi tsālī tsindar nā
order-from outside not went; but by-thee to-me she-goat's kid not
dita, ki tānu dōstāna sama khushālī kere. 30. Chāna lā
was-given, that my-own friends with rejoicing was-made. Thy this

put'r ō, ki chāna māl-maṭā strīzī khum chi kere,
son came, by-whom thy goods-chattels females on expended was-made,
te kema dapara breḍa hatsa kukhto.' 31. Mala gana
by-thee him for the-good calf was-slaughtered. By-the-father to-the-big
putrasi jawāb dita, 'ai put'ra, tē mēkha mō kharō wā; kasa
to-son answer was-given, 'O son; thou always me near art; whatever
myāna wā, lā chānam ti; 32. lekin khushāli karan munāsib wa,
mine was, that thine-verily is; but rejoicing to-make proper was,
uṛē khushāl gā; chāna brā muṛa gā wa, kāla jinde gā;
the-heart happy went; thy brother dead gone was, now alive went;
gar gā wā, kāla ō.'
lost gone was, now came.'

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE TIRĀHĪ LANGUAGE.

English.	Tirāhī.	English.	Tirāhī.
1. One	ek.	23. You	tā [tā tre ādᵃma hokhyār tiza.]
2. Two	dō.	24. Of you	tā-ma.
3. Three	tre.	25. Your	chāna.
4. Four	tsawor.	26. He	le [le breḍa ādᵃm ti, *he is a good man.*]
5. Five	pantṣ.	27. Of him	loma-ma [loma-ma khabar gā ti, *of him it is said.*]
6. Six	kho.	28 His	lomo [lomo thān sura ti, *his house is small.*]
7. Seven	sat.	29 They	le [le ādᵃma kharāb tina.]
8. Eight	akhā.	30. Of them	loma-ma.
9. Nine	nab.	31. Their	loma-ma [loma-ma kram kharāb ti, *their business is bad.*]
10. Ten	dah [11-eko, 12-bo, 13-tre, 14-tsauda, 15-panṣī, 16-khōla, 17-satāra, 18-atāra, 19-kune.]	32. Hand	ast.
11. Twenty	biau [30-biau-dah, 31-biau-eko, *and so on*; 40-do-bō, 41-da-biau-ek, *and so on.*]	33. Foot	padi.
12. Fifty	da-biau-dah [51-da-biau-eko, 52-da-biau-bo, *and so on*; 60-tre-bō, 70-tre-biau-dah, 80-tsawor-bō, 90-tsawor-biau-dah.]	34. Nose	nas.
13. Hundred	panz-bō.	35. Eye	achchho.
14. I	au.	36. Mouth	azi.
15. Of me	masi-da, da mō.	37. Tooth	dant.
16. Mine	myāna.	38. Ear	kanᵃ.
17. We	mēn [mēn samo tre ādᵃmo khārasi da bazam, *we three men all go to town.*]	39. Hair	bāla.
18. Of us	masi.	40. Head	khār.
19. Our	myāna.	41. Tongue	jab.
20. Thou	to [to hokhyār tis.]	42. Belly	dama.
21. Of thee	te-ma.	43. Back	dāk.
22. Thine	chāna [chāna thān braḍa ti, *thy house is good.*]	44. Iron	taimbar.

English.	Tirāhī.	English.	Tirāhī.
45. Gold	loī zar.	71. Cat	pishē.
46. Silver	parana zar.	72. Cock	ṭsanzuwā.
47. Father	mal".	73. Duck	murghāwī.
48. Mother	mā.	74. Ass	kar.
49. Brother	brā.	75. Camel	ūkh [*plural* ukhāna.]
50. Sister	spea.	76. Bird	margh [*plural* marghāna.]
51. Man	adam.	77. Go	ho [au da bazam, *I am going.*]
52. Woman	strē [oka strē tā, *there is one woman.*]	78. Eat	kha.
53. Wife	khīna [le strē myāna khīna tā, *this woman is my wife.*]	79. Sit	bōna [bōsum, *I sit.*]
54. Child	bad"na [le bad"na myāna putr tī.]	80. Come	āna [au es thānasī ōma, *I come to the house today.*]
55. Son	putr.	81. Beat	dia [dām, *I beat*].
56. Daughter	dā, kumār [le eurē myāna dā tā, *this little one is my daughter.*]	82. Stand	utha [au ḷema kursī-manthum, *I stand up from this chair.*]
57. Slave	ghulām.	83. Die	mira [az myāna thānamanzum ek dān m'ra gā tā, *today a cow died in my house.*]
58. Cultivator	zamīndār.	84. Give	dē [le pakīnasī ek āna dā, *give one anna to the faqīr.*]
59. Shepherd	shpān ; pādawān, *herdsman.*	85. Run	giya.
60. God	Khudāī.	86. Up	kaza.
61. Devil	Shaitān.	87. Near	bōkh (?)
62. Sun	surī [az aurē brada tī, *today the sun is bright.*]	88. Down	waza.
63. Moon	spoghmai.	89. Far	dūr.
64. Star	stōre [az brōke stōre tana, *today there are many stars.*]	90. Before	mīkana.
65. Fire	nār.	91. Behind	patīkana.
66. Water	uwā.	92. Who ?	kāna [le ādam kāna tī ?]
67. House	thān.	93. What ?	ki [le ki tī ?]
68. Horse	kur"ra.	94. Why ?	ki sawab tī ?
69. Cow	dān.	95. And	bā.
70. Dog	sanā.	96. But	ṭsuk-zara.

English.	Tirāhī.	English.	Tirāhī.
97. If	...	119. A good man . .	braḍa adam.
98. Yes . . .	...	120. Of a good man . .	braḍa adamas [braḍa adamas thān bōgha ti, *the house of a good man is near.*]
99. No. . . .	na.	121. To a good man . .	braḍa adamasi [braḍa adamasi le khat dē.]
100. Alas . . .	–	122. From a good man .	braḍa adama-ma [braḍa adama-ma khabar ut ti *news has come from a good man.*]
101. A father . .	mala.	123. Two good men . .	dō braḍa adama.
102. Of a father . .	malas [le thān malas ti.]	124. Good men . .	braḍa adāma [braḍa adama lema khār-maṛsum brōk tina, *there are many good men in this town.*]
103. To a father . .	malasi [le khat malasi dēm, *I give this letter to the father.*]	125. Of good men . .	braḍa adamas [braḍa adamas thān sūra tina, *the houses of the good men are small.*]
104. From a father .	mala-ma.	126. To good men . .	braḍa adamas [sawa braḍa adamas le khabar dē-o, *give the news to all good men.*]
105. Two fathers . .	do mala [do mala tina.]	127. From good men .	braḍa adamansi [braḍa adamansi khabar ut ti.]
106. Fathers . . .	mala.	128. A good woman . .	braḍa strē.
107. Of fathers . .	mála.	129. A bad boy . .	kharāb badaui.
108. To fathers . .	málasi.	130. Good women . .	braḍō strē [myāna tināma-maṛsum brōk braḍō strē tina.]
109. From fathers . .	malasi [lema tro beḍ'na malasi khabar ut ti, *information has come from the fathers of these three children.*]	131. A bad girl . .	ek kharāb kumār.
110. A daughter .	dē.	132. Good . . .	braḍa.
111. Of a daughter . .	dē [le myāna dē panzi sansar tē, *the age of my daughter is fifteen years.*]	133. Better . . .	braḍa [myāna thāna-ma chāna thān braḍa ti.]
112. To a daughter . .	dēsi.	134. Best . . .	braḍa [sawa thānāṛ-ma chāna thān braḍa ti.]
113. From a daughter .	dunsi [myāna dunsi khat ut ti, *from my daughter news has come.*]	135. High . . .	kaza.
114. Two daughters . .	[dō] dē.	136. Higher . . .	kaza [lema brijasi le kaza ti, *this tower is higher than that.*]
115. Daughters . .	[tre] dē.	137. Highest . . .	kaza [sawa brijan-ma le brij kaza ti, *of all towers that is the highest.*]
116. Of daughters . .	dun [myāna dun umar, *the age of my daughters.*]	138. A horse . . .	kuz'ra.
117. To daughters . .	dunsi.	139. A mare . . .	barē.
118. From daughters .	dunsi.	140. Horses . . .	kuz'ra [lema Jaba-maṛsum sawa kuz'ra braḍē tina, *in Jaba all horses are good.*]

English.	Tirāhi.	English.	Tirāhi.
141. Mares	barē [lema Kābula-manzum sawe barē kharāha tina.]	166. You were	tao [sawa bōgha] wāma, *you were all near by*
142. A bull	gō.	167. They were	le [sawa hāzir] wāma.
143. A cow	dōn.	168. Be	bo.
144. Bulls	[brōk] gō, [*many*] *bulls.*	169. To be	...
145. Cows	[brōk] dōn, [*many*] *cows.*	170. Being	...
146. A dog	sanā [chāna sanās dante brōk trighna tina, *the teeth of your dog are very sharp.*]	171. Having been	...
147. A bitch	strīza sanā.	172. I may be	bazam.
148. Dogs	sanā [sanā brōk tina.]	173. I shall be	bazum [dōzi hāzir bazum, (?) *today I shall be present.*]
149. Bitches	strīza sanā [kukri, *pups.*]	174. I should be	[?] bazum.
150. A he goat	un.	175. Beat	daz.
151. A female goat	tsāli [tsinda, *a kid.*]	176. To beat	diyan [diyan brado na ti, *it is not good to beat.*]
152. Goats	uzo [*fem.* tsāli.]	177. Beating	diyanasi [mō le adam diyanasi diba wa, *I gave that man to be beaten.*]
153. A male deer	osā.	178. Having beaten	pas diyan-ma [pas diyan ma ao gāma, *after beating we went away.*]
154. A female deer	...	179. I beat	ao ditam
155. Deer	osō.	180. Thou beatest	to ditama.
156. I am	mō [hāzir] gam, *I am present.*	181. He beats	le dita ti.
157. Thou art	to [bōwukūf] tis.	182. We beat	ao ditama.
158. He is	le [bōwukūf] ti.	183. You beat	tā ditama.
159. We are	ao [sawa gharibāne] tima.	184. They beat	le ditama.
160. You are	tao [sawa kharābe] tiza.	185. I beat (*Past Tense*)	mō dita wa.
161. They are	lema [sawa brado] tina.	186. Thou beatest (*Past Tense*)	to dita wa.
162. I was	mō [saro] wāma [lema wakta khum], *at that time I was small.*	187. He beat (*Past Tense*)	le [mikana=*before*] dita wa.
163. Thou wast	to [saro] wāz [jango wakta-manzum], *at the time of fighting thou wast small.*	188. We beat (*Past Tense*)	ao [mikana] dita wāma.
164. He was	[le adam dūr] wa [galis wakta khum], *that man was away at the time of theft.*	189. You beat (*Past Tense*)	tā [mikana] dita wāma.
165. We were	ao [sawa] wāma.	190. They beat (*Past Tense*)	le [mikana] dita wāma.

English.	Tirāhi.
191. I am beating . .	mē dēma.
192. I was beating . .	...
193. I had beaten . .	...
194. I may beat . .	...
195. I shall beat . .	mē badēm.
196. Thou wilt beat . .	te badēm
197. He will beat . .	le badēm.
198. We shall beat . .	ao badēma.
199. You will beat . .	tā badēma.
200. They will beat . .	le badēma.
201. I should beat . .	...
202. I am beaten . .	mē dita wāma.
203. I was beaten . .	...
204. I shall be beaten .	...
205. I go . . .	mē gā wāma.
206. Thou guest . .	tu de gā wāza.
207. He goes . . .	le gā wa.
208. We go . . .	ao gā wāma.
209. You go . . .	tu de gā wāza.
210. They go . . .	...
211. I went . . .	...
212. Thou wentest .	...
213. He went . . .	...
214. We went . . .	...
215. You went . . .	...
216. They went . .	...

English.	Tirāhi.
217. Go	..
218. Going . . .	
219 Gone . . .	...
220. What is your name?	chāna nām ki ti?
221 How old is thy horse?	chāna kuz^{a}ra umar katēsi ti?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmīr?	lema jaisi Kashmīr katēsi dūr ti?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house?	chāna mala thāna-manzam katisi put^{a}ra tina?
224. I have walked a long way today.	ao az gaṇa panda khum gā wāma.
225. The son of my uncle is married to my sister.	myāna trōras put^{a}r le myāna spazam manas ti.
226. In my house is the saddle of the white horse.	le parāna kuz^{a}ras zīn myāna thāna-manzum ti.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	le zīn kuz^{a}ra dāk khum thā.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	lema ad^{a}mas put^{a}r khum mē brok dātina kore tina.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	le ādam tāna māl brokāta khāra khum tarā ti.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	le ādam kuz^{a}ra dāka khum spāra gā brichat tōna (*or* waza).
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	lemas spazmai le ad^{a}mas bcā gaṇa (*or* kaza) ti.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	lemas shai dowadi rūpai kimat ti.
233. My father lives [for a long time] in that small house.	myāna mala lā stūrē thāna-manzum [brōk umar] langā ti.
234. Give this rupee to him	le rūpai le adamasi dē.
235. Take those rupees from him.	lema-ma lā rūpai achhito.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	le adam brok do bē dāma khum tare.
237. Draw water from the well.	kui-ma uwa prēla.
238. Walk before me .	myāna mukana bo.
239. Whose boy comes behind you?	chāna putkana kāmik bedāna da ē?
240. From whom did you buy that?	te le bāna kama adamasi (*or* adama-ma) achhita ti?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	le kila ok banyā-ma achhita ti.

VOCABULARY.

The following vocabulary contains all the Tirāhī words occurring in the preceding pages, and also all the words given by Leech in his collection on pages 782ff. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume VII (1838). The latter are spelt as given by Leech. Although there are possibly printer's errors in his list, I have not ventured to correct them.

The order of words is based on the alphabetical order of the consonants, without any regard to the vowels. The latter come into consideration only in cases in which the same consonant or consonants are followed or separated by different vowels. Thus, the different words containing the consonants *kn* will be found in the succession *kan*ᵃ, *kana*, *kune*. All words beginning with vowels are arranged together at the commencement of the Vocabulary, their mutual order being determined by the consonants. The letter *ñ* follows *n*, and *ṉ* follows *ṇ*. For purposes of alphabetical order *v* and *w* are counted as the same letter. In other respects, the alphabetical order is that of the English alphabet.

To each article, when known to me, I have added the related words in other Dardic languages. Without attempting to give the etymology of every word, I have, when it appeared useful to do so, added the original Avesta or Sanskrit word which may be taken as the oldest known form of the particular Tirāhī word under consideration. When a word is borrowed from Paṣhtō, the fact is also indicated.

The following is a list of the contractions employed to indicate the various languages referred to :—

List of Abbreviations (principally) of Language-names.

Ar.=Arabic.
Av.=Avesta.
B.=Bashgalī.
Bal.=Balōchī.
Bur.=Burushaskī.
G.=Gawarbatī.
Gār.=Gārwī.
H.=Hindōstanī.
Ish.=Ishkāshmī.
K.=Kalāshā.
Kh.=Khōwār.
Ksh.=Kāshmīrī.
L.=List of Words.
Lnd.=Lahndā.
M.=Maiyā̃.
Mj.=Munjānī
O. Prs.=Old Persian.
Ōr.=Ōrmuṛī.
P.=Pashai.
Par=The Tirāhī version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son.
Phl.=Pahlavī.
Pr.=Prakrit.
Pra.=Persian.
Psht.=Paṣhtō.
Sh.=Ṣhiṇā.
Shg.=Shīghnī.
Sk.=Sarīkolī.
Skr.=Sanskrit.
V.=Veron.
W.=Wai-alā.
Wkh.=Wakhī.
Yd.=Yūdghā.
Z.=Zebakī.

TIRÁHĪ VOCABULARY.

ai, interj. O !, *ai mala*, O father (Par. 12, 18, 21); *ai put*ᵃ*ra*, O son ! (Par. 31).

ao, au, pers. pron. I; *mē, mēn, masi, myana*. For examples of all these forms, see Grammar, pages 279ff. [P. G. K. *ā*, I; P. *mēna*, K. *mai*, my.]

√*ē*-, come (L. 80). In the Imperative, the base of this verb is *ēza*. See Grammar, page 291; *au az thānasi ēma*, I come to the house to-day (L. 80); *ki hissa owē*, the share which comes (to me) (Par. 12). *kamik badāna da-ē*, whose boy comes? (L. 239).

thānasi bōgha ō, he came near the house (Par. 25); *chāna lā put*ᵃ*r ō*, thy this son came (Par. 30); *gar gāwa, kāla ō*, he was lost, now he came (Par. 32).

lā jaltī ū, he came quickly (Par. 20); *mala tarafe û*, he came towards the father (Par. 20); *le gar gāwa, kāla û*, he was lost, now he came (Par. 24); *āwāz û*, the sound came (to him) (Par. 25).

chāna brā u-ti, thy brother has come (Par. 27); *khabar ut-ti*, news has come (L. 109, 122, 127); *khat ut-li*, a letter has come (L. 113) [P. √*yē*-, Sh. √*ē*-, Ksh. √*yi*-, K. *av*, P. *ā-k*, came; with *ēza*, cf. B. √*ate*- and Skr. *āgachchha*-.]

ō, û, see √*ē*-.

achchhe, the eye (L. 35); Leech, *achcha*. [K. *ech*, G. *itsi-n*, Sh. *açhchhī*, Ksh. *achh*ᵃ; Skr. *akṣi*-, Av. *ash*.]

achhita, lē azā achhite, took his mouth (fem.), *i. e.*, kissed him (Par. 20); *lema-ma lā rūpai achhito*, take those rupees from him (L. 235); *te achhita ti*, hast thou bought (L. 240); *achhita ti*, (I) have bought (L. 241). [? cf. P. √*ac*-, bring.]

ādᵃm (L. 26) or *adam* (L. 51); *braḍa adam*, a good man (L. 119); *le breḍa adᵃm ti*, he is a good man (L. 26); *le adam dur wa*, that man was distant (L. 164); *le ādam*, = he (L. 229, 230), = him (L. 236); *le adam prēgē*, that man sent (him) (Par. 15).

ek adᵃma lā khare natī gā, he (?) took refuge with a man (Par. 15); *braḍa adama-ma*, from a good man (L. 122).

ek adᵃmas do putᵃra wāna, of a man there were two sons (Par. 11); *braḍa adamas than bōgha ti*, the house of a good man is near (L. 120); *lema adᵃmas putᵃr khun*, on the son of that man (L. 228); *le adᵃmas brā*, his brother (L. 231).

braḍa adamasi le khat dē, give this letter to the good man (L. 121); *le rūpai le adamasi dē*, give this rupee to him (L. 234); *te kāma adamasi* (or *adama-ma*) *achhita ti*, from whom have you bought? (L. 240).

tā tre ādᵃma hokhyār tiza, you three men are clever (L. 23); *le ādᵃma kharāb tīna*, those men are bad (L. 29); *do braḍa adama*, two good men (L. 123); *braḍa adama lema khār-manzum brōk tīna*, there are many good men in this town (L. 124).

mēn samo tre ādᵃmo khārasi da bazām, we three men all go to town (L. 17).

braḍa adaman thāna sūra tina, the houses of the good men are small (L. 125); *sarva braḍa adaman le khabar dē-o*, give this news to all good men (L. 126).

braḍa adamansi khabar ut ti, news has come from the good men (L. 127). [Psht. *ādam*.]

odasta; *lā brōk odasta gā*, he became very hungry (Par. 14); *ao lemaji odasta-nu marā gam*, I here have died (= am dying) from hunger (Par. 17). Cf. *udhast*, hunger (Leech). [? Cf. B. *ot*, V. *ut*, W. *avot*, hunger.]

ogā, the shoulder (Leech). [Psht. *ōga*.]

ek, one (L. 1); *le pakārasi ek āna dē*, give one anna to the faqīr (L. 84); *ek adᵃmas*, of a man (Par. 11); *le mulkᵃ-manzum ek adᵃma lā khare natī gā*, he (?) took refuge with a man in that country (Par. 15); *ek breḍa batsa ānines*, bring ye for him a good calf (Par. 23); *ek tānu naukaris gā tī*, he went to one, his own, servant (Par. 26); *ek dēn mᵃra gā tē*, a cow has died (L. 83); *ek kharāb kumār*, a bad girl (L. 131); *ek banyā-ma*, from a shopkeeper (L. 241). Cf. Leech's *īk*, one.

eka strē tē, there is a woman (L. 52). [Cf. B. *ē*, *ev*; W. *ī*, *ek*; G. *yak*; K. Sh. *ek*; Ksh. *akh*.]

eko, eleven (L. 10), (Leech *īko*).

ūkk, pl. *ukkāna*, a camel (L. 75) (Leech *ùkk*). [Psht. *ūṭh*.]

akht, eight (L. 8). (Leech *ùkht*). [Cf. P. *akhṭ*, *asht*, and so others.]

akkto, eighteen (Leech). Cf. *atāra*.

āllakk, a side (Leech). [Psht. *aṛkk*.]

āma, raw (Leech). [Psht. *ōm*.]

umar; *myāna dun umar*, the age of my daughters (L. 116); *chāna kazᵃra umar katēsi ti*, how old is thy horse (L. 221); *brōk umar*, for a great age (? = for a long time) (L. 233). [Psht. *ʿumr*.]

anā, an egg (Stein). [Cf. Skr. *aṇḍa-*.]

anā, bring ye (Par. 22); *ānines*, bring ye it for him (Par. 23). [Ksh. √*an-*.]

āna, an anna (L. 84).

anderun, adv. within, to within (Par. 28). [B. *atēr*, W. *attar*, K. *adhrīmon*, G. *atran*, Kh. *andrēnā*, Ksh. *andar*.]

angur; *lema asto manzum anger taiya*, put ye a ring on his hand (Par. 23). [Prs. *angushtar*, G. *angustar*.]

√*aṛ-*; *bo aṛam*, I will say (Par. 18); *lā tānu ōre-manzum aṛī*, he said in his heart (Par. 17); *putre-na le-na aṛī*, the son said to him (Par. 21); *mata tānu naukaranasi aṛī*, the father said to his servants (Par. 22); *le-na lasi aṛī*, he said to him (Par. 27). [Cf. Sh. √*re-*.]

ure, ōre; *le ure-manzum*, in his heart (Par 16); *urē khushāl gā*, the heart became joyful (Par. 32); *andarun gdwa ure na wa*, his heart was not for going (*i.e.*, he did not wish to go) inside (Par. 28); *lā tānu ōre-manzum arī*, he said in his heart (Par. 17). [Cf. Psht. *zṛa*, B. *zare*, G. *heṛa*, P. *haṛā*.]

urinde, see *urinde*.

ūryaz, a cloud (Leech). [Psht. *waryaḏg*.]

osē pl. *osē*, a male deer (L. 153, 155) (Leech *osai*). [Psht. *ōsai*.]

āsmān, heaven (sg. gen.) (Par. 18, 21). [Psht. *āsmān*.]

ast, a hand (L. 32); (Leech *hast*); *asta urinde*, he embraced (Par. 20); *lemą asto manzum angur*, (put) a ring on his hand (Par. 22). [K. *hāsi*; G. *hast*; P. *hāst*, *hās*; Kh. *host*; Skr. *hasta-*.]

ut, see √*ē-*.

áth, flour (Leech). [? Cf. Lnd. *āṭā*.]

√*uth-*; *utha*, stand up (impv.) (L. 82); *au lema kursi-ma uthum*, I rise up from this chair (L. 82). [Cf. B. √*usht-*, Ksh. √*wōth-*, Skr. *utthita-*; Śaurasēnī Prakrit, *utthidō*; but Lnd., etc. √*ūṭh-*.]

utāra, eighteen (L. 10). Leech *akkhto*. [Cf. Lnd. *aṭhārā*.]

ovē, see √*ē-*.

uwā, water (L. 66); *uwa* (L. 237); Leech *wà*. [Psht. *ōba*; B. *ov*, W. *ao*, K. *u-k*, G. *aū*, M. *wī*, Sh. *wei*.]

āwāz, sound, noise (Par. 25). [Psht. *āwāz*.]

az, today (L. 62, 64, 80, 224). [Ksh. *az*.]

azā, the mouth (L. 36); Leech, *ázi*; *lā azā achkite*, he kissed him (Par. 20). [B. *azhī*; Sh. *āzā*, *aī*; M. Gār. *āī*.]

ēza, see √*ē-*.

uz (pl. *uzo*; f. *tsālā*), a he-goat (L. 150, 152). [Psht. *wuz*.]

ázh gunt, goat's hair (Leech). [Psht. *ēzh ghānā*.]

ba or *bo*, sign of future. See Grammar, p. 292.

bē (L. 95), *be*, *bē*, and; *āsmān be chāna nazar*, of heaven and in thy sight (Par. 18, 21); *do be dāma khwm tare*, beat and bind with ropes (L. 236); *lā bē gā*, and he went (Par. 13); *myāna shpūn bē*, (?) of me the shepherd also (Par. 16). [Ksh. *biyē*.]

bē, see *bē* and *biau*.

√*bē-*, sit; the present and imperative base of this verb is *bēz-*, as in *bēza*, sit! (List 79); *bēzum*, I sit (L. 79). Cf. Grammar, p. 291. [M. √*bhai-*, Gār. √*bai-*, Sh. √*bē-*, Ksh. √*bēh-*, H. √*bais-*, Skr. *upa-vis-*.]

biau (L. 11), *bhyà* (Leech), twenty; *biau-dah* (L. 11), *bhyoudà* (Leech), thirty; *biau-eko*, thirty-one (L. 11); *do-bē*, forty (L. 11); *do-biau-ek*, forty-one (L. 11); *da-biais-dah*, fifty (L. 11); *da-biau-eko*, fifty-one (L. 11): *tre-bē* sixty (L. 11); *tre-biau-dah*, seventy; *tsauor-bē*, eighty (L. 11); *tsauor-biau-dah*, ninety (L. 11); *panz-bē*, one hundred (L. 12). [Sh. *bēk*, Ksh. *wuh*, P. *wōst*, Skr. *viṁśati-*.]

bo, sign of the future, in *lesi bo aṛam*, I will say to him (Par. 18). See Grammar. p. 292, and cf. *ba*.

bō (L. 11), *bo* (Leech), twelve; *da biau bo*, fifty-two (L. 12).

√*bo-* or *bō-*, to become, to go; *jalti bo*, go quickly (Par. 22); *bo*, go! (L. 77), walk! (L. 238).

The present base of this verb is optionally *baz-*, as in *bazam*, I will go (Par. 18); *au da bazam*, I am going (L. 77); *mēn samo tre ādᵃmo khārasi da bazam*, we three men all go to town (L. 17). Cf. Grammar, p. 291.

bo, be! (L. 168); *bēm*, I am (Par. 18); *bazam*, I may be (L. 172); *bazum*, I shall be (L. 173).

Cf. *gā*.

[Cf. G. *bua*, he was; Skr. *bhūta-*. Cf. also Sh. *bōiki*, to become; *bujōōhi*, to go.]

√*bich-*; *bīcho*, see!, behold! (Par. 29); *mala bīchī*, the father saw (him) (Par. 20). [Cf. Skr. √*vīkṣ-*? Cf. also Ksh. √*wuch-*.]

bhadai, see *baṛē*.

ba-dēm, see √*dē-*.

badmāshī-khum, in riotous living (Par. 13). [Prs. *bad-maʿāshī*.]

badᵃna, a child; *le badᵃna myāna putr ti*, that child is my son (L. 54); *lema tre badᵃna malasi khabar ut ti*, information has come from the fathers of these three children (L. 109); *khārāb badani*, a bad boy (L. 129); *kāmik badāna da-ō*, whose boy comes? (L. 239).

bōgha (L. 120), (?) *bōkh* (L. 87), *boga* (Leech), near; *thānasi bōgha ō*, he came near the house (Par. 25); *braḍa adamas than bogha ti*, the house of the good man is near (L. 120); *tao sawa bōgha wāma*, you were all near by (L. 166). [? Cf. Skr. *upāka*, Or. *bōī*.]

bhūm (Leech), earth. [Skr. *bhūmi-*, Ksh. *būm*.]

bahr, outside; *ao chāna hukum-ma bāhr nā gim*, I did not go outside thy order (Par. 29). [Psht. *bāhir*.]

bāla (L. 39), *bāl* (Leech), hair [Gār. *bāl*, M. *bāla*, Sh. *bālā*, Ksh. *wāl*, Skr *vāla-*.]

bālī (Leech), wind. [Cf. Prs. *bād*, Av. Skr. *vāta-*.]

bilolea (?) (Leech), a cat. [Ksh. *brōrᵃ*, Skr. *biḍāla-*.]

bāna, ? a vessel, dish (L. 240). [Ksh. *bāna*, a vessel.]

bhaṇa (Leech), a plate. [See the preceding.]

banyā-ma, from a shopkeeper (L. 241).

brā (L. 42), *bhrā* (Leech), a brother; *chāna brā ū ti*, any brother has come (Par. 27); *chāna brā muṛa gāwa*, thy brother had died (Par. 32); *le-mas spazunsi le adᵃmas brā kaza ti*, his brother is taller than his sister (L. 231). [B. *brōk*, W. *brā*, G. *bhāna*, Ksh. *bōyᵃ*, Av. *brātar-*, Skr. *bhrātar-*.]

bār (Leech), fruit. [Psht. *bār*.]

baṛē (L. 139), *bhadai* (Leech), a mare; pl. *baṛē* (L. 141). [Cf. Skr. *vaḍabā*.]

bir ākā (Leech), a he-camel; *bīra tsinda* (Leech), a he-goat. [Cf. K. *birēra rōuz*, Sh. *bīrō rōz*, a male deer.]

brīch (Leech), a tree; *le ādam kuz^ra dāka khum spāra ga brichat tōna*, he is sitting on a horse under a tree (L. 230). [Skr. *vṛkṣa-*.]

braḍa (L. 132), *breḍa*, good. For examples, see Grammar, p. 276.[?]

burod (Leech), a wolf.

brij, a tower; *lema brijasi le kaza ti*, this tower is higher than that (L. 136); *sawa brijan-ma le brij kaza ti*, this is the highest tower of all (L. 137). [Psht. *bruj*.]

brōk or (Leech) *brokh*, many; much; well, very. For examples, see Grammar, p. 277. [? cf. B. *bilugh*, *belyuk*.]

brekh (Leech), pain. [Psht. *brēkh*.]

brekhta, a hill; *le ādam tāna mal brekhta khāra khum tsarā-ti*, he is grazing his cattle on the top of the hill (L. 229).

barsāt (Leech), rain. [H. *barsāt*.]

brēt (Leech), a moustache. (Psht. *brēt*.)

bat (Leech), a stone. [B. *wōtt*, Lnd. *vaṭṭā*.]

batsa, a calf; *ek breḍa batsa ānines*, bring a good (*i.e.* fatted) calf (Par. 23); *chāna mala lā breḍa batsa kukhto*, thy father slaughtered the good calf (Par. 27); *te lema da-pāra breḍa batsa kukhto*, thou slaughteredst for his sake the good calf (Par. 30). [Psht. *bachai*.]

bēwukūf, in *te bēwukūf tis*, thou art foolish (L. 157). [Prs. *bē-wuqūf*.]

biyātai (Leech), scissors. (Psht. *biyāti*.)

bēwa, see √ *bē-*.

bīzo (Leech), midday.

bazam, see √ *bo-*.

chi in *chi kere*, he wasted (his substance) (Par. 13, 30); *chiz kere*, he expended (Par. 14).

chāna, see *to*.

chap (Leech), left (not right). [Prs.]

chiz, see *chi*.

da (for *dō*, two, q. v.).

da, of; *da mē* or *masi-da*, of me (L. 15); *da-pāra*, for the sake of, on account of, *lema da-pāra breḍa batsa kukhto*, for his sake thou slaughteredst the fatted calf (Par. 30). [Psht. *da*.]

da, dē, apparently an auxiliary verb meaning "is," added to other verbs (like Psht. *dai*, f. *da*); *au da bazam*, I am going (L. 77); *chāna khidmai au da kerem*, I am doing thy service (Par. 29); *tu de gāwāza*, thou goest (L. 206); *kāmik badāna da ē*, whose boy comes (L. 239); *mēn samo tre ādᵃmo khārasi da bazam*, we three men all go to town (L. 17); *au dē kām khushālē karēm*, let us eat, let us do rejoicing (L. 24); *tu de gāwāza*, you go (L. 209); *au dēm*, I may be (Par. 19, 21), is doubtful. [Psht. *dai*, f. *da*.]

√ *dē-*, give; *le pakirasi ek āna dē*, give one anna to the faqīr (L. 84); *braḍa adamasi le khat dē*, give this letter to a good man (L. 121); *le rūpai le adamasi dē*, give this rupee to him (L. 234); *tā masi dē*, give that to me (Par. 12).

le khat malasi dēm, I give this letter to the father (L. 103).

mē le adam diyanasi dita wa, I gave that man to be beaten (L. 177); *tē masi tsālī tsindar nā dita*, thou didst not give me a kid (Par. 29); *lāsi kī nā dita*, no one gave to him (Par. 16); *le malasi jawāb dita*, he gave answer to his father (Par. 29); *mala gaṇa puirasi jawāb dita*, the father gave answer to the elder son (Par. 31).

grē re ditana (Par. 17), ? the meaning. *dita-na* may = 'were given;' *ditanas*, he said (gave) to him (? was-addressed-by-him-he, see Grammar, p. 294.) (Par. 12). [Cf. the next.]

√ *dē-*, beat, strike. The present base of this verb is optionally *daz* or *diz*, as in *diz* (L. 81), *daz* (L. 175), strike (? pl.); *le adam brok do*, beat that man well (L. 236). Cf. Grammar, p. 291.

dēm, I beat (L. 81); *mē dēma*, I am striking (L. 191); *ao ditam*, I strike (L. 179); *te ditama*, thou strikest (L. 180); *le dita ti*, he strikes (L 181), *ao ditama*, we strike (L. 182); *tā ditama*, you strike (L. 183); *le ditama*, they strike (L. 184). Except the first two, these all are probably really in the past tense. See Gr. p. 290.

mē (, *te*, *le*) *ba-dēm*, I (, thou, he) shall (will) strike (L. 195-197), *ao* (, *tā*, *le*) *badēma*, we (, you, they) shall (will) strike (L. 198-200).

mē (, *te*, *le*) *dita wa*, I (, thou, he) struck (L. 185-187); *ao* (, *ta*, *le*) *dita wāma*, we (, you, they) struck (L. 188-190).

mē dita wāma, I am struck (L. 202).

ditin, a stripe; *le-ma adᵊmas putᵊr khum mē brok ditina kere tīna*, I have made many stripes on that man's son.

diyan, the act of striking; *diyan braḍe na ti*, it is not good to strike (L. 176); *pas diyan-ma ao gēma*, after beating we went away (L. 178); *mē le adam diyanasi dita wa*, I gave that man to be beaten (L. 177).

[In many Dardic languages, the same word is used for both "give" and "beat." Kh. √ *di-*, give, beat; K. √ *dē-*, give, √ *ti-*, beat; P. Sh. √ *dē-*, give; Sh. *dōiki*, to beat, (Chilāsī), √ *ḍē-*, beat; Gār. √ *dā-*, give; M. √ *dai-* (p. p. *dit*), give; Ksh. √ *di-* (p. p. *dyutᵊ*), give; Av. Skr. √ *da-*.]

dē, a daughter (L. 56, 110); *le surē myāna dē tē*, this little one is my daughter (L. 56); *le myāna dē panzī sanzar tē*, my daughter is fifteen years (of age) (L. 111); *dēsi*, to a daughter (L. 112); *myāna dunsi khat ut ti*, news has come from my daughter (L. 113); *dō dē*, two daughters (L. 114); *tre dē*, three daughters (L. 115); *myāna dun umar*, the age of my daughters (L. 116); *dunsi*, to daughters (L. 117), from daughters (L. 118). [M. *dhi*, Sh. *dī*, Gār. *dūī*, Pr. *dhīā*, Skr. *duhitar-*.]

do, see √ *dē-*, beat.

dō, (L. 2), *dù* (Leech), two; *ek adᵊmas dō putᵊra wāna*, of a certain man there were two sons (Par. 11); *dō mala tīna*, they are two fathers (L. 105); *dō dē*, two daughters (L. 114); *dō braḍa adama*, two good men (L. 123).

do bē (L. 11), *dù bhyù* (Leech), forty; *do biau ek*, forty-one (L. 11); *da biau dah*, fifty (L. 12); *da biau eko*, fifty-one (L. 12); *da biau ḃo*, fifty-two (L. 12).

[B. W. *du*, P. G. K. Sh. Gār. M. *dū*, Av. Skr. *dva-*.]

dùdi, a beard (Leech). [B. *dāṛi*, Ksh. *dōr*^{ā}, Skr. *dāḍhikā*.]

dùda, (? *dūḍa*), dust (Leech). [Psht. *dūṛa*.]

dudh, milk (Leech). [Ksh. *dōd*, Skr. *dugdha-*.]

dah, ten (Leech), L. 10. [P. *dē*, G. K. Gār. M. *dash*, Ksh. *dah*, Skr. *daśan-*.]

dhùng, smoke (Leech). [B. *dūm*, Ksh. *d*^{ə}*h*, Prs. *dū*, Psht. *lū*, Skr. *dhūma-*.]

dhùng, a needle (Leech).

dāk, the back (L. 43); *le zīn kuz*^{ə}*ra dāk khum thā*, put this saddle on the horse's back (L. 227); *le ādam kuz*^{ə}*ra dāka khum spāra ga brichat tōna*, he is sitting on a horse under that tree (L. 230). [K. *ḍāk*; M. *ḍag*, *ḍā*. ? cf. Ksh. *ḍak-*, a support.]

dùl, a shield (Leech). [Psht. *ḍal*.]

dama (L. 42), *damma* (Leech), the belly.

dām, a rope; *dāma khum tare*, bind (him) with ropes (L. 236). [Psht. *dām*, a snare].

dēm, see *da*, *dē*, and √ *dō-*, give.

domāma āwāz (Par. 25), the noise of drums. [Psht. *damāma*.]

dōn (L. 69, 143), *dhen* (Leech), a cow; *az myāna thāna-manzum ek dōn m*^{ə}*ra gā tē*, today a cow died in my house (L. 83); *dēn*, cows (L. 145). Cf. *gō*. [Skr. *dhénu-*, a cow. ? cf. K. *dōn*, Sh. *dōnō*, a bull.]

dun, see *dē*, a daughter.

dant (L. 37), *danda* (Leech), a tooth; *chāna sanās dante brōk trighna tīna*, the teeth of your dog are very sharp (L. 146). [B. *dutt*; W. *dūt*; K. *dandōriak*, G. *dāt*; P. *dānd*, *dānt*; Gār. Ksh. *dand*; M. *dān*; Kh. *don*; Prs. *dandān*; Skr. *danta-*.]

da-pāra, see *da*, of.

dūr (L. 89), *dùr* (Leech), far; *le adam dūr wa galiz wakta khum*, that man was away at the time of the theft (L. 164); *lā bē gā dūr mulkasi*, and he went to a far country (Par. 13); *lā dūr wa mala bīchi*, he was distant (when) the father saw (him) (Par. 20). [Psht. *dūr*.]

drig (Leech), long; *drīga* (Leech), tall. [B. *drgr*, K. *drīga*, M. *līga*, Sh. *ḍhīgō*, Or. *dīrg*, Skr. *dīrgha-*.]

drīst (Leech), false.

das (Leech), a day; cf. *daz*.

dōst, a friend; *ki tānu dōstāna sama khushāli kere*, that I made rejoicing with my own friends (Par. 29). [Psht. *dōst*.]

dēta, see √ *dē-*, give, and √ *dō-*, beat.

ditana, ditanas, see √ *dē-*, give.

ditin, see √ *dē-*, beat.

dowaḍō, two and a half; *lemas shisi dowaḍī rūpai kimat ti*, the price of that is two rupees and a half (L. 232).

diyan, daz, diz, see √ *dē-*, beat.

dūz, or (Leech) *dos*, a day; *tsuk^r daze pas*, after a few days (Par. 13). [P. *dawās, dwās*; M. *dis*; Gār. *dōs*; Sh. *dēs*; Ksh. *dōh*; Skr. *divasa-*.]

dēzī, ? today; *dēzā hāzir hazum*, I shall be present (L. 173). The meaning of this word is very doubtful.

gā, went, became. Apparently used as the past tense of √ *bō-*, q. v.

In L. 205-209, it is apparently used in a present sense, although the forms are certainly those of a past, or rather of a pluperfect. Thus:—*mē gā wāma*, I go; *tu de gā wāza*, thou goest; *le gā wa*, he goes; *ao gā wāma*, we go; *tu de ga wāza*, you go (? singular). Possibly these are shown as presents by mistake, for we also have *ao az gaṇa panda khum gā wama*, I have gone a long way today (L. 224).

Other forms with the meaning of "go" are *ao chāna hukum-ma bahr nā gim*, I did not go outside thy order (Par. 29); *la bē ga dur mulkasi*, and he went to a far country (Par. 13); *ek tānu naukario ga* (read *gā*) *ti*, he has gone to one of his own servants (Par. 26); *pas diyan-ma ao gēma*, after beating we went away (L. 178). In *andarun gāwa uṛe na wā*, his heart was not for going inside (Par. 28), *gawa* appears to be used as a verbal noun.

Forms with the meaning of "become" or "be" are:—*ao odastani marā gam*, I am become dead (*i.e.* I die) of hunger (Par. 17); *mē hāzir gam*, I am present (L. 156); *lā brōk odasta gā*, he became very hungry (Par. 14); *lā gana put^r gḫussa khum gā*, that elder son became in anger (Par. 28); *uṛē khushāl gā*, the heart became (*i.e.* is) joyful (Par. 32); *kāla jinde gā*, now he became (*i.e.* is) alive (Par. 24, 32).

le ki gā ti, this what is become (Par. 26); *lema-ma khabar gā ti*, of him the news is become, *i.e.* of him it is said (L. 27); *az myāna thāna-manzum ek dēn m'ra gā tē*, today a cow is become dead (*i.e.* died) in my house (L. 83).

le gar gā wa, he had become lost (Par. 24, 32); *le myāna put^r* (*chāna brā*) *muṛa gā wa*, this my son (thy brother) had become dead (Par. 24, 32).

Doubtful is *natī ga* in *ek ad^ma lā khare natī ga*, (?) he took refuge near a man (Par. 15).

[B. *go*; W. *goā*; G. Gār. *gā*; P. *gē-k*; Sh. *gaō*; Ksh. *gō(v)*; Skr. *gata-*. In Ksh. the verb means both "go" and "become."]

gō, a bull (L. 142); *go*, a bullock (Leech); *brōk gō*, many bulls (L. 144). Cf. *dēn*.

[G. *gō*, M. *gā*, P. *gō-lang*, Sh. (dialect) *gōlō*, all meaning "bull"; Av. Skr. *gav-*, *gō-*, an ox, a cow.]

gaḍ (Leech), mud. [? cf. Psht. *gaḍ*, blended.]

gadh (Leech), clarified butter [? cf. Pslt. *gḫwaṛē*.]

gīdad (? *gīdaḍ*) (Leech), a jackal. [Psht. *gīdaṛ*.]

gīdān; *gīdān āwāz ū*, the sound of singing came (Par. 25). [Cf. Skr. *gīta-*; cf. K. *gūṛo*. P. *gē*, M. *gēla*.]

gīgh (Leech), deep. [? Cf. B. *guṛu*.]

g̱hodī (Leech), abuse.

g̱hulām, a slave (L. 57). [Psht. *g̱hulām*.]

ghom (Leech), wheat. [Psht. *g̱hanum*.]

g̱har (Leech), a mountain. [Psht. *g̱har*.]

g̱hurr (Leech), a bow (the weapon). [Cf. Psht. *g̱hur-kamān*, a pellet-bow.]

ghās (Leech), grass. [Skr. *ghāsa-*; Ksh. *gāsa*.]

g̱hashe (Leech), an arrow. [Psht. *g̱hashai*.]

g̱hussā, anger; *g̱hussā ḵhum gā*, he became angry (Par. 28). [Psht. *g̱huṣṣa*.]

g̱hwar (Leech), good. [Psht. *g̱hwara*.]

g̱hwar kand (Leech), thunder. [Cf. Psht. *g̱huṛumb*, thunder.]

gul (Leech), a flower. [Psht. *gul*.]

golai (Leech), a bullet. [Psht. *gōlaī*.]

galiz, theft; *galiz wakta ḵhum*, at the time of the theft (L. 164). (Cf. Psht. *g̱hal*, a thief.)

gaṇa or (Leech) *ghaṇa*, great, large, tall, elder. *ao ez gaṇa panda ḵhum gā wāma*, I went a long way today (L. 224); *lemas spazunsi le adᵉmas bra gaṇa ti*, his brother is taller than his sister (L. 231); *le sān gaṇa putᵃr tsakalān manzum wā*, his elder son was in the fields (Par 25); *lā gaṇa putᵃr ghussā ḵhum gā*, that elder son became angry (Par. 28); *mala gaṇa putrasī jawāb dita*, the father gave answer to the elder son (Par. 31). [Psht. *gaṇ*, close, dense.]

gunī, in *ūzh gunī*, goat's hair (Leech). (Cf. Psht. *g̱hūndai*, a bag made of goat's hair.]

gunagār; *gunagār bēm*, I am a sinner (Par. 18); *brōk gunagār tim*, I am a great sinner (Par. 21). [Psht. *gunahgār*.]

grē, in *grē re ditana*, ? meaning (Par. 17).

gar, in (*le*) *gar gā wa*, he had been lost (Par. 24, 32).

grāni, a famine; *le mulke manzum brōk grānī wē*, a great famine happened in that land (Par. 14). [Psht. *grānī*.]

gushthānī (Leech), a house. Cf. *thān*.

giya, run! (L. 85).

hokhyār, clever; *to hokhyār iis*, thou art clever (L. 20). [Psht. *hōkhyār*.]

hukum, an order; *ao ohāwa hukum-ma bāhr nā gim*, I did not go outside thy order (Par. 29). [Psht. *ḥukm*.]

hindwānā (Leech), a water-melon. [Psht. *hindwāna*.]

hissa, a share; *myāna māla manzum ki hissa owē*, the share in the property which comes mine (Par. 12). [Psht. *ḥiṣṣa*.]

k ast (Leech), a hand. Cf. *ast*.

hāzir, present; *mē hāzir gam*, I am present (L. 156); *le sawa hāzir wāma*, they were all present (L. 167); *dōzē hāzir bazum*, (?) today I shall be present (L. 173). [Psht. *hāẓir*.]

jai, a place; *lema jaisi Kashmīr katčsi dūr ti*, how far is Kashmir from this place? (L. 222). [Psht. *dzāe*.]

jub, the tongue (L. 41). [Psht. *zhiba*; W. *jip*; K. Sh. *jib*; P. *jib*, *jub*; Skr. *jihvā*.]

jalti, quickly; *lā jaltī ā*, he came quickly (Par. 20); *jaltī bō*, go quickly (Par. 22). [Psht. *jalt*, quick.]

jama; *sure putʿr tāniv māl jama kere*, the younger son collected his property (Par. 13). [Psht. *jamaʿ*.]

jāmā, a garment; *lema-ma breḍa jāmāna anā*, bring for him good garments (Par. 22). [Psht. *jāma*.]

jinde, alive; *kāla jinde gā*, now he is alive (Par. 24, 32). [Psht. *zhwandai*.]

jang, fighting; *to suro wāz jango wakta manzum*, at the time of fighting thou wast small (L. 163). [Psht. *jang*.]

jawāb, an answer; *le malasi jawab dita*, he gave answer to the (? his) father (Par. 29); *mala gaza putrasi jawāb dita*, the father gave answer to the (? his) elder son (Par. 31). [Psht. *jawāb*.]

ki, *ke*, interrog. pron. what? *le ki ti*, what is that? (L. 93); *chāna nam ki ti*, what is your name? (L. 220); *le kī gā ti*, what has happened? (Par. 26); *ki sawab ti*, why? (L. 94). Cf. *kama*. [B. *kē*, *kai*; P. *kō*; G. *kī*; K. *kia*; Kh. *kya*; Ksh. *kyāh*; Gār. *kai*; M. *gē*.]

ki, rel. pron. who, what; *chāna la putʿr ō, ki chāna māl-maṭa sirizī khum chā kere*, thy this son came, who wasted thy property on women (Par. 30); *myāna māla manzum ki hissa owē*, amongst the property, the share which comes to me (Par. 12).

ki, conj. that; *le khiyāl wa ki*, this thought was that (Par. 16); *munāsib nā ti ki*, it is not proper that (Par. 19, 21); *tzālī tzindar nā dita ki tānu dōstāna sama khushālī kere*, thou didst not give a kid, in order that I might make rejoicing with my own friends (Par. 29). [Psht. *ki*.]

kī, by anyone; *lāsi kī nā dita*, no one gave to him (Par. 16).
[anyone, B. Sh. *kō*, W. *ki*, P. *kī*, Kh. *kā*, Ksh. *kāh*, M. *kaẽ*.]

kui or (Leech) *ku,ai*, a well; *kui-na uwa prēla*, draw water from the well (L. 237). [G. *kui*, Ksh. (dialect) *khūh*, Gār. *kōi*, M. *kōh*.]

kuchh (Leech), butter. [Psht. *kuch*.]

khā, (?) when; *khā thānasi bōghā ō*, when he came near the house (Par. 25).

√*khā-*; *kha*, eat! (L. 78); *ao dē kām* (? *khām*), let us eat (Par. 23). [M. √*kha-*, Gār. √*khō-*, Ksh. √*khi-*, Skr. √*khād-*.]

khô, *khō*, ? food; *wranin khō myāna shpun bē khō*, (?) the food of the sheep (is) the food of me the shepherd also (Par. 16).

kho, card. six (Leech, L. 6). [B. Gār *sho* ; W. *shū* ; P. *shᵃ* ; *khē* ; G. M. *shoh* ; K. *shōh* ; Sh. Ksh. *shah* ; Av. *khshvash* ; Skr. *shash-*.]

khabar, news; *lema-ma khabar gā ti*, of him it is said (L. 27); *lema tre badᵃna malasi khabar ut ti*, information has come from the father of these three children (L. 109). [Psht. *khabar*.]

khod, see *khōla*.

Khudāi, God (L. 60). [Psht. *Khudāe*.]

khka (Leech), a horn. [Psht. *ḳhkar*.]

khōla (L. 10), *khod* (Leech), card. sixteen.

khum, in, among; with, by means of. For examples, see Grammar, p. 274.

khīna, a wife; *le strē myāna khīna tē*, this woman is my wife (L. 53). [Psht. *ḳhīna*, a wife's sister]

khār, a town; *mēn samo tre ādᵃmo khārasi da bazam*, we three men all go to town (L. 17). [Psht. *ḳhakr*.]

khār, the head (L. 40); the top of anything; *brekhta khāra khum*, on the top of a hill (L. 228).

khare, near, with; *la kharē natī ga*, (?) took refuge near him (Par. 15); *tō mēkha mē-kharē wō*, thou wast always with me (Par. 31).

kharāb, bad. For examples, see Grammar, p. 278. [Psht.]

khurg (Leech), the armpit. [Psht. *tkharg*.]

khushāl, joyful; *uṛē khushāl gā*, the heart became joyful (Par. 32). [Psht. *khush ḳāl*.]

khushālī, rejoicing; *ao dē kām* (? *khām*), *khushālī karēm*, let us eat, let us do rejoicing (Par. 23); *tānu khushālī lān kere*, they made their rejoicing (Par. 24); *ki tānu dōstāna sama khushālī kere*, that I made rejoicing with my own friends (Par. 29); *khushālī karan munāsib wā*, to do rejoicing was proper (Par. 32). [Psht. *khush-ḳālī*.]

khat, a letter; *le khat malasi dēm*, I give this letter to the father (L. 103); *myāna dunsi khat ut ti*, news has come from my daughter (L. 113); *braḍa adamasi le khat dē*, give this letter to the good man (L. 121). [Psht. *khaṭṭ*.]

khwai (Leech), right (not left). [Psht. *khai*.]

khiyāl, thought; *le uṛe manzum le khiyāl wa*, this thought was in his heart (Par. 16). [Psht. *khiyāl*.]

kukhto ; *lās kukhto*, slaughter it (Par. 23); *chāna mala lā breḍa baṭsa kukhto*, thy father hath slaughtered the good calf (Par. 27); *tō lema da-pāra breḍa baṭsa kukhto*, thou slaughteredst for him the good calf (Par. 30).

kukri, pl., young dogs, pups (L. 149) [a puppy, Psht. *kūtrai* ; a dog, B. *kuṛi*, V. *kerukh*, Gār, *kūchur*, M. *kūsar*, Skr. *kukkura-*.]

kūla, now (Par. 19, 24 (bis), 32 (bis)). [? cf. Psht. *kala*, at any time. Cf. Skr. *kala-* time.)

kila, a village; *le kila ek banyā-ma achhita ti*, I bought it from a shopkeeper of this village (L. 241). [Psht. *kilai*, *qil'a*.]

kām (? *khām*), see √ *khā-*.

kāma, interrog. pron., who?; *le adam kāma ti*, who is that man (L. 92)?; *chāna patīkana kānik badāna da ē*, whose boy comes behind you? (L. 239); *te le bāna kāma adamasi* (or *adama-ma*) *achhita ti*, from whom did you buy that? (L. 240) Cf. *ki*, what? [B. *kū*; W. *kō*; P. *kē*, *kiā*; G. *kara*; K. *kūra*; Kh. *kā*; Sh. *kō*; Ksh. *kus*; Gār. *kum*; M. *kā̃*.]

kamān (Leech), a bow (the weapon). [Psht. *kamān*.]

kumār or (Leech) *kumār*, a daughter (L. 56); *ek khārāb kumār*, a bad girl (L. 131). [Kh. *kimēri*, a woman; *kumōru*, a girl; Skr. *kumārī*.]

kimat, price; *lemas ahisi dowaḍi rūpai kimat ti*, the price of that is two rupees and a half (L. 232). [Psht. *qimat*.]

*kan*ª or (Leech) *kaṇ*, an ear (L. 38). [M. *kāṇ*, Gār. *kyan*; Sh. *kūn*; Ksh. *kan*; Av. *karena-*, Skr. *karṇa-*.]

kana, in *mīkana*, before (L. 90) and *patīkana*, behind (L. 91); *myana mīkana bo*, walk before me (L. 238); *chāna patīkana kānik badāna da ē*, whose boy comes behind you (L. 239).

kune or (Leech) *kunai*, card. nineteen (L. 10).

kand, in *ghwar kand*, thunder (Leech).

kangana, black (Leech); *kangana mirch*, black pepper (Leech).

kar (L. 74) or (Leech) *khar*, an ass. [Psht. *khar*.]

√*kar-*, do, make; *ki tānu dōstāna sama khushālī kere*, that I made rejoicings with my own friends (Par. 29); *tānu mālas badmāshī khum chi kere* (*k'r*ª), he wasted his substance in riotous living (Par. 13); *lā saw māl chiz kere*, (when) he had wasted all his substance (Par. 14); *ki chāna māl-maṭā strīzī khum chi kere*, (thy son) who wasted thy property on women (Par. 30); *lā māla taksīm kere*, he divided the property (Par. 12); *sure put'r tānu māl jama kere*, the younger son collected his property (Par. 13); *mala tām kere*, the father made compassion (Par. 20); *tānu khushālī lān kere*, they made their rejoicing (Par. 24); *lemas tgir kere*, he asked him (Par. 26); *lās pukhlā kere*, conciliated him (Par. 28).

me brok ditina kere ti, I have made many blows (L. 228).

ao de kām (*? khām*) *khushālī karēm*, let us eat, let us make rejoicing (Par. 23).

chāna khidmat as da kerem, I am doing thy service (Par. 29).

khushālī karan munāsib wa, it was proper to make rejoicing (Par. 32). [Psht. *kṛ'l*. B. Kh. √*kor-*, K. √*kār-*, G. √*ker-*, P. M. Gār. Ksh. √*kar-*; Av. √*kar-*, Skr. √*kṛ-*.]

kirgha (Leech), a crow. [Psht. *qārgh*ª.]

kurku maud (Leech), saffron. [? cf. Psht. *kūrkamān*, turmeric.]

kram, business; *lema-ma kram kharāb ti*, their business is bad (L. 31). [Sh. *krom*, Skr. *karman-*.]

kursi, a chair; *au lema'kursi-ma uthum*, I rise from this chair (L. 32). [Psht. *kursī*.]

kasa in *kasa myāna tā, lā chānam ti*, whatever was mine, that is thine (Par. 31). [B. *kal*, W. *kasa*, G. *ki*.]

kaṭhan (Leech), short.

katarī, a razor (Leech); *katārī*, a knife (Leech). [Cf. H. *kaṭārī*, a dagger.]

katēsi, how much? *chāna kuz'ra umar katēsi ti*, how old is thy horse? (L. 221); *lema jaisi Kashmīr katēsi dūr ti*, how far is it from here to Kashmir? (L. 222). Cf. *letik*. [G. *kata*, P *kau*, Kh. *kamā*, Sh. *kachāk*, Ksh. *kūt*, Gār. *kiti*.]

katisi, how many? *chāna mala thāna manzum katisi put'ra tina*, how many sons are there in thy father's house? (L. 223). Cf. *letik*. [Cf. above.]

kavza (Leech), a hut.

kasa, high (L. 135), tall; adv. up (L. 80); *lema brijasi le kaza ti*, this tower is higher than that (L. 136); *sawa brijan-ma le brij kaza ti*, of all towers that is the highest (L. 137); *lemas spazunsi le ad'mas brā kaza ti*, his brother is taller than his sister (L. 231).

kuz'ra or (Leech) *kuzrà*, a horse (L. 68, 138); *lema Jaba manzum sawa kuz'ra braḍe tina*, in Jaba all horses are good (L. 140); *chana kuz'ra umar katēsi ti*, how old is thy horse? (L. 221); *le parána kuz'ras zīn myāna thāna manzum*, the saddle of the white horse is in my house (L. 226); *le zīn kuz'ra dāk khum thā*, put the saddle on the horse's back (L. 227): *le ādam kuz'ra dāka khum spara gā brichai tōna*, he is sitting on a horse under that tree (L. 230). [? Cf. Bur. *hagkur*. Cf. the word *kaṛē*, a mare.]

lā, lē, le, this, that, he; *lema, lemo, lemas, lān, le-na, lās, lāsi, leei, le sān*. For examples of all these forms, see Grammar, pp. 283-4. [Cf. V. *es-le*, he, *mū*, they; P. *hla*, that, *mīs*, of this; Kh. *hamu*, him; Sh. *rō*, he; K. *ele-drūs*, they; Māvchi Bhil, *ēlō*, he.]

loī, in *loī zar* (Leech, *luhī zar*), gold (L. 45); see *luhā*.

laḍà (Leech), wood. [Psht. *largai*.]

luhī (Leech), red. [Skr. *lōhita-*.]

lakai (Leech), a tail. (Psht. *lakaī*.)

lemaji, here; *ao lemaji odaitani marā gem*, I am dying here of hunger (Par. 17). Cf. *lema jaisi*, s.v. *lā* (L. 222).

lon (Leech) salt. [P. *lōn*; Ksh. *lawan*, *lun*; Skr. *lavaṇa-*.]

langā ti, he lives, dwells; *myāna mala lā sūrē thāna manzum brōk umar langā ti*, my father has dwelt for a long time in that small house (L. 233). [Perhaps we should read *lan gā ti*.]

lētik, so many; *lētik sansaragāna chāna khidmet au da kerem*, for so many years I am doing thy service (Par. 29). Cf. *katēsi*, *katisi*. [With *lō-tik*, cf. *le*, and B. *ē-gyak*, W. *i-ti*, G. *a-ta*, Sh. *a-chāk*, Ksh. *yītyun*ᵉ, Gār. *a-tē*.]

ma, from, etc. For examples, see Grammar, p. 274. [Gār. *mā̃*.]

ma, termination of *lema*, see *lā*.

mà (Leech *mù*), a mother (L. 48). [M. *mhāī*, Sh. *mālī*, Ksh. *mōjᵘ*, Prs. *mādar*, Psht. *mōr*.]

mē, see *ao*.

mũ (Leech *mùn*), the face (Leech). [B. *mukā*, Kh. *mukh*, Sh. *mukh*, Ksh. *mōkh*, Skr. *mukha-*. Cf. the following words meaning 'before', B. *pa-myuk*, V. *ti-mikh*, W. *myuk-ne*, Gār. *mūkā*, Sh. *mōcō*, M. *mūṭhō*.]

magar, but (Par. 29). [Psht. *magar*, *mangar*.]

màhai (Leech), a fish. [Psht. *mahai*.]

mēkha, always (? = *kamēsha*); *tē mōkha mē-kharē wō*, thou wast always with me (Par. 31). [Psht. *hamēsha*.]

mikana, before (L. 90); *myāna mikana bo*, walk before me (L. 238); formerly in the past time (L. 187-190). [V. *ti-mikh*. See *mũ*.]

mala (Leech, *mhala*), a father (L. 47, *malᵃ*; 101, *mala*); *myāna mala lā sŭrĕ thāna manzum brōk umar langā ti*, my father has dwelt for a long life in that small house (L. 233);

mala rām kere, the father made compassion (Par. 20); *mala bēchī*, the father saw (him) (Par 20); *mala tāmu naukarānosi ayī*, the father said to his servants (Par. 22); *chāna mala lā breḍa batsa kukhto*, thy father slaughtered the good calf (Par. 27); *mala gana patrasi jawāb dita*, the father gave answer to the elder son (Par. 31);

myāna malᵃ brōk muzdurāno wāna, of my father there were many servants (Par. 17); *chāna mala thāna manzum*, in thy father's house (L. 223);

sŭrĕ putᵃr mala ditanas, the younger son said to the father (Par. 12);

mala tarafe ũ, he came in the direction of the father (Par. 20);

ai mala, O father! (Par. 12, 18, 21);

mala, fathers (L. 106); *dō mala tāna*, there are two fathers (L. 105);

mālu, of fathers (L. 107);

mala-ma, from a father (L. 104);

malas, *le malas gā*, his father (pron. suff.) went (Par. 28) (see Grammar, p. 270);

malas, *le thān malas ti*, that house belongs to the father (L. 102);

malasi, to the father; *le khat malasi dēm*, I give this letter to the father (L. 103); *mē tānu malasi bazam*, I will go to my father (Par. 18); *le malasi jawāb dita*, he gave answer to the father (Par. 29);

malasi, to fathers (L. 108);

malasi, from fathers; *lema ire bad^a^na malasi khabar ut ti*, information has come from the fathers of these three children (L. 109). [M. *mhāla*, Sh. *mālō*. Ksh. *mól^a^*. Sh. *mālō* is the masculine of *mālē*, mother. See *mā*.]

māl, property; cattle (pl.); *sure put^a^r tānu māl jama kere*, the younger son collected his property (Par. 13); *lā saw māl chiz kere*, (when) he had wasted all his property (L. 14); *ki chāna māl-maṭa chi kere*, who wasted thy substance (Par. 30).

lā māla taksīm kere, he divided the property (Par. 12); *māla-manzum*, from in the property (Par. 12);

tānu mālas (? pron. suff.) *chi kere*, he wasted his property (Par. 13) (see Grammar, p. 270);

mal (pl.), *le ādam tāna māl tsarā ti*, he is grazing his cattle (L. 229).

[Psht. *māl*, property, cattle.]

mālùch (Leech), cotton. [Psht. *mālūch*.]

mulk, a country.

*mulk^a^*, *le mulk^a^ manzum ek ad^a^ma lā khare natī gā*, (?) he took refuge with a man of in that country (Par. 15);

mulke, *le mulke manzum brōk granā wē*, a great famine became in that country (Par. 14).

mulkasi, *lā bē gā dūr mulkasi*, and he went to a far country (Par. 13). [Psht. *mulk*.]

manas ? married; *myāna trōras put^a^r le myāna spazam manas ti*, the son of my uncle is married to my sister (L. 225).

munāsib; *mē sama munāsib nā ti*, it is not proper for me (Par. 19); *masi munasib nā ti*, it is not proper for me (Par. 21); *khushalī karan munasib wa*, to do rejoicing was proper (Par. 32). [Psht. *munāsib*.]

manzum, in, from among. For examples, see Grammar, p. 275. [V. *mumj*, Ksh. *manz*, Gār. *mē̃*, M. *maz*, Skr. *madhyē*. Cf. Ksh. *manzum^a^*, intermediate.]

√*mar-*, die; *mira*, die (impv.) (L. 83); *ao lemaji odastani marā gam*, I die here of hunger (Par. 17); *muṛa gā wa*, he had died (Par 24, 32); *ek dēn m^a^rā gā tē*, a cow has died (L. 83). [Psht. *mṛ^a^l*.]

mare (Leech), the neck. [Psht. *marā*.]

mirch, in *kangana mirch* (Leech), black pepper. [Psht. *mrach*.]

margh, (Leech) *morgha*, (pl. *marghāna*), a bird (L. 76). [Psht. *marghá*.]

mirghāwī Leech), a duck. [Prs. *murgh-ābī*.]

mrikhī (Leech), sweet. [B. *machī*, Ksh. *myūṭh^a^*, Sh. *mōro*, Skr. *mṛṣṭa-*.]

māe (Leech), meat. [Sh. *moe*, Ksh. *māz*, Skr. *māṅsa-*.]

maṭā, in *māl-maṭā*, see *māl*.

mazdūr; *myāna mal^a^ brōk mazdurāno wāna*, there were many servants of my father (Par. 17); *tānu mazdūrāno khum mē sama karē*, make me equal among thy servants (Par. 19). [Both Paṣhtō forms.] [Psht. *mazdūr*.]

na, a case-suffix. *putre-na le-na aṛī*, the son said to him (Par. 21); *breḍa jāmā-na* (? *jamāna*, pl.) *anā*, bring ye a good garment (Par. 22); *le-na lāsi aṛī*, he said to him (Par. 27). [V. *pa-nê*, to; W. *ka-ne*, V. *pa-nea*, G. *pere-na*, M. Psht. *na*, from; G. *na*, of; K. *o-na*, in.]

na, interj. no! (L. 99).

na, *nā*, negative; *andarun gawa uṛe na wā*, his heart was not for going inside (Par. 28); *lāsi kā nā dita*, no one gave to him (Par. 16); *munāsib nā ti*, it is not proper (Par. 19, 21); *lē masi tsālī tsindar nā dita*, thou didst not give me a kid (Par. 29); *ao chana hukum-ma bahr nā gim*, I did not go outside thy order (Par. 29). [Psht. *na*.]

nab, nine (L. 9 and Leech).

naghara, kettledrums; *gidān naghara domāma āwaz ú*, the sound of singing, kettledrums, and drums (Par. 25). [Psht. *naghāra*.]

nākh (Leech), a hoof. [Cf. Psht. *nākhun*, a nail (of finger or toe).]

nukh (Leech), a nail. [Psht. *nūk*.]

nākār (Leech), bad. [Psht. *nākār*, useless; Ksh. *nākara*, bad.]

naukar, a servant; *ek tānu naukaris ga* (read *gā*) *ti*, he has gone to one his own servant (Par. 26). [Psht. *nokar*.]

nil[a], green (Stein). [Sh. *nālō*, Ksh. *nyūl*[u], Skr. *nīla-*.]

nām, a name; *chāna nam ki ti*, what is thy name? (L 220). [Psht. *nām*.]

nar (Leech *nàr*), fire (L 65). [Psht. *nār*.]

nas, the nose (L. 34). [Ksh. *nast*, *nas*.]

nast (Stem), *nasth* (Leech), the nose. [P. *nās*, *nāst-am*; Ksh. *nast*, *nas*.]

natī, in *le mulk*[a] *manzum ek ad*[a]*ma lā khare natī gā*, (?) he took refuge near a man in that country (Par. 15).

nazar, sight; *chāna nazar manzum gunagar bem*, in thy sight, I am a sinner (Par. 18); so, *chāna nazaram manzum brok gunagār tim*, in thy sight I am a great sinner (Par. 21). [Psht. *nazar*.]

pà (Leech), a leg. [Psht. *pā*. [Cf. the next.]

padī, a foot (L. 32); *pade manzun panā tsiya*, put ye shoes (? a shoe) on his feet (? foot) (Par. 22). [W. *pā-pō*; P. *pa*, *pai*; Sh. *pā*; Ksh. *pād*; A.v. *padha-*, Skr. *pāda-*. Cf. the preceding.]

padakahar (Leech), lightning.

pādawān, a herdsman (L. 59). [P. *pādawān*.]

phagdai (Leech) (? *pagḍai*), a turban. [Psht. *pagṛai*.]

phalla (Leech), grain. [? a misprint. cf. Psht. *ghalla*. But, on the other hand, cf. Ksh. *phol*[u], grain.]

phanai, see *panā*.

pukhlā, appeased, conciliated; *lās pukhlā kere*, conciliated him (Par. 28). [Psht. *pakhlā*.]

pakkà (Leech), cooked (Hindôstānī).

pakīr; *le pakīrasi ek āna dē*, give one anna to the faqīr (L. 84). (Afrīdī Psht.)

pàlī (Leech), bread.

plan (Leech), broad, fat (adj.). [Psht. *plan*.]

pam (Leech), wool. [Ksh. *phamb*, *pham*.]

pana, shoes (? a shoe); Leech, *phanai*, shoes; *pade manzum pana tsiya*, put ye shoes (? a shoe) on his feet (? foot) (Par. 22). (Psht. *paṣa*.)

pānu, in *le pānu*, clothe ye him (Par. 22).

pand, distance, journey; *ao az gaṇa panda-khum gā wāma*, I have walked a long way to-day (L. 224). Cf. *pant*, a road, path (Stein). [Psht. *pand*.]

pondī (Leech), the calf of the leg. [Cf. Psht. *paṛkai*, the calf; *pundaī* or *panḍaī*, the heel.]

pantṣ (L. 5), *pànts* (Leech), five. [B. *puch*, W. *pūch*, V. *uch*, P. *panj*, Gār. *pantṣ*, K. *pōnj*, Kh. *panj*, Sh. (Punialī) *push*, Ksh. *pantṣ*, Gār. *panj*, M. *pā̃ch*, Av. *pancha-*, Skr. *pañchan-*.]

pans bō, a hundred (L. 13).

panzō (L. 10), *panzi* (Leech), fifteen.

pāra, see *da-pāra*, under *da*, of (Psht.).

pōre, ? after; *lā pōre*, ? after that (Par. 14). [Psht. *pōrē*, up to, beyond.]

prēgī, he was sent (Par. 15). [Cf. Psht. *prēgdᵃl*, to set free.]

prēla, draw thou (water); *kui-ma uwa prela*, draw water from the well (L. 237).

parána (Leech, *paranna*), white; *parana* (Leech, *paranna*) *zar*, silver (L. 46); *le paráṇa kuzᵃras zīn*, the saddle of the white horse (L. 226).

pìran (Leech), a coat. [Psht. *pairāhan*.]

piratha (Leech), thirst.

pas, after; *pas diyan-ma ao gēma*, after beating we went away (L. 178); *tsukᵃ daze pas*, after a few days (Par. 13). [Psht. *pas*.]

pishō, a cat (L. 71). (Psht. *pishō*.)

postakai (Leech), leather (Psht., untanned hide).

patī, after; *lema patī mula tarafe ū*, after that (? this) he came in the direction of his father (Par. 20); *patī-kana*, behind (L. 91); *chāna patī-kana kūmik badána da ē*, whose boy comes behind thee (L. 239). [W. *pat*, G. Ksh. *pata*, Sh. *phatū*, Gār. *patā*, M. *patō*.]

putᵃr (Par.), *putr* (L. 55), *putur* (Leech), a son; *kāla mē sama* (or *nasi*) *munāsib nā ti ki chāna putᵃr au dēm*, now for me it is not proper that I may be thy son (Par. 19, 21).

putᵃr, sg. nom. *le myāna putᵃr muṛā gā wa*, this my son had died (Par. 24); *le sān gaṇa putᵃr tsakalān manzum wā*, his elder son was in the fields (Par. 25); *lā gaṇa putᵃr gkusa khum gā*, that elder son went into anger (Par. 28); *chāna lā putᵃr ō*, this thy son came (Par. 30); *le badᵃna myanu putr ii*, this child is my son (L. 54);

put"r, subject of trans. verb in past tense. *sūrē put"r mala ditanas*, the younger son said to his father (Par. 12); *sure put"r tānu māl jama kere*, the younger son collected his property (Par. 13);

put"r (obl. sg.); *lema ad"mas put"r khum mē brok dītina kere tīna*, I have made many stripes on his son (L. 228).

putre-na le-na aṛī, the son said to him (Par. 21).

putrasi; *mala gaṇa putrasi jawāb dita*, the father gave answer to his eldest son (Par. 31).

Voc. *ai put"ra*, O son! (Par. 31).

put"ra (pl nom.); *ek ad"mas do put"ra wāna*, of a certain man there were two sons (Par. 11); *chāna mala thāna manzum katisi put"ra tīna*, how many sons are there in your father's house? (L. 223). [B. *puṭr*, W. *piutr*, K. *pūtr*, G. *puli*, Ksh. *puth"r*, Av. *puṭhra-*, Skr. *putra-*.]

pyāz (Leech), an onion. [Psht. *piyāz*.]

re, in *grē re ditana*, ? meaning (Par. 17).

rāgha (Leech), a plain. [Cf. Psht. *rāgḫ*, a meadow.]

rām; *mala rām kere*, the father made compassion (Par. 20). [Cf. Ar. *raḥm*.]

rūn (Leech), the thigh. [Psht. *rūn*.]

rūpai, a rupee; *le rūpai le adamassi dē*, give this rupee to him (L. 234); *lemas shisi dowaḍī rūpai kimat ti*, the price of that is two rupees and a half (L. 232); *lema-ma lā rūpai achhilo*, take those rupees from him (L. 235). [Psht. *rūpaī*.]

rassai (Leech), a rope. [Psht. *rasai*.]

rast (sic.) (Leech), true. [Cf. Psht. *rāst*.]

rāt (Leech), night (Hindi, *rāt*)

sabā (Stein), to-morrow. [Psht. *sabā*.]

sūdā (Leech), little. [? Psht. *suda*, abraded. Cf. also *sūra* below.]

shi (Leech, *shai*), a thing; *lemas shisi kimat*, the price of this thing (L. 232). [Psht. *shai*.]

shhal (Leech), cold. [Cf. Ksh. *shēhol"*, B. *shilo*.]

shalē (Stein), a coat. [? cf. Psht. *shalwār*, trousers, or *shāl*, a shawl.]

shunda (Leech), the lip. [Psht. *shūnḉa*.]

shpūn, a shepherd (L. 59); *wranin khō myāna shpūn bē khō*, ? the food of the sheep (is) also the food of me the shepherd (Par. 16). [Psht. *shpūn*.]

shaitān, a devil (L. 61). [Psht. *shaiṯān*.]

sama, postpos. with, together with; *tānu dōstāna sama khushālī kerī*, (I) made rejoicing with my friends (Par. 29);

Forming a dative; *mē sama* (or *masi*) *munāsib nā ti*, it is not proper for me (Par. 19, 21);

like, equal to; *tānu mazdūrānu khum mē sama karē*, make me equal among thy servants (Par. 19).

[Cf. Skr. *sama-*, equal ; *sam*, with.]

samo, all; forms plural, *mēn samo tre ādᵃmo khārasi da bazam*, we three men all go to town (L. 17). [Cf. Skr. *sama-*, together.]

sùm 1 (Leech), thin.

sùm 2 (Leech), a leek [Cf. Ar. *ṣūm*, Sindhī *thūmᵃ*, Bal. etc. *thóm*, W. *tum*, garlic.]

sanā (Leech, *sanà*), a dog (L. 70); *chāna sanas dante brōk trighna tāna*, the teeth of your dog are very sharp (L. 146); pl. *sanē* (L. 148); *strīza sana*, a bitch (L. 147); pl. the same (L. 149). [W. *tsā̃*, K. *shōr*, G. *shuna*, P. *shuring*, Sh. *shā̃*, Ksh. *hūnᵃ*, Av. *span-*, Skr. *śun-*.]

sān, ? postpos. of gen.; *le sān gana putᵃr*, his elder son (Par. 25).

sen (Leech), a bedstead.

sansar, a year; *le myāna dē pansī sansar tō*, the age of my daughter is fifteen years (L. 111); *tētik sansaragāna chana khidmat au da kerem*, for so many years I do thy service (Par. 29). [Cf. Ar. *sam*.]

spoghmai (Leech, *spagmai*), the moon (L. 63). [Psht. *spógmai*.]

spansī (Leech), thread. [Psht. *spaṇsai*.]

spāra ga, mounted; *le ādam kuzᵃra dāka khum spara ga brichat tōna*, he is seated on the back of a horse under a tree (L. 230). [Psht. *sparédᵃl*, to ride a horse.]

spaz (so also Leech), a sister (L. 50); *myāna trōras putᵃr le myāna spazam manas ti*, the son of my uncle is married to my sister (L. 225); *lemas spazunsi le adᵃmas bra kaza ti*, his brother is taller than his sister (L. 231).

[B. *sus*, V. *siusu*, W. *sōs*, G. *sase*, P. *saẓ*, Kh. *ispusār*, Gār. *ishpō*, Sh. *sah*, Skr. *svasār-*.]

sūra (fem. *surē*), young, small. For examples, see Grammar, p. 278. [Cf. P. *suratala*, Sh. *shūō*, *shudar*, Ksh. *shurᵃ*, a child. Cf. also *sùdà* above.]

surī (Leech *sùrì*), sun; *surē*, the sun; *az surē braḍa ti*, to-day the sun is bright (L. 62). [B. *sū*, W. *sōi*, K. *sūri*, G. *suri*, P. *sūr*, M. *swōr*, Gar. *sīr*, Sh. *sūrī*, Ksh. *sūrē*.]

sat, card. seven (L. 7), (Leech *sath*). [B. *sut*, W. *sōt*, V. *seite*, P. G. K. Sh. Gār, *sat*, Ksh. *sat-*, M. *sāt*, Kh. *sot*.]

sato (Leech), card. seventeen.

satāra, card. seventeen (L. 10).

sathan (Leech), trousers.

stre, a woman; *eka strē tē*, there is one woman (L. 52); *le strē myāna khīna tē*, this woman is my wife (L. 53); *braḍa strē*, a good woman (L. 128); *myāna thāna manzum brōk braḍē strē tīna* in my house there are many good women (L. 130).

[B. W. *ishtrī*, K. *istri*, P. *shlīkā*, Sh. *chèi*, *çhèi*, Ksh. *triy*, Wkh. *strēi*, Skr. *strī*.]

stōre, a star; *as brōke store tīna*, to-day there are many stars (L. 64). (Psht. *stōrai*.)

strīza, female, she-; *strīza sanā*, a bitch (L. 147), bitches (L. 149); *ki chāna mālmaṭā strīzi khum chī kere*, who wasted thy substance among women (Par. 30); *strīzy* (Leech), a wife; *strīzy ùkk* (Leech), a she-camel; *strīzy ṭsālī* (Leech), a she-goat. [Cf. *strē*.]

saw, *sawa*, all. For examples, see Grammar, p. 279. [Ksh. *sōr*ⁿ, Skr. *sarva-*.]

sawe (Leech), a hare. [Psht. *sōe* m. *sawa* f.]

sawab, a cause; *ki sawab ti*, why? (L. 94). [Psht. *sabab*.]

ti, verb substantive (L. 158, pres. sg. 3); *tē*, *tim*, *tīna*, *tīna*, *tis*, *tiza*. For examples of all these forms, see Grammar, pp. 287, 292, and 294.

[G. *tkana*, Gār. M. *thā*, he is. Cf. Skr. *sthita-*.]

to, *tu*, *te*, *tē*, thou; *tā*, *tao*, *chāna*, *chānaw*. For examples of all these forms, see Grammar, p. 281.

[B. W. K. G. Kh. Sh *tu*, Gār. M. *tū*, P. *tō*, Ksh. *tsʰh*, thou; Ksh. *chyōnⁿ*, Gār. *chhā̃*, thy.]

thā, put thou; *le zīn kuzʰra dāk khum thā*, put the saddle on the horse's back (L. 227).

[Sh. *tam*, I do; Ksh. *thāwun*, to place; Skr. √*dhā-*, or √*sthāp-*, put.]

thān, a house (L. 67); *chāna thān braḍa ti*, thy house is good (L. 22); *lomo thān sura ti*, his house is small (L. 28); *le thān malas ti*, this is the house of the father (L. 102); *braḍa adamas thān bōgka ti*, the house of a good man is near (L. 120);

thāna; *myāna thāna manzum brōk braḍē strē tīna*, there are many good women in my house (L. 130); *chāna malo thāna manzum*, in thy father's house (L. 223); *myāna thāna manzum*, in my house (L. 226); *myāna thāna-ma chana thān braḍa ti*, thy house is better than mine (L. 133).

thānasi; *khā thānasi bōgka ō*, when he came near the house (Par. 25); *aw as thānasi ēma*, I come to the house to-day (L. 80);

thānān; *sawa thānān-ma chāna thān braḍa ti*, thy house is better than all houses (L. 134).

[Psht., Lnd. *thān*, a cattle-stall; Skr. *sthāna-*.]

tekai (Leech), a scabbard. [Psht. *tēkai*.]

taksīm, partition; *lā māla taksīm kere*, he divided the property (Par. 12). (Psht. *taqsīm*.)

tānu, own (=Hindi *apnā*). For examples, see Grammar, p. 286.

[W. G. *tanu*, Gar. *tanā*, own; P. *tanik*, Kh. *tan*, M. *tā̃*, Sh, *tomō*, Ksh. *pāna*, self; Skr. *ātman-*, self.]

tōna, under; *le ādam kuzʰra dāka khum spāra ga brichat tona*, he is seated on a horse under a tree (L. 230).

tandr (Leech), a thunderbolt. [Psht. *tandar*.]

tandrai (Leech), a mouse.

tre, trà, three (L. 3); *tre dē*, three daughters (L. 115); *tre bē*, sixty (L. 12); *tre biau dah*, seventy (L. 12).

[B. K. *trek*, W. *trē*, Sh. *ç̣hōi*, P. *klē*, G. *t̲hlē*, Kh. *troi*, Ksh. *tr*ʰ*h*.]

tre (Leech), salt.

tro, thirteen (L. 10; so Leech).

√*tar-*; *tare*, bind thou; *dāma k̲k̲um tare*, bind (him) with a rope (L. 236). [Psht. *taṛ*ᵃ*l*.]

taraf, direction; *mala tarafe ū*, he came in the direction of his father (Par. 20). [Psht. *t̲araf*.]

trigh̲na, sharp; *chāna sanāe dante brōk trigh̲na tīna*, your dog's teeth are very sharp (L. 146). [Cf. Psht. *trīk̲k̲*, bitter; but Skr. *tīkshṇa-*, sharp.]

trik̲k̲ht (Leech), bitter. [Psht. *trīk̲k̲*.]

trōr, an uncle; *myāna trōras putʰr*, the son of my uncle (L. 225). [Cf. Psht. *trōr*, an aunt; but *trah*, an uncle. Possibly there is a mistake in the original.]

tarwalī (Leech), a sword. [Cf. H. *talwār*, *tarwār*; Psht. *tūra*.]

tattù (Leech), hot. [H. *tāt*; cf. Psht. *tōd*.]

t̲sabar (Leech), cloth [? misprint for *t̲sadar*; cf. Psht. *t̲sādar*.]

t̲sauda, fourteen (L. 10). Leech, *tsondà*.

t̲suk (Leech), little; *t̲sukᵃ dase pas*, after a few days (Par. 13). [Cf. Psht. *t̲sō*.]

t̲sakal (?), a field: *le zān gaṇa putʰr t̲sakalān manzum wā*, his eldest son was in the fields (Par. 25); *le adam tānu t̲sakalānsi prēgi*, that man sent (him) to his fields (Par. 15)

t̲sukzara, but (L. 96).

t̲sālī, a she-goat (L. 151); pl. *t̲sālē* (L. 152); *t̲sālī-t̲sindar*, a kid (Par. 29); *strīzy tsàlī* (Leech), a she-goat. [Cf. Psht. *chēlai*, Gār. *chēl*, M. *sāil*.]

t̲simbar (Leech *tsimbar*), iron (L. 44). [Bur. *chōmar*.]

t̲sinda, a kid (L. 151); cf. *t̲sālī-t̲sindar*, s. v. *t̲sālī*; *bīro tsinda* (Leech), a he-goat. [? Cf. B. *chō̃*, W. *chū̃*.]

tsondà (Leech), see *t̲sauda*.

t̲sindar, see *t̲sālī* and *t̲sinda*.

t̲sanzwā, a cock (the bird) (L. 72).

√ *tsar-*, graze (cattle); *le adam prēgi wrani t̲sarai*, that man sent him to feed sheep (Par. 15); *le ādam tāna* (? *tānu*) *māl brekkta k̲hāra k̲hum t̲sarū ti*, he is grazing his cattle on the top of the hill (L. 229). [Psht. *t̲sarawᵃl*, to graze; W. K. Gār. Sh. √*char-*, Ksh. √*t̲sār-*, M. √*sār-*, Av. Skr. √ *char-*.]

t̲sār, asking; *lemos t̲sār kere*, he asked (Par. 26).

tsor (Leech), four, see *t̲sawor*.

tsat (Leech), the back. [Cf. Psht. *t̲saṭ*, the nape of the neck.]

tsawor, four (Leech *tsor*) (L. 4); *tsawor bē*, eighty (L. 12); *tsawor biau dah*, ninety (L. 12).

[B. *shto*, W. *shtā*, P Sh. *chār*, G. *chār*, Kh. Gar. *chōr*, Ksh. *tsōr*, M. *sāṅr*, K. *chau*, Av. *chathwārō*, Skr. *chatur-*.]

tsiya, put ye; *lema asto manzum angur tsiya, pade manzum panā tsiya*, put ye a ring on his hand, put ye shoes on his feet (Par. 22).

[Cf. G. *anisau*, put ye.]

wā, wāz, he was, *we, wāma, wāna, wāz, wāza*. For examples of all these forms, see Grammar, pp. 288 and 295.

[Cf. Psht. *wu*, he was.]

wà (Leech), water. See *uwā*.

wakt; *mē suro wāma lema wakta khum*, I was small at that time (L. 162); *to suro wāz jango wakta manzum*, at the time of fighting thou wast small (L. 163); *le adam dūr wa galiz wakta khum*, that man was away at the time of theft (L. 164). [Psht. *waqt*.]

wama, see *wa*.

wrani, sheep; *prēgī wrani tsarai*, sent (him) to feed sheep (Par. 15); *wramin khō*, ? the food of the sheep (Par. 16).

[Cf. Psht. *wraẓ*, a lamb; Or. *wrai*, a sheep.]

wrinde or *urinde*, in *asta wrinde* (*urinde*), ? he embraced (Par. 20).

waza, adv. down (L. 88); postpos. under, *brichat waza*, under a tree (L. 230).

wāz, wāza, see *wa*.

yaya (Leech), a bear (the animal). [Cf. Psht. *yaẓ*, a bear, *yaẓa*, a she-bear. Possibly Leech's *yaya* is a misprint.]

zabzalà (Leech), an earthquake. (Psht. *zalzala*. Possibly Leech's word is a misprint.)

zhibba (Leech), the tongue. [Psht. *zhiba*.]

zam (in *bazam*), see √ *bo*.

zemīndar, a cultivator (L. 58). [Psht.]

zmarai (Leech), a tiger. [Psht. *zmarai*.]

zīn, a saddle; *le parāna kuzʷras zīn myāna thāna manzum*, the saddle of the white horse (is) in my house (L. 226); *le zīn kuzʷra dāk khum thā*, put the saddle on the horse's back (L. 227). [Psht. *zīn*.]

zav (Leech), barley. [Cf. H. *jau*; Skr. *yava-*.]

zyad (Leech), yellow; brass. (Cf. Psht. *ziyaṛ*, with both meanings.)

GILGITĪ ṢHIṆĀ.

Although the account of Ṣhiṇā given in the pages of the Survey was only published in 1919, it had been prepared several years previously It was based on materials which, while they were the best available at the time, were not always accurate or complete. During the interval that elapsed between its preparation and its publication no further materials came within my reach, but since then the language has been made the object of serious and detailed study by Lieutenant-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer, C.I.E., who was Political Agent at Gilgit from 1920 to 1924[1]. To him I owe a heavy debt of gratitude for a quantity of material (including a complete grammar) which he has from time to time most kindly sent me. These necessitated such heavy corrections in the pages of the Survey devoted to Gilgitī Ṣhiṇā, that I have thought it best to rewrite the whole section as follows. In these pages, the numerous examples have been taken bodily from Colonel Lorimer's grammar, and I would here express my thanks for his permission to utilize them in this manner :—

I. **PRONUNCIATION.**—Colonel Lorimer wrote his Ṣhiṇa words according to the system of spelling introduced by the International Phonetic Association. This is far more accurate than the somewhat rough and ready system followed in the Survey, and takes account of minute differences of sound which hitherto I have not attempted to distinguish. For the sake of uniformity, I have transliterated his Ṣhiṇā words into the Survey system, and in so doing, I have more than once been compelled to represent two different letters of his transcription by one letter in mine[2]. If, in doing this, some of my spellings are inaccurate, it will be understood that the fault is mine, not his. With this understanding I proceed to explain the pronunciation of Ṣhiṇā.

Besides the usual pairs of vowels, *a* (the sound of which fluctuates between that of the *a* in 'America', and that of the *u* in 'but') and *ā*, *e* and *ē*, *o* and *ō*, *u* and *ū* we have also *à* and *ȁ*. The letter *à* indicates the sound of the *a* in the German word 'Mann', or the short sound corresponding to the long *a* in 'father', and *ȁ* that of *è* in the French word 'père'. These two vowels are often uncertain in their pronunciation. The vowel *à* is quite often sounded as *a*, as in *àsh* or *ash*, today, and *ȁ* is often sounded as *e*, as in *çhèi*. or *çhei*, a woman; *jàbè-jo*, from property, but *jap* (nom. sing.), property. In the following pages I shall mark *à* and *ȁ* only when I am certain that these sounds are correct. In other cases, I shall write *a* and *e*. In addition to these I represent by *ä* the sound of the *a* in 'cat', which is occasionally heard, as, for instance, in the word *äçhi* or *àçhi*, an eye. Similarly *ö* represents the sound of the *o* in 'on', which occurs in *çhön*, leisure, and a few other words. There are several diphthongs. The commonest is *ai*, which has nearly the sound of *y* in 'fly'. It is sometimes pronounced like *ei*, and is so written by some authorities on the language. General Biddulph represents it by *eyi*. The diphthong *au* is sounded like the *ow* of 'how'. The letters *öi* in *öiki*, the termination of the infinitive,

[1] While these pages were passing through the press, there was published Dr. T. Grahame Bailey's very full and complete 'Grammar of the Shina (Ṣiṇa) Language', (London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924). Unfortunately its appearance was too late for me to make use of it.

[2] For instance, I represent both Colonel Lorimer's ə and his ä by *a*, his ɪ and his ɪ by *i*, and his ɨ and his ʊ by *u*

do not indicate a diphthong, the two vowels being separately sounded, as in *thōiki*, pronounced *thō-iki*, to do.

The sounds represented by the letters *u* and *o* are often interchanged. Thus, *dēgu* or *dēgo*, he gave. Final vowels, especially *ə* and *e*, are very commonly elided. Thus, *masə̀*, *mase*, or *mas*, by me; *əshpusə̀* or *əshpus*, the horse; *guṭèro*, *guṭèru*, or *guṭèr*, in a house; *dījèṭə̀*, *dījèṭe*, or *dījèṭ*, to a daughter.

As regards consonants, the most prominent peculiarity is the frequency with which sounds which in India proper are aspirated are here aspirated so slightly that the fact is by some writers not shown in writing. Examples are *mukh* (sometimes written *muk*), a face, Hindōstānī *mukh*; *khōiki* (sometimes written *kōiki*), to eat, H. *khānā*; *khojōiki* (*kojōiki*), to ask, H. *khōjnā*, to seek; *likhōiki* (*likōiki*), H. *likhnā*, to write; *thōiki* (*tōiki*), to do; *sā"ṭī*, with, H. *sāth*. The sonant consonants *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d*, and *b* are indeed, as in other Dardic languages, never aspirated at all. Thus, *bāgo*, a share, H. *bhāg*; *majā*, among, H. *mājh*.

The fricative sound *f* is not uncommon, as in *bafūr*, ibex-down; *lafā*, a pace; *nifaiōiki*, to arrive. It does not appear to be used as an initial, but the aspirate *ph* is generally sounded like *f* with or without a slight *p*-sound preceding it, as in *"fāl* (or *fāl*) *thōiki*, to throw; *"fatū* (or *fatu*), afterwards; *"fumar*, a flower; *"fitīk*, vexed, and many others. The sound of the *th* of 'think' does not occur at all, and that of 'this,' as well as the *kh* and *gh* corresponding to the Arabic خ and غ, respectively, do not occur except in borrowed words.

There are four true cerebral sounds in Ṣhiṇā. These are represented by *ṣh*, *ch*, *j* (or *zh*), and *ḍ* (or *r*). The letter *ṣh* is sounded like a strong Indian cerebral ष *sha*, and similarly *ḍ* (or *r*) is sounded nearly as in India. The letters *ch* and *j* are sounded by attempting to pronounce *ch* and *j*, respectively, with the tip of the tongue curled back so as to come in contact with the highest part of the roof of the mouth. Former writers often represented *ch* by *tr* and *j* by *jr*, and accordingly these sounds will often be found so spelt in the specimens of Ṣhiṇā dialects on pp. 186ff. of Vol. VIII, Pt. ii. But such signs in no way represent the sounds of these letters, which are pure cerebrals. When the letter *n* is in close proximity to a cerebral letter, it itself becomes cerebralized to *ṇ*, and is then pronounced as in North-West India. Such a cerebralization occurs in the word 'Ṣhiṇā' itself, in which *n* has become *ṇ* owing to the proximity of the true cerebral *ṣh*.

The sounds represented by the letters *t* and *d* are not dental, as in India, but are alveolar, as in English. In some words these sounds are post-alveolar, but, in such cases, they are certainly not cerebral. Natives of India, when transcribing these post-alveolars, write them as cerebrals. In the cases in which I have noted them, I have indicated the sound by putting a dot under them, as in *əṭāgo*, he brought; *badə* or *baro*, great; but it must not therefore be assumed that the sound is so distinctly cerebral as in India proper. Judging from the specimens received by me, when an Indian tries to write Ṣhiṇā in the Persian alphabet he is uncertain as to how he should represent the sounds of these Ṣhiṇā post-alveolars, sometimes writing them as dentals and sometimes as cerebrals. For instance a writer in transcribing a Ṣhiṇā passage for me had to write the word *gōṭ*, a house, on two occasions. In one place he wrote گوٹ and in the other گوت. This was quite natural, as no Indian alphabet has any character

accurately indicating these alveolar and post-alveolar sounds. In the same way it will be found that other authorities differ as to whether, *e.g.*, a word should be written with *t* or *d* or with *ṭ* or *ḍ*.

B usually becomes *p*, when it finds itself at the end of a word. Thus the word for 'property' in the Parable is **jab-*, with an ablative singular *jùbè-jo*. But the nominative singular is *jap*, not *jab*, because the *b* is here final. So, the Ṣhinā word corresponding to *ṣāḥib*, is *sāip*, not *sāib*. Similarly *d*, when final, becomes *t*. Thus we have a genitive *dud-è*, of milk, but the nominative singular is *dut*, not *dud*.

II. **NOUNS.**—*Gender.*—There are two genders, masculine and feminine. Many masculine nouns end in *-o*, the corresponding feminine termination being *-ī*. Thus, *pōçho*, a grandson; *pōçhī*, a granddaughter: *dādo*, a grandfather; *dùdī*, a grandmother: *mālo*, a father; *mālī*, a mother (also used to mean 'a mother's sister'). Sex is, however, generally indicated by different words, as in *bābo*, a father; *àje* and *mà*, a mother: *àshpo*, a horse; *bām*, a mare: *dōno*, a bull; *gùo*, a cow: *jā*, a brother; *sà*, a sister; and so on. Some nouns indicate gender by prefixing *bīro*, male, and *sonçhi*, female. Thus, *bīro shũ*, a dog; *sonçhī shũ*, a bitch.

Number.—The nominative plural of most nouns ending in a vowel ends in *è*. Some nouns ending in a consonant, especially when feminine, form their plural in *è*, but others, especially masculines, in *ī*.

Many nouns of relationship form their plurals in *-ārè* or *-rè*. Thus,—

	Plural.
jā, a brother.	*jārè*.
sà, a sister.	*saiārè* or *sāārè*.
dī, a daughter.	*dijārè* or *dizhārè*.
gyèn or *grèn*, a wife.	*gyinārè* or *grinārè*.
dùdī, a grandmother.	*dadīnārè* or *dadārè*.
shàṣḥ, a mother-in-law.	*shaṣḥārè*.
'fīpī, a paternal aunt.	*'fapiārè*.
nūṣh, a daughter-in-law.	*nūjārè*.
jùjè, a sister-in-law.	*jajārè*

The word *pūçh*, a son, is quite irregular, its plural being *dārè*. Other irregular plurals are :—

	Plural.
hanè, an egg.	*hanèjè*.
dala, a water-channel.	*dalèjè* or *daljā*.
bār, a load.	*berī*.
dar, a door.	*dārī*.
barào, a husband.	*berākul*.
barīṣḥ, a year.	*barījī*.
shũ, a dog.	*shũī* or *shũāvī*.

Case.—There are very few variations in the declension of nouns, although the different terminations have each variant forms. The case terminations are as follows. The Accusative is the same in form as the Nominative:—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom. and Acc.	..., *o*, *u*.	*-ə̀*, *-ī* (see above).
Agent.	*-s(ə̀)*.	*-s(ə̀)*.
Oblique.	*-ə̀*.	*-o*, *-u*.
Gen.	*-ə̀*.	*-o*, *-u*.
Dat.	*-ṭ(ə̀)*.	*ṭ(ə̀)*.
Abl.	*-jo*, *-ju*.	*-jo*, *-ju*.
Loc. I.	*-r(o)*.	*-r(o)*.
Loc. II.	*-ch*, *-j*.	*-ch*, *-j*.

It will be seen that there are several forms for each case. In each instance the most usual form is given first. The use of the others depends partly on the personal equation of the speaker, and partly on the swing of the sentence; but in the nominative singular, while many nouns take *o* or *i*, others have no termination at all. When a termination ends in *ə̀*, *e* is often substituted.

In the terminations *-s(ə̀)* of the Agent, *-ṭ(ə̀)* of the Dative, and *-r(o)* of the Locative I., the final *e* or *o* is frequently dropped, so that the usual terminations are *-s*, *-ṭ*, and *-r*, respectively. So, the final *-ə̀* or *e* of the Oblique singular is often omitted.

The termination of the Agent case is added to the Nominative. The Oblique case is really only the genitive put to a special use. The terminations of the Dative and Ablative are added to the Oblique Case, so that they usually appear as *-ə̀ṭ* and *-ə̀jo*, respectively, in the singular, and as *-oṭ* (or *-uṭ*) and *-ojo*, respectively, in the plural. The Locative I. case takes either *ə̀* or *a* in the singular, and usually *u* in the plural, so that we get *-ə̀r* or *-ar* for the singular, and *-ur* for the plural. The Locative II. generally takes *i* in the singular, so that we get *-ich* or *-ij*. In the plural the termination is added to the oblique case, so that we get *-och*, *-oj*, *-uch*, *-uj*.

The Locative I. has the meaning of 'in,' and the Locative II. has the meaning of 'on', with, of course, in each case derivative meanings.

It will be remembered that the vowels *o* and *u* are often interchanged. We have an example of this in the word *gōṭ*, a house, which becomes *guṭ-* in all cases except the nominative-accusative and agent singular. In other respects it is regular. Thus:—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.-Acc.	*gōṭ*, a house.	*guṭī*, houses.
Agent.	*goṭsə̀*, a house.	*guṭīs*, houses.
Oblique.	*guṭə̀*.	*guṭo*.
Genitive.	*guṭə̀*, of a house.	*guṭo*, of houses.
Dative.	*guṭə̀ṭ*, to a house.	*guṭuṭ*, to houses.
Ablative.	*guṭə̀jo*, from a house.	*guṭujo*, from houses.
Locative I.	*guṭə̀r*, in a house.	*guṭur*, in houses.
Locative II.	*guṭich*, on a house.	*guṭuj*, on houses.

In the above I have given only the most commonly used forms. The other terminations given above can also be used.

If a noun ends in *o*, there are a few irregularities. Thus :—

Nom.-Acc.	*manūjo*, a man.	*manūjè*, men.
Agent.	*manūjus*, a man.	*manūjèz*, men.
Oblique.	*manūjè*.	*manūjo, manūju*.
Genitive.	*manūjè*, of a man.	*manūjo*, of men.
Dative.	*manūjèt*, to a man.	*manūjot, manūjut*, to men.
Ablative.	*manūjèjo*, from a man.	*manūjojo, manūjujo*, from men.
Locative I.	*manūjèr*, in a man.	*manūjur*, in men
Locative II.	*manūjich*, on a man.	*manūjoj, manūjuj*, on men.

The following are examples of other nouns in the nominative and oblique cases. It will be observed that some present slight irregularities.

Singular.		Plural.	
Nominative.	Oblique.	Nominative.	Oblique.
sà, a sister, f.	*sàiè*	*saiārè*	*saiāro*.
jà, a brother, m.	*jawè*	*jārè*	*jāro*.
(And so other nouns of relation in the plural as described above.)			
gà, a valley-river, m.	*gaiè*	*gaiè*	*gaiyo*.
bādshā, a king, m.	(gen.) *bādshāè*	*bādsharè*	*bādshāo*.
	(but dat. *bādshaṭ*)		
pā, a foot, m.	*paè*	*paiè*	*pawo*.
(There are two different declensions of nouns in *ā*.)			
bālī, rope, f.	*bālī*	*bālè*	*bālyo*.
tarī, a polo-ball, f.	*tarī*	*tarīè*	*tario*.
(There are also two declensions of nouns in *ī*.)			
mūlaii, a girl, f.	*mūlaiè*	*mūlaiè*	*mūlaio*.
dī, a daughter, f.	*dijè*	*dijārè*	*dijāro*.
(See the nouns of relationship above for the plural.)			
ᶻfīçḥū, a mosquito.	*ᶻfīçḥè*	*ᶻfīçḥè*	*ᶻfīçḥo*.
darū, big game.	*darūè*	...	...
(There are also two declensions of nouns in *ū*.)			
sū, a needle, f.	*sūè*	*sūè*	*sūo*.
shũ̄, a dog, m.	*shũ̄è*	*shũ̄wī* or *shũ̄ī*	*shũ̄o*.
sàwo, a bridge.	*sàwoè*	*sauwè*	*sauwo*.
barào, a husband, m.	*beràwoè*	*beràkul*	*beràkulo*.
(This word is irregular in both numbers.)			
Most nouns ending in consonants are regular, such as :—			
mārōch, a mulberry, f.	*mārōchè*	*mārōchè*	*mārōcho*.
ᶻfunar, a flower, m.	*ᶻfunarè*	*ᶻfunarè*	*ᶻfunaro*.
Irregular is :—			
dar, a door.	*dārè*	*dārī*	*dāro*.

See also the irregular plurals given above, on p. 330.

We now proceed to deal with the various cases in greater detail.

The *Accusative* is always the same in form as the nominative. This gives rise to no difficulties when a noun in the accusative is the object of a transitive verb, for, in that case, the subject is always put into the case of the Agent. Examples are :—

miṣhṭè miṣhṭè ²fumarè Yūsufèṭ dēènen, (they) give fine flowers of many kinds to Joseph.

mas (agent case) *taš dī tōm pūcḥèṭ tèchumus*, I want your daughter (as a wife) for my son.

The *Agent* case[1] plays a more important part in Ṣhiṇā than in Indo-Aryan languages. In them the subject of a transitive verb is put into the agent case only when the verb is in one of the tenses derived from the past participle. In Gilgitī Ṣhiṇā,[2] on the contrary, the subject of a transitive verb is put into the agent case in whatever tense (even the present or future) that the verb may be. In this respect, Ṣhiṇā agrees with the Tibetan spoken to its east. But, assuming that this case in Ṣhiṇā is an agent, as in India proper (which is not yet proved), all memory of the fact seems to have disappeared, and, so far as meaning goes, it is treated as a nominative, and the verb agrees with it in gender, number, and person, and is not put into the third person as in India. Thus, we have *mas damus*, I give; *tus dēino*, thou givest; *bādshās dēin*, the king gives; *sus din*, the sister gives; and so on. The termination of this case is *-sə̄*, *-se*, or *-s*. The last is only used when the nominative ends in a vowel. Thus, we have *pūcḥsə̄*, not *pūcḥs*, from *pūcḥ*, a son. But, in the plural, as the nominative *dārè* ends as a vowel, we may have *dārəsə̄*, *dārèse*, or *dārès*.

This case is used not only with the finite tenses of a verb, but also with participles and other non-finite forms. Thus :—

khūksə̄ khē, fat thātuk khē tushum-sik, kōs rəsə̄ṭ nēi dēinis, 'the pig(s) having eaten, I eating what-is-left-over would be satisfied,' (and) no one used to give to him.

The *Genitive* singular is given above as ending in *-è* or *-e*, as in *guṭè* (or *guṭe*), of a house; but this termination varies with different speakers. Sometimes it is heard ending in *-ē*, *-èi*, or *-aši*, or in various intermediate sounds. Examples are :—

guṭè kūṭ, the wall of the house.

guṭèr shēō ùshpē *tilèn han*, in the house is the saddle of the white horse.

hèṭè èk hèṭèwālè-jo, from a shopkeeper of the village.

The *Dative* is formed by adding *-ṭè* or *-ṭe*, usually reduced to *ṭ*, to the oblique case. Thus, *guṭèṭè* or *guṭèṭ*, to the house; *guṭuṭè* or *guṭuṭ*, to the houses. So :—

chumo pūcḥsè bābèṭ rēgu, the younger son said to the father

dūr kūyèkèṭè gōu, he went to a far country.

The *Ablative* is formed by adding *jo* or *ju* to the oblique case. Thus :—*daljè-jo waii nēkhalè*, draw water from the irrigation channel. So *saiè-jo jīgu*, taller than the sister; *hèṭèwālè-jo*, (bought) from a shopkeeper; *shikārè-jo fatu*, behind the fort.

---

[1] I have, in the above paradigm, given an agent case to *gōṭ*, a house. This form, in the instance of this word, is necessarily hypothetical; for 'house' can hardly be the subject of a transitive verb.

[2] In the Ṣhiṇā of Astōr, Gurez, Drās, and Ḍāh-Hanu, and, to a certain extent, in that of Chilās, there are two agent cases. One is used as in Gilgitī Ṣhiṇā, but only for the subject of a verb in a tense not formed from the past participle. The other is used for the subject of a verb in a tense formed from the past participle. The use, therefore, of this second form of the agent case is more like the use of the agent case in Hindūstānī and other Indian languages. See Vol. VIII, Pt. ii, pp. 187 and 211.

The *First Locative* is formed by adding *ro* as explained on p. 331. The final vowel is usually dropped, so that the termination is generally *-ȅr* or *-ar* in the singular, and *-ur* in the plural. This termination is probably a contraction of the postposition *aru* or *ȅru*, in, inside. Thus, *guṭȅ-ro* or *guṭȅ-r*, or *guṭar*, in the house; *guṭu-r*, in the houses. So:

ȅ kūyȅr kūri kōner pōlo, in that country there arose a violent famine.
anu shakȅr waiur bilōkun, this sugar is to be melted in water.
anusȅ ȅçhkur fuk pōlun, he has cataract in his eyes.

The *Second Locative* is indicated by the termination *-j* or *-ch*. It is usually preceded by *i* in the singular, and by *u* or *o* in the plural. Thus:—

chīṣhȅ cherūj (nom. *cherū*) *gyē*, having gone up on to the top of the mountain.
ȅshpich ²fal bīgas, I mounted the horse.
ȅshpich tīlȅn dȅ, put the saddle on the horse.
sumich fat han, it is lying on the ground.
badshāȅ hukemich, on the king's command.

This termination is probably a contraction of the postposition, *ajȅ* (see below), but is sometimes used with it. Thus we may have *mȅçhick* or *mȅçhich ajȅ* or *mȅçh ajȅ*, all meaning 'on the table,' much as we should say 'up on the table.' Similarly, *ṭȅshij ajȅ*, on the roof.

The *Suffix of Unity*. If *k* is added to a noun, it gives the force of an indefinite article. It is generally preceded by the vowel *ȅ*, but if the noun ends in *o*, this is simply changed to *u*. The noun with this suffix is then declined like an ordinary noun ending in a consonant. Thus, *kūi*, country, *kūyȅk* (for *kūiȅk*), a country, *kūyȅkȅ*, of a country, *dūr kūyȅkȅṭ gōu*, he went to a far country. The noun may also be preceded by the indefinite pronoun *ko*, some, or by the numeral *ȅk*, one, as in *manūjo*, man; *manūjuk*, a man; *ko manūjakaii* (or *ȅk mushākȅ*) *dū dārȅ ȅsil*, of a certain man there were two sons As another example of a noun ending in *o*, we may take *ȅshpo*, horse; *ȅshpuk*, a horse. This *k* sometimes has the force of the definite article, as in *mushū-k*, the man; *thīiu-k*, the thing done.

This suffix is not used only with nouns substantive. It is found added to the indefinite pronoun *ko*, anyone, whoever, as in *kouk*. It probably also accounts for the final *k* in *jȅk*, anything, something, and is even attached to the verb *han*, is, in the phrase *maii jek hanuk ō thaii akū han*, whatever is mine is thine

It is sometimes used with nouns in the plural, and then indicates a group or body, as in *dū shalak shadari ȅshpār*, (a body of) two hundred mounted followers. Here the suffix is added to *shal*, a hundred. Similarly, we have *daȅk*, a decade, and *manāruk*, a single game animal, but *maiārȅk*, a herd of such animals.

Other case-relations are indicated by postpositions, of which the following are the principal:—

ajȅ or *aji*, on, upon, above. It is added to the oblique case, but the final vowel of this is usually elided. Thus, *thaū kalam mȅçh' aji fat han*, thy pen is lying on the table. As pointed out above, this postposition is often used in conjunction with the second locative.

gī, *gē*, *gini*, or *gīni*, by means of, with (in an instrumental sense). It is used with the accusative, which, as we have seen, is the same in form as the

nominative. Thus, *sharūṭṣus ajōni chèlak-gī mà sharminda tharēgo*, the thief has made me ashamed by an extraordinary trick; *sūnçho hiwo-gī*, with a sincere heart; *mas tu jūk-gini ṣhidam*, I will beat you with a stick; *ṭgirao-gini jèkur thōiki*, to do the hair with a razor, *i.e.* to shave.

kach or *kachi*, near. It takes the oblique case, and closely corresponds in its use to the Hindī *pās*. Thus, *èk mās tom jamāatè-kach Haiabān baiyèn*, Haiabān remains with his wife for a month; *uthei tom mālè kachi bujum*, having arisen, I will go near my father.

kār, *kārṭè*, *kāryo*, or *kāri*, for, for the sake of. It takes the oblique case, and corresponds to the Hindōstānī (*kō*) *wāsṭē*. Thus, *khuki chareröikè-kār*, (sent him) to feed swine; *anu sababè-kār*, for this reason; *anèsè-kāri*, on this account. With this postposition, the final vowel of the oblique case is usually indistinctly pronounced, and may sound as *a* or *i*, as in *wēa-kār gōun*, he has gone for water; *anu kōm siçhōiki-kār mas mash thamus*, I am making practice in order to learn this work.

kir, beneath, below, under; *kirṭè*, to below; *kiro* or *kīro*, from under. Both these take the oblique case. Thus, *o tumè-kir*, under that tree; *jumèk baṭè-kiro nikhāto*, a snake came out from under the stone.

majè (stress accent on the final syllable), in the middle, between, in; *majā-jo* or *majnè-jo*, from among, from in. These take the oblique case, but the final vowel *è* of that case is apt to be sounded as *a*. Thus, *Nagir bodo ᵊfītī gāèkè-majā hau*, Nagir is (situated) in a very narrow valley; *sandūkè majuè-jo mai pēzār nikhalè*, get my shoes out of the box.

muçhhó, before, in front of, ahead of (both of time and place). Except as stated below, it takes the ablative, as in *mo-jo muçho wato*, he came before me; *àrū wanōikè-jo muçho dārè-jī dang dang thè*, before coming in knock at the door. When the sense is 'in front of,' *i.e.* 'in or into the presence of' (equivalent to the Hindōstānī *sāmnē*), it takes the oblique case, as in *ma-muçho wato*, he came before me, *i.e.* into my presence.

ᵊfatū or *fatū*, after, behind (both of time and place). It usually takes the ablative, but sometimes the oblique. Thus, *kèsè shuo tu-jo ᵊfatū wāan*, whose boy comes behind thee?; *āpè dèzè-jo ᵊfatū*, after a few days.

sāᵊtī, *sāati*, or *sāᵊtī*, with, in company with. It takes the oblique case, but the final vowel *è* of that case often tends to become *o*. Thus, *ma-sāᵊtī wà*, come with me; *ko àshtōn lōlyo àshpo-sāᵊtī yèr gōun*, which groom has gone on with the chestnut horse?

In addition to the *Instrumental* formed by adding *gi* or *gini*, etc., a few nouns form an instrumental with the aid of the suffixes *-o* for the singular and *-a* for the plural. Thus, *ro Mīr Sāipè shadarè hatè-jo turo* (or *turiā*) *ṣhiditun*, he has been beaten by the Mīr Sāhib's servant with a whip (*or* with whips). This form occurs only with certain nouns, and is rare. Compare *kāryo*, for the sake of; *kiro*, from below; and *ajonó*, from above.

Adjectives. -Adjectives ending in *o* (and nearly all do so) form the feminine singular in *ī*, and the plural of both genders in *è*. An adjective agrees with its qualified noun in gender and number. The final vowel is apt to be slurred over to *a*, and this

makes it difficult to say whether there is any agreeing in case, to the extent of having an oblique form. The final vowel of the adjective is sometimes dropped altogether before another vowel, but this is not very common, except that it may always occur before the abbreviated forms *'an*, *'un*, *'in* for *han* or *hun*, he is, and *hin*, she is. Thus, *miṣhṭ' 'un*, for *miṣhṭo hun*, he is good; *miṣhṭ' 'in*, for *miṣhṭī hin*, she is good.

An adjective, when used attributively, precedes the noun it qualifies. As an exception, we may note the fact that the word *būṭo*, all, frequently follows its noun, as in *jak būṭè hairān bèinèn*, all the people become astonished; *bè būṭè*, we all (agent *bè būṭès*).

Comparison is effected by putting the noun with which comparison is made in the ablative, as in *anè nèçḥ rèsè-jo uthalī hin*, this table is higher than that. The superlative is made with the aid of the ablative singular of *būṭo*, all, or of the ablative plural of *būṭo* with a demonstrative pronoun, or of the ablative plural of the noun with which comparison is made preceded by *būṭo*. Thus:—

anu musha būṭè-jo miṣhṭo hun, this is the best man.
anu mushā anī būṭu-jo miṣhṭo hun, this man is the best of all these.
anu ùshpo būṭè ùshpu-jo miṣhṭo hun, this is the best of all horses.

A list of the principal *Numerals* will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences.

III. **PRONOUNS.**—The pronouns of the first and second persons are:—

	I.	Thou.	We.	You.
Nom.-Acc.	*mà*	*tu*	*bè*	*ṯso.*
Agent.	*mas, masè*	*tus, tusè*	*bès*	*ṯsos, ṯsus.*
Oblique.	*ma, mè*	*tu, tū*	*asu*	*ṯsu, ṯso.*
Genitive.	*maï, maiï*	*thaï, thaiï*	*asaï, asaiï*	*ṯsaï, ṯsaiï.*
Dative.	*maṭè, maṭ*	*tuṭè, tuṭ, tūṭ*	*asuṭ*	*ṯsuṭ.*
Ablative.	*majo*	*tujo*	*asujo*	*ṯsujo, ṯsojo.*

Examples of these pronouns are:—

mà bujum, I will go.
mà ùsh gatal gānus, I have walked on foot today.
shilōiki sababich mà sōiki dubumus, because of the aching I cannot sleep.
charūṭus ajōni chèlak gī mà sharminda tharēgo, the thief has put me to shame by an extraordinary trick.
shèk mōrè-kārlè mà raṭēgo, for what reason did he stop me?
mas thaï dī tōm pūçḥèṭ bèchumus, I want your daughter (as a wife) for my son.
maï konāla, my stick.
maï çḥēi ùshpè han, I have three horses.
Khudaiè-kār maiï hālich jāk ùṭè, for God's sake take pity on my state.
anū khachī bām maṭ ginarēguno, you have made bought to me this worthless mare (*i.e.* you have made me buy it).
maṭ lèl ṅisk, it is not known to me.
maṭ tom gōṭ dish dè, give me a place (*i.e.* a lodging) in your house.
ma-jo muçḥhō wato, he came before (*i.e.* ahead of) me.

mà muṭhò wato, he came before me (*i.e.* into my presence).
mà-kär Kashgärè-jo rös èk miṣhṭo àshpo walerēgum, he has caused to be got (*i.e.* has obtained) a good horse for me from Kashgar.
mà-sä"ti wà, come with me.
mà-kach rupaiè nish, I have no money with me.
hukam bilā tu-ga wà, it has been ordered that you also should come.
mas tu jùk-gēnè ṣhidom, I'll beat you with a stick.
tu-ga dāsèt harōn, we shall take you also to the desert.
tus kachāk gächèṭ walēgà, at what price did you buy it?
thaï dishèr kos kōm thèi, who will work in your place?
thaï katär o sandūkèr hin, your knife is in the box.
tuṭ khabar dam, I will give you information.
balà mas tuṭ zhèk rēgaaus, what did I say to you yesterday?
tu-jo mà "fatakī-à, tu-jo mà ṣheïī-à, am I balder than you, am I blinder than you?
lōṣhṭoi tū-kach wām, I shall come to you tomorrow.
hukam bilā bè-ga wōn (or *tso-ga wà*), it has been ordered that we also should come (*or* that you also should come).
akhana ro chhüt but to, bè gyè baion (or *tso gyè barèt*), if he comes late, we shall (*or* you will) have gone.
bè-ga tso majā anē dīr hin, this is the boundary between us and you.
anè rupaiè tsos ākho majā bagà, divide this money up among yourselves.

There are at least three Demonstrative Pronouns, each of which can be used as a pronoun of the third person. These are *o* and *ro*, both used when the object is remote, and *anu* or *nu*, used when the object referred to is near. *O* and *ro* may therefore be translated 'he,' 'she,' 'it,' or 'that,' and *anu* or *nu* by 'he,' 'she,' 'it,' or 'this.' All three have distinct forms for the feminine only in the nominative-accusative and in the agent singular. In the other cases of the singular, and throughout the plural, there is no distinction of gender. It may be added that, strictly speaking, *o* belongs to the Punjābī dialect. The usual Gilgitī word is *ro*.

As in Indian languages, demonstrative pronouns are sometimes used where we should employ the definite article, as in the sentence *thaï katär o sandūkèr hin*, your knife is in the box. Other examples will be found below.

When these pronouns are used as adjectives, they agree with the noun in gender and number, but do not change for case. In practice, however, the final vowel is often dubious.

The declension of *o*, he, she, it, that, the, is as follows:—

	Singular.		Plural. (Common Gender).
Nominative-Accusative.	masc. *o*,	fem. *è, ē*	*ai*.
Agent.	masc. *ōs*,	fem. *ès*	*aisè*.
Oblique.	*èsè* (comm. gend.)		*aino, ainu*.
Genitive.	*èsè, èsēi*, etc.		*aino, ainēi, ainaïi*.
Dative.	*èsèṭ*		*ainoṭè, ainuṭ*.

Ablative.	*èsè-ju*	*aine-ju.*
Locative I.	*èsèr*	*ainur.*
Locative II.	*èsioh, èsij.*	*ainuch, ainuj.*

The following are examples of the use of this pronoun :—

ŏs naṭè dè, he will give dancing (*i.e.* will dance).

ōs o kōm akōṭ thēgun, he has done that work by himself.

èsè gōt gyō, going to his (*i.e.* another person's, not his own) house.

èsè ṣhutèr èk bāzībanak asul, there was a necklace on her neck.

èsè fatū, after that.

èsè aji shūo chivīènen, they place the boy on the top of it.

aino-mājā èkse rēgo, one among them said.

In the following the pronoun is used adjectivally :—

(*a*) Masculine singular :—

o manūjo ma-machho walyà, bring ye that man before me.

o tōtà tom kūyè-jo sugōm dè kir wasi bādshāṭ salām thèen, the parrot, coming from its own country down through the smoke-hole, says 'salaam' to the king.

uskūnis tom tom guṭè-jo tīki o mushāṭ walènen, the relations, each from his own house, bring food for that man.

(*b*) Feminine singular :—

mas tèu-akō è chèi tūṭ shō tharam, I shall now at once get that woman to accept you.

è chōyè shākèr èk kāo asul, there was a bracelet on the woman's arm.

è khènè-jo anè khèn bosinèt mas ro nēi pāshīgunus, from that time to this time I have not seen him.

è kūyèr tamāsha thèenis, in that country they were holding festival.

è khènèṭ tan, up to that time, up to then.

(*c*) Plural (common gender) : —

ai jago-jo o shūo dūr gyō baiyèn, the lad, going far away from those people, sits down.

The declension of *ro*, he, she, it, that, is as follows :—

	Singular.	Plural (Common Gender.)
Nominative-Accusative.	masc. *ro* ; fem. *rè*	*rī.*
Agent.	masc. *rōs, rōsè* ; fem. *rèsè*	*rīn, rīsè.*
Oblique.	*rèsè* (comm. gend.)	*rīno, rīnu.*
Genitive.	*rèsè, rèsēi*, etc.	*rīno, rīnōi.*
Dative.	*rèsèṭ. rèsèṭè*	*rīnoṭè, rīnuṭ, rīnoṭ.*
Ablative.	*rèsè-jo, -ju*	*rīnè-ju.*
Locative I.	*rèsèr, rèsar*	*rīnur.*
Locative II.	*rèsioh, rèsij*	*rīnuch, rīnuj.*

The following are examples of the use of this pronoun :

ro balà Gilté-jo jas bul, he started off from Gilgit yesterday.

bulāo-jo ro rogōto ìan, he has been ill since yesterday.

ro ma-jo muçḳho nifato, he arrived before me.

ro bōdo hairān bul, he was much surprised.

ma-jo rè jèk bē miṣḥṭī bili, how was she better than I ?

mas ro nēi pashīgunus, I have not seen him.

ro-ga lip tharèn sugom dè ajè, him also he hurled up through the smoke-hole.

rè ākō sā"tī harīgè, they took her with them.

rōs ako-kār bèchin, he wants it for himself.

rōs anu kom tous iḳhtiār gē thēgo, he did this on his own authority.

tus ḍègarèi gāçḥ dōiki hano. yā rōs dōiki han, either you or he must give the price of the sheep.

tu pàshīgī to, rès-ga jādu thōik' 'un, when she sees you, she too will do magic.

rèn̄è à"hpo maī àshpè-jo miṣḥṭo han, his horse is better than mine.

rèsè èk pūçḥak asul, he had a son.

mas rèsè raiōikèṭ baçḥik nēi walumis, I do not believe what he says (lit. to his saying).

rèsè nōm jèk 'an, what is its name ?

rèsèṭ buyèt thè, explain to him.

pōī rūpaiè rèsèṭ dōik baii, it will be (necessary) to give five rupees to him.

mas rèsèṭ ko thēgas, I made a call to him (*i. e.* I called him).

rèsèṭ (or *rèsè-ju*) *kujè*, ask him.

mis rèsè-ju yèr hè gās, I went on in front of him.

'*jakun bōt*' *thē*, "*fū thè rèsè-wār*, saying 'may she become an ass,' blow towards her.

Khudās sho dushtaii rī kōs haranis, God best knows who used to take them away.

rīs akō-majā jèkèk churi thīgèn, they have committed some theft among each other.

nèi rīno-sā"ti bīrga thèn, they will fight with them again.

rīno-fatū rōs-ga hai thē gōṭ wān, he too, running after them, comes to the house.

rīno-majā zid hin, there is enmity between them.

In the following the pronoun is used adjectivally :—

(*a*) Masculine singular :—

ro manūjo, that man.

(*b*) Feminine singular :—

anè pōn rè pūnè-jo miṣḥṭī hin, this road is better than that road.

(*c*) Plural (common gender) :—

mas rī du manūjè chār pachār thēgas, I brought the two men face to face.

rī jak fatū-muçḥo hanuk bùṭè cherūṭè hanè, the people living round about are all thieves.

The declension of *anu*, he, she, it, this, is as follows. A variant of it is *nu*, which is declined in the same way, with the omission of the initial *a* of *anu*. It may be remarked that forms of the pronoun *nu* also occur in the village dialects of Kāshmīrī.

	Singular.	Plural. (Common Gender.)
Nominative-Accusative.	masc. *anu* ; fem. *ana, anè*	*awī.*
Agent.	masc. *anuaè, anus* ; fem. *anisè, anis*	*anēsè, anēs.*
Oblique.	*anèsè*	*anèno, anènu.*
Genitive.	*anèsè anèsēi*, etc.	*anènè, anènēi.*
Dative.	*anèsèṭ*	*anènuṭ.*
Ablative.	*anèsè-jo*	*anènu-jo.*
Locative I.	*anèsèr*	*anènur, anēnur.*
Locative II.	*anèsich, anèsij*	*anènuch, anènuj.*

The following are examples of the use of this pronoun :—

anu tuṭ yaṣḥki kan, he is fit for thee.

anè maii dī nè, she (this woman here) is not my daughter.

anu adè fat thè, leave this so.

mas anu nēi bèchumus, ama kyèto mutu nish mas ginumus, I do not want this one, but because there is no other I will take it.

anusè buṭōikèṭ rak nish, he does not intend to go (lit. of him for going there is no intention).

anus tōm hyūo-gīni kōm thèen, he works with his heart (*i.e.* enthusiastically).

anus anu mōr thē lōko gōu, saying this, he immediately went off.

anus anu kōm ṣḥatan thēgu, he did this action on purpose.

dashtanus anus hai thēgun, anèsēi hīṣḥ wāan, he looks as if he had run, he is breathing so (lit. I know he has done running, his breath comes).

anèsèṭ jèk thèenen, what do they call this (indirect object in dative) ?

anèsè-ju fatū, after this.

anèsè-jo basko maṭ derkāl nish, I do not want (lit. to me is not required) more than this.

mā-gè anèsè-kār watusus, for this reason I too came.

anèsich kālo vīokun, a patch should be put on this.

anèsè hakèr jèk rāano, what have (you) to say in regard to this ?

anèsè sāᵃtā mas ṣḥāṇum, I shall send it with this (person).

anèno-majā bōdī farak hin, there is great difference between them.

anèno-majā ko pasand thèeno hūn thè, take whichever you like of these.

In the following the pronoun is used adjectivally :—

(*a*) Masculine singular :—

anu beo maii han, this thing is mine.

anu kōmēi maī jèk chāra nish, of (*i.e.* for) this matter I have no remedy

anu kūlu mas tèn pèẓḥōnkèṭè herum, I shall take this grain now for grinding.

būṭè bawè anu sandūkè-jo nikhalè, take everything out of this box.

jak buṭè anu manujè-jo nārāz han, everyone is disgusted with this man.

(*b*) Feminine singular :—

anè dishè-jo maī pēzār kos karīgun, who has removed my shoes from this place?

è khènè-jo anè khèn bosīnèṭ, from that time to this time.

anè pōn rè pōnè-jo miṣḥṭī kin, this road is better than that road.

anè mōrè kakèr, in regard to this matter.

anī khàchī bam maṭ ginerēguno, you have made me buy this worthless mare (lit. you have made bought to me this worthless mare).

(*c*) Plural (common gender) :—

anī jārè, kirī waiōikèr, dāsè-jo miṣḥṭè miṣḥṭè ʼfumarè walē, Yusufèṭ dèenen, the brothers, on coming down, having brought beautiful flowers of varied kinds from the country, give them to Joseph.

anī chēès Yūsuf pashī katerè-gīnī jès tom natho chenīnen, jès..., the women, on seeing Joseph, some of them cut their noses with the knives, some...

The Genitives of the personal and demonstrative pronouns are used as *Possessive Pronouns*.

Equivalent to the Hindī *apnā*, always referring to the subject of the sentence, is the *Reflexive Possessive Pronoun tomo* or *tom*, own. It is treated like an adjective. Thus :—

mas thar dī tom pūçḥèt bèchumus, I want your daughter for my (own) son.

maṭ tom gōṭ dish dè, give me a place in your house.

rōs anu kōm tom ikhtiār gē thēgo, he did this on his own authority.

mālus tomè shadarut hukam thēgo, the father gave order to his servants.

uskūnis tom tom guṭè-jo ṭīki o mushāṭ waiènen, the relations, each from his own house, bring food for that man.

èsèr jā tomī saiè-jo jigo han, his brother is taller than his sister.

The *Reflexive Pronoun* is *akā* or *àkā*, self. Its oblique form is *ako* or *àko*, which is also used for the accusative. Thus :—

mas akā paskigas, I saw it myself.

rōs ako-kach chhiōgo, he kept it with himself.

Equivalent to the Hindī *āpas-mē*, is *ako-majā*, among themselves, as in :—

rēs ako-majā ger thēigè, they quarrelled among themselves.

It is very doubtful if there is any *Relative Pronoun* in the language. Sometimes the Interrogative Pronoun *ko* appears to be used as such, but an occurrence of this kind is rare. As a rule the two clauses are simply stated in juxtaposition, the relative clause being put first. Thus :—

o manūjo balà wato, èk rūpai èsèṭ dōkun, a rupee is to be given to the man who came yesterday.

balà wato manūjo, anu kun, this is the man who came yesterday.

As an example of the use of *ko*, it is not incorrect to say :—

o manujo, ko balà watus, èsk-ga watun, the man who came yesterday has also come today. But this construction is not usual.

The *Interrogative Pronouns* are *ko*, who ?, which ?, what ? (animate), and *zhèk* or *jèk*, which ? what ? (inanimate). Either may be used adjectivally. In that case, *ko*, like other adjectives, agrees with its noun in gender and number, but not in case. On the other hand *zhèk* or *jèk*, when used as an adjective, is invariable.

The pronoun *ko* is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Plural. (Common Gender.)
Nominative-Accusative.	Masc. *ko*; Fem. *kè*	*kai, kèi.*
Agent.	Masc. *kōs, kōsè* ; Fem. *kès, kèsè*	*kais, kaisè.*
Oblique.	*kèsè*	*kaisè.*
Genitive.	*kèsè, kèsèi*, etc.	*kaisè, kaisèi*, etc.
Dative.	*kèsèt*	*kaisèt.*
Ablative.	*kèsè-jo*	*kaisè-jo.*
Locative I.	*kèsèr*	*kaisèr.*
Locative II.	*kèsech*, etc.	*kaisich*, etc.

The following are examples of its use :—

ko àshtōn lolyo àshpo-sā'ts yèr gōun, which groom has gone on with the chestnut horse ?

ansè dishè-jo maï pēxār kos karigun, who has removed my shoes from this place ?

thaï dishèr kōs kōm thèi, who will do the work in your place ?

anu kāgaz kèsè-kār han, for whom is this letter ?

The pronoun *zhèk* or *jèk* is declined like a substantive in the singular when not used adjectivally. Thus :—

bala mas tut zhèk rēganus, what did I tell you yesterday ?

anusè hakèr jèk rāano, what have you to say in regard to this ?

rèsè nōm zhèk han, what is its name ?

zhèkè nom khujèno, of what are you asking the name ?

zhèkè-kār, for what ? on what account ?

rèsè-kār jèk kukam kin, what order is there for him ?

The interrogative pronouns are also used as *Indefinite Pronouns*. *Ko* may take the form *ko-ga*, and *zhèk* may take the form *zhèkèk*, meaning 'a thing,' 'something.' Thus :—

ko nōì watèn, no one came.

ko-ga wato to, rēnut dē, if anyone came give it to them, *i.e.* give it to whoever comes.

The genitive of *ko-ga*, is *kèsè-gè* or *kèsè-ga* as in *kèsè-gè kāt han to, dè*, whose-ever the wood is, give (it to him).

kèsèt pasand thoiki, to approve of some one.

matè zhèk tiks dē, give me some bread.

mas zhèkèk bèchumus, I want something.

maĭ zhèk chāra nish, I have no remedy, *i.e.*, there is nothing I can do in the matter.

Zhèga, with a negative, means 'nothing,' not anything, not any, as in *zhèga nish*, there is nothing.

Pronouns of Quantity are *achāk* or *aiyāk*, so much, so many, and *kachāk*, how much, how many? The latter may be used either as a relative or as an interrogative. Examples are :—

achāk gin kachāk awājin to, take so much as is necessary.

achāk nèi gin, don't take so much.

kachak manujè han to, aiyak kurtsiè walè, bring as many chairs as there are people.

tus kachāk gāchèṭ walègà, for how much price did you buy it?

ānyo Yāsīnèṭ kachāk dèzo pon han, how many days march is it from here to Yasin?

IV. VERBS.—A. Auxiliary Verbs and Verbs Substantive.—The present tense of the Verb Substantive has, in the singular, separate forms for the Masculine and for the Feminine. In the plural it is of common gender. It is conjugated as follows :—

I am, etc.

	Singular.		Plural.
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Common Gender.
1.	*hanus, hanus*	*hanis*	*hanis, hanès.*
2.	*hano*	*hanè*	*hanèi.*
3.	*han, hun, hano, hanu*	*hin, hanī*	*han, hanè.*

The accent throughout is on the first syllable.

In the third person singular, the initial *h* is often dropped, and the remaining *'an*, *'un* or *'in* becomes an enclitic. Thus, *mishṭo hun*, he is good, becomes *mishṭ'-'un*, and *mishṭi hin*, she is good, becomes *mishṭ'-'in*. In the same person, the forms without a final vowel are those most commonly used. The following are examples of the use of this tense :—

mas tèn-aki bujòikèṭ chak hunus, I am ready to start at once.

mù rèsè zima hanus, I am his surety.

tus ḍègarèi gāçh dōiki hano, you are to (*i.e.*, must) give the price of the sheep.

agār nishōikèṭ taiār han, the fire is on the point of going out.

anu tuṭ yaṣhki han, he is fit for you.

jak būṭè anu manūjè-jo 'fitīk han, everyone is disgusted with that man.

thaĭ àshpo han-à, have you a horse?

thaĭ jèk kōm 'an, what business is it of yours?

rèsè nōm zhèk 'an, what is its name?

thaĩ sūrat anè sūratè-mùjā jèk yūlo kun, what difference is there between your appearance and this picture.

anu shadar açhèmo kan baii, amà her kōmèṭ tānu kun, this servant may be a knave, but he is clever at anything.

tèn bilkul mishṭo kun, he is quite well now.

thaĩ jèk kōm kanu to, maṭ chaga thè, whatever your business is, tell me.

èsè uchoukèṭ rak hin, it is his intention to run away.

maĩ kōm daper thaii jèk hājat hin, what business have you got with my affairs?

thaĩ katār o sandūkèr hin, your knife is in the box.

anè sandūk āpīk futōl' 'in, this box is a little broken.

ro mishṭo bōiki unēt hanī, there is hope of his getting better.

sūnēi-majā èk barī gīrīk ṭgak uthēi kānī, there is a large boulder standing in the middle of the river.

maĩ nasīb jèk hanī to, è baii, whatever my fate may be, that will come to pass.

maĩ çhēi ùshpè kan, of me there are (*i. e.*, I have) three horses.

ānyo Yāsīnèṭ kachāk dèzo pon kan, how many days' march is it from here to Yasin?

The Past tense has three forms, two longer, with *l* in the termination, and a shorter without *l*. The shorter form is conjugated as follows:—

I was, etc.

	Singular.		Plural.
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Common Gender
1.	*asus*	*asis*	*asès.*
2.	*aso*	*asè*	*asèt.*
3.	*asu*	*asī*	*asè.*

The first form with *l* is conjugated as follows:—

1.	*asulus*	*asilis*	*asilis.*
2.	*asulo*	*asilè*	*asilèt.*
3.	*asul, asulu*	*asil, asilī*	*asal, asilè.*

In the third person, the forms ending in a vowel are not in general use. In both the above paradigms, the stress accent is on the first syllable throughout.

The second form with *l* is a compound of the two preceding forms, in which the form without *l* is added after the form with *l*. We thus get *asulāsus*, I was, and so on for the other persons. As indicated, the accent is here on the penultimate.

The only example of the first form that I have noted is:—

anè mishṭ' asī, this (thing, *fem.*) was good.

Examples of the first *l*-form are more common. Thus:—

yūn ga sūrī pārulo shūok asul, there was a boy like the moon and the sun.

rèsè èk pūçhak asul, he had a son (lit. there was a son of him).

muçhhò anu ashāto asul, tèn āp-āp shatēlo bulun, formerly he was weak, now he has gradually become strong.

chilinji çhīshij achāk hān asul, hè pār bōik bash nē asul, there was so much snow on the Chilinji Pass that there was no ability that we to cross it (*i. e.*, that we were unable to cross it).

akhana maṭ khaber asil to āl mā bam sīk, if there had been news to me (*i.e.*, if I had been informed), I should have been there.

sīnij sao asil, there was a bridge over the river.

anu dawai jamāat perī asil, the Dev's wife was a fairy.

There is a negative verb substantive, *nish* or *nusk*, meaning 'is not,' 'are not,' as in the following :—

anusè bujôikèṭ rak nish, there is no intention of him to go (*i.e.*, he does not intend to go).

anèsè-jo basko maṭ derkāl nish, more than this is not necessary for me (*i.e.*, I do not want more than this).

maṭ lèl nish, it is not known to me (*i.e.*, I don't know).

yā kīno ùshpo walè, yā loïlo. Perwa nish, bring either the black horse or the bay. There is no matter (which).

Other tenses of the verb substantive are supplied from the verb *bōiki*, to become. The following are the principal tenses of this verb :—

Infinitive, *bōiki, bōik*, or (in composition) *bōk*, to become, the act of becoming (This can be declined like a noun. Its oblique case is *bōikè*.)

Apocopated Infinitive, *bō-*.

Present Participle (continuous), *bōjè*, a-becoming, becoming.

Conjunctive Participle, *bè, bō, bēi*, or *bai*, having become, having been.

Future and Present Subjunctive, I shall become, I may become, etc.

Singular. Common Gender.	Plural. Common Gender.
1. *bom, bam, bum, baième*[1]	*bōn, baiōn*[1]
2. *bè, bèi, baiè*[1]	*bāat, baièt*[1]
3. *baii, baiè, bai, bēi*	*bèen, bēin, baien*[1]

Present, I become, I am becoming, etc.

Masculine.	Feminine.	Common Gender.
1. *bōmus, bamus*	*bamis*	*bōanas*
2. *bēino*	*bēinè*	*bāanèt*
3. *bēin, bēen*	*bīn*	*bēinen, bēeneu, bēenin*

Imperfect, I was becoming, etc.

1. *bamasus*	*bamisis*	*bōnasis*
2. *bēiso*	*bēisè*	*bāasèt*
3. *bēis, bēes*	*bīs*	*bèinisè*

Past (*a*), I became, etc.

1. *bulus*	*bilis*	*bēlēs*
2. *bulo, bilo*	*bīlè*	*bilèt*
3. *bul, bulu, bulo*	*bil, bilī*	*bilè*

[1] These forms are used only in the formation of the subjunctive or of the future perfect tense of another verb. See p. 353.

Past (*b*), I became, etc.

Masculine.	Feminine.	Common Gender
1. *bīgas*	*bīgīs*	*bīgès*
2. *bīgà*	*bīgè*	*bīgèt*
3. *bugu, bugo*	*bīgī*	*bīgè*

Perfect (*a*), I have become, etc.

1. *bulumus*	*bilinis*	*bilènis*
2. *bulumo*	*bilenè*	*bilènèt*
3. *bulun*	*bilin*	*bilèn*

Perfect (*b*), I have become, etc.

1. *bīgānus, bīganus*	*bīgènis*	*bīgènis*
2. *bīgāno, bīgano*	*bīgenè*	*bīgènèt*
3. *bīgun*	*bīgīn*	*bīgèn*

Pluperfect (*a*), I had become, etc.

1. *bulusus*	*bilèsis*	*bilèsis*
2. *buluso*	*bilèsè*	*bilèsèt*
3. *bulus*	*bilīs*	*bilèsè*

Pluperfect (*b*), I had become, etc.

1. *bīgosus*	*bīgisis*	*bīgèsis*
2. *bīgoso*	*bīgisè*	*bīgèsèt*
3. *bīgus*	*bīgīs*	*bīgès*

Imperative.

2. *bo*, become thou. *bà*, become ye.
3. *bōt* or *bōt-à*, let him or them be.

It will be observed that in this verb the Past, Perfect, and Pluperfect tenses have each two forms, marked *a* and *b*, respectively, in the paradigm. In each pair of forms the meaning is the same.

This verb is used not only with the meaning of 'to become,' 'to be,' but is also employed, with the infinitive of another verb, to mean 'to be able.'

The following are examples of the use of this verb in all its meanings :—

Infinitive.

Chīlinji chīshij achāk hīn asul, bè pār bōik bash nē asul, there was so much snow on the Chilinji Pass that we were unable to become across (*i.e.*, to cross) it.

shakar fash bōiki kachi kan, bāzārō-jo basko gīrōk-'un, the sugar is about to become finished, more must be got from the bazaar.

jas bōikè-jo muçhkō, tu ma-kach wà hukem ginōikèṭ, before you become started (*i.e.*, before you start) come to me to get orders.

àshpo er bōrkèr rōs àshpo zumēgo, on the horse becoming shying (*i.e.*, on its shying) he beat the horse.

Apocopated Infinitive.

ana khèn bō-sīñèṭ, up to this time being, *i.e.*, up to now.

shūo miṣhṭo bō-sīñ waiī khabar ginen takursè, by the time the boy becomes better (lit. until the boy's becoming better), the barber comes and enquires (how he is).

Conjunctive Participle.

tu aiè bè baiyòno, having become thus you sit, *i.e.*, you sit thus.

o gala dūto paruto bō yaiyen, he walks having become like a wounded man, *i.e.*, as if he were wounded.

Future and Present Subjunctive.

loṣhṭaièk bujòik bam, to-morrow I shall be able to go.

akhèr ànus kōm tus thōik bè, in the end you will be able to (*i.e.*, must) do this work.

kai khèn bō-sīnèṭ tus maī ūṣḥ dōik bèi, by when will you be able to pay what you owe me ?

tèn Haiabān nisè-sāatī çhyū baii, now Haiabān will become in love with this (woman).

pōī rūpaie rèsèṭ dōik baii, èk rūpaièk zerūr dōik bèi, it will be (necessary) to give five rupees to him, (in any case) it will certainly be (necessary) to give one rupee.

tuṭ lèt baii, it will become known to you, *i.e.*, you will understand.

maī nasīb jèk hanē to, è baii, whatever my fate will be that will come to pass.

maii buba baii to, taii sum ōshè dōī sik, if my father were (here), he would give your dust to the wind (*i.e.*, annihilate you).

akhana ro mirūjè sik to, rèsè pūçḥ rèsè dishèr Rā baii sik, if he died, his son would become Raja in his place.

ash rāuto rèsèṭ khat dè, kyèto ro loṣhṭaiikè chèl jàs bēi, give him the letter to-night, so that he can become departed (*i.e.*, leave) early to-morrow morning.

Gilṭèṭ bu-ga-èk tārīkèr nifaiōikè-kār, bè Chilāsè-jo ashtāī tārīkèr Gilṭōi-wār jas bōik bōn, in order to reach Gilgit on the twenty-first, we shall have to start from Chilās on the 18th.

dashtamus zerūr thaī būṭ ṭser bèin, I know your boots will certainly go to pieces.

anè kursī anè sandūkè-sāatī gaii thē ganè, kyèto anī berī baiyè pàruiè bèen, having put this chair together with the box, tie (it), so that the two half-loads may be equal.

akhana ro Yasīnè-jo bujè sik to, Yasīnōi jèk būṭè shuriār been sik, if he were to leave Yasin, all the people would be glad.

In the following the subjunctive meaning is emphasized by the addition of *à* :—

rōs ma-jo khujēgu thaī àshpo gāçḥ ginōiki bōm-à yā nē, he asked me (whether) I be (willing) to buy your horse or not.

mà āl baièm-à, nēi baièm-à, maṭ lel nish, whether I may be there or not is not known to me.

shaiyad kiri gaièr bāruṣḥè bèen-à, perhaps there may be duck (lower) down in the ravine.

Present.

dāsèr haiè thāgas to, mà oyano bamus, (when) I have played in the open, I become hungry.

tus mat pōī rūpai tèn dōik bēino, can you give me five rupees now ?

bādshā kkush bēin jèrī mur gī, the king becomes pleased at what the old woman said.

dūt sū̃ ḥach gyēi mūlaiè aīar shak bēin, the milk going on a straight (line) becomes full in (*i.e.*, fills) the mouth of the girl.

Haiabān sōdāṭ jàs bēin, Haiabān becomes departing (*i.e.*, sets out) for trading.

gumān bēn ma-kach èk manak gūm bēen, probably there is with me about a maund of wheat.

tu-jo besko ʳfatako nēi bèen, there is none more bald than you.

laiak nēi bèen to, bas fat thèà, if it cannot be found, just give ye it up.

sañ mīṣḥṭo nēi bèen, the light is not good.

na ro rukhsatōj bujōik bēen, na tu, neither he can go on leave, nor you.

her-khèn anu àshpij bula degè to, kuḍo bēen, whenever they have played polo on this pony, it becomes lame.

With *à* intimating an implied question, and hence giving a subjunctive force, we have :—

manèṭ-kachi manèk gūm bèin-à, yā basko baii, bush, whether there may be about a maund of wheat, or whether there is more, is not known.

gumān (fem.) *bin*, there is a presumption, *hence*, probably, I suspect (that), I imagine (that). So *imkān bin*, there is possibility, possibly.

bādshād jamāat āñ-āñ thē kachèrè bin, the king's wife, hee-hawing, becomes a mule.

tabakèr paiõ ṣḥak bēenen, maggots became full in the dish, *i.e.*, the dish became full of maggots.

anu èk ʳfala, kūyèr kachāk chēyè agūrè nēi bēenin to, ḉhabīo chèri nikhalē, ai chēuṭ èk èk thē dè, cut this one apple into sixty pieces, and as many women in the country as are not pregnant, to those women give one each.

Imperfect.

shudāro shākaj lamigo to, shāko ehas bēes, when he laid hold of the boys' arm, the arm was becoming (*i.e.*, used to become) broken (*i.e.*, the arm of one of the boys broke).

Past.

tèn tik khīgaso, kashap kè bè oyāno bilo, you had just eaten food, why did you become hungry so soon?

Mīr Sāip tom shadarè ahèk thītuj ʼfūtik bul (or *bulun*), the Mīr Sāhib was (*or* has been) displeased at something which his servant had done.

ro bala Gilità-jo jas bul, he became started (*i.e.*, he started off) from Gilgit yesterday.

sōrè-ʼjì maī kōn nīlo bul, my ear became blue with the cold.

ro bōdo hairān bul, he became much surprised.

èk èkèṭ sāatī bul, one became with to the other, *i.e.*, one helped the other.

anā paisa (fem.) *fash bil,* this money became exhausted.

ma-jo rè jèk bè mīṣḥīl bilā, how was she better than I?

rès ādè thōikèr, hūṭè rōzḥātè bilè, on her saying this all became angry.

ùshpich ʼfal bīgas, I became mounted on the horse, *i.e.*, I rode.

anè dishè-jo tu lan bigà to, mas tu maram, if you became moved (*i.e.*, if you move) from this place, I will kill you

Perfect.

Yūsuf jōno hun. Misrī Bādshā bulun, Joseph is alive. He has become King of Egypt.

gumān bīn kākas gala dito bulun, probably the partridge has been wounded.

tèn āp-āp shatāla bulun, now he has gradually become strong.

ana satranji jèk-na-jèkèk khachī bilin, this carpet (fem.) has become somewhat damaged.

derum-bō-sūnèṭ ma-kār mṣḥṭo shuka lōik bīgano yà nēi, have you yet been able to get me a good *chōgā* or not?

Pluperfect.

guṭè-jo yèr-āl maī bāwak fat bulus, a thing of mine had been lying a short distance ahead of (*i.e.*, from my point of view, beyond) the house.

Imperative.

mās bèchumus tu par è ṣḥīṣḥich-ajè bo, I request, 'do you climb (*i.e.*, I want you to climb) up on to the top of that hill over there.'

tu jèk bo to, mas tu maram, become prostrate (*i.e.*, lie down), (and) I will kill you.

o āl nēi bōt, let him not be there! *i.e.*, may he not be there!

Khudaiyà, anè kachèrèk bōt, O God, may this (woman) become a mule!

'jakūn bōt' thè, ʼfà thē rèsè-wār, saying 'may she become an ass,' blow towards her.

With reference to the statement made above that *bōiki* often means 'to be able,' it may here be mentioned that the Ṣḥiṇā for 'not to be able' is *dubōiki*. Examples of the use of this latter verb will be found under the head of Intransitive Verbs.

B. The Transitive Verb.—In Ṣḥiṇā there are two different verbal conjugations,—that of the Transitive and that of the Intransitive Verb. These differ materially in the conjugation of the past tenses. Except in the Future tenses and in the Imperative, the

finite tenses have two genders each in the singular, while in the plural they are all of common gender. If, in the singular, the subject of the verb is masculine, the masculine form of the verb is used, and if it is feminine, the feminine. Whether transitive or intransitive, and whether in a past tense or not, the verb agrees with the subject in number and person. There is nothing like the passive construction of the past tenses of a transitive verb with which we are familiar in India. On the other hand, the subject of a transitive verb, in whatever tense the latter may be, is always put into the Agent case, as in *mas ṣhidam*, I shall strike. This custom, although the form itself is Aryan, seems to be borrowed from the neighbouring Tibetan, in which the idiom is the same, and in which the Agent case also ends in *s*. Thus, the Tibetan for 'I' is *ṅa*, but 'I beat you' is *ṅas khyod rdub*. The Tibetan verb does not change for number or person, but Ṣhiṇā, while adopting this idiom, has at the same time retained its old Aryan inflexions, and does so change.

The Infinitive, in its full form, ends in *-ōiki*, *-ōik*, or *-ōk*, as in *ṣhidōiki*, *ṣhidōik*, or *ṣhidōk*, to strike. This is really a verbal noun, meaning 'the act of striking' and is declinable like any other noun, its oblique case ending in *-ōikè*. It is also used as a participle of necessity, as in *ṣhidōiki* or *ṣhidōk*, one who has to strike, one who must strike, one who is on the point of striking. An apocopated form of the infinitive is obtained by omitting the final *-iki*, as in *ṣhidō*. This is used in the formation of the present participle, and also in certain adverbial phrases, such as *ṣhidō-siṅòṭ*, up to the time of striking.

A Noun of Agency is the same in form as the infinitive, as in *ṣhidōiki* or *ṣhidōik*, (one who is prepared) to strike, hence, a striker. It is really the infinitive employed in a special idiom.

A Present Participle (continuative) is formed by adding the postposition *ajè* to the apocopated infinitive. Thus, *ṣhidō-'jè* or *ṣhidōjè*, on striking, equivalent to our old-fashioned 'a-striking.'

The Conjunctive Participle, or Past Participle Active, is formed by substituting *ē*, *ei*, or *aii* for the *-ōiki* of the infinitive, as in *ṣhidē*, *ṣhidēi*, or *ṣhidaii*, having struck. In this form the stress accent is always on the termination. Thus, *ṣhidé*. Root-accented verbs (see below) take the termination *ḗ* not *ē*. Thus, *harḗ*, having taken away.

For all Verbs, the conjugational base may conveniently be assumed to be what remains of the infinitive after rejecting the final *-ōiki*. Thus the conjugational base of *ṣhidōiki*, to strike, may be taken as *ṣhid-* and that of *dōiki*, to give, as *d-*.

The tenses of the Transitive verb fall into three groups. The first group is founded on the Future tense, in which the personal terminations are added directly to the base. Thus, *mas ṣhid-am*, I shall strike. This tense was originally a present indicative, and, as we shall see from the examples, is still occasionally employed as such. From this a Present is formed by adding fragments of the present tense of the verb substantive, as in *mas ṣhidamus*, for *ṣhidam-hunus*, I strike. Again, an Imperfect is similarly formed with fragments of the past tense of the verb substantive, as in *mas ṣhidamusue*, for *ṣhidam-asus*, I was striking.

In the second person plural of these three tenses, the stress accent usually falls on the termination, as in *ṣhidʼā́t*, you will strike; *ṣhidānèṭ*, you strike; *ṣhidāsèt*, you

were striking. Some verbs, however, prefer to keep the accent on the base, and, in such verbs, the termination of this form is lightened. Thus, the verb *harōiki*, to take away, forms *háret*, not *harᵉát*, you will take away; *háranèt*, not *harānèt*, you take away; *hárèsèt*, not *harāsèt*, you were taking away. These verbs, which may be called 'Root-accented,' have other peculiarities, which may be summarized here. The conjunctive participle ends in *í*, not *ḗ*, as in *harí*, not *harḗ*, having struck. The second person singular of the imperative has no termination, as in *har*, not *harè*, take away!, and the past tenses (see below) are formed with the termination *-íg-*, not *-ḗg-*, as in *harígo*, not *harḗgo*, he took away. These forms will be dealt with more fully on subsequent pages.

The second group of tenses is founded on an old past participle, now obsolete, made by adding *-ēgo* or *-ēgu* [1] to the conjugational base. Thus, **ṣhid-ēgo* or **ṣhid-ēgu*. In the first and second persons of the past tense, the personal terminations are simply added to this old past participle, as in *mas ṣhidēgas*, I struck. The third person is the participle alone, without any termination, as in *rōo ṣhidēgo*, he struck. To form a perfect, fragments of the present tense of the verb substantive are added, as in *mas ṣhidēgunus*, for *ṣhidēgu-hunus*, I have struck. Similarly, with the past tense of the verb substantive, we get a pluperfect, as in *mas ṣhidēgasus*, for *ṣhidēgu-asus*, I had struck. Root-accented verbs (see above) take *-īg-*, instead of *-ēg-*, in these tenses, and we shall see subsequently that some of these also insert *ī* in the tenses of the first group. In these tenses the stress accent is always on the first syllable of the termination. Thus, *ṣhidḗgas*, *ṣhidḗgasus*.

The third group consists of Periphrastic tenses, formed with the help of auxiliary verbs. Such are:—

The Future Perfect, formed by conjugating the Conjunctive Participle (or Past Participle Active) with the future of *bōiki*, to become, as in *mas ṣhidō baièm*, I shall have struck.

The Tense of Obligation, formed by conjugating the infinitive, in its sense of a participle of necessity, with the verb substantive, as in *mas ṣhidōiki hunus*, I have to strike, I must strike. This is usually contracted into *mas ṣhidōk-'unus* or *ṣhidōkunus*, which may also mean, 'I am on the point of striking.'

An element of uncertainty, equivalent to our 'perhaps,' is given by adding *bai*, the third singular future of *bōiki*, to any of the tenses of the first two groups, as in *mas ṣhidam bai*, perhaps I shall strike; *ṣhidēgas bai*, it may be that I struck. In many cases the context will make this practically equivalent to a subjunctive mood.

All the above forms belong to the Indicative Mood. The Future Indicative may also be used where we should use the Present Subjunctive, and in such cases, if the particle *à* is added, it gives a definite subjunctive force, as in *mas ṣhidam-à*, I may strike. Other tenses of the English Subjunctive are indicated by the use of certain particles, which will be dealt with under the head of Indeclinables, together with the appropriate tenses of the Indicative. We shall see, under the head of Indeclinables, that this particle, *à*, is also used to give an interrogative force to a sentence, and this is

[1] The vowel of this termination *ēgo* or *ēgu* is really the long sound of *à*, but, as the representation of this would entail complications in printing, I write simply *ē*, which approximately, if not accurately, represents the sound.

no doubt its original power. When used to indicate the English subjunctive, it really suggests an implied question.

The second person singular of the Imperative ends in *è*, and the plural in *à* or *yà*. Thus, *ṣḥidè*, strike thou, *ṣḥidà* or *ṣḥidyà*, strike ye. In the singular, root-accented verbs (see above) drop the final *è*, as in *har*, for *harè*, take thou away. The third person singular and plural ends in *ōt*, as in *ṣḥidōt*, let him or them strike.

With these preliminary remarks, I now proceed to give the paradigm of the conjugation of the transitive verb *ṣḥidōiki*, to strike. The most usual forms only are given, and it must be understood that there is much laxity in the employment of the vowel sounds, which vary with different speakers or with the stress accent. It may also be noted that, with some speakers, there is a tendency for the *g* of the typical *-ēgà-* of the tenses of the second group to degenerate into *y*, while the preceding vowel is modified or absorbed. Thus, such a speaker will say *dyau* for *dēgu*, he gave, and *dōyanus* for *dōgunus*, I have given :—

Infinitive, *ṣḥidōiki*, *ṣḥidōik*, or *ṣḥidōk*, to strike, the act of striking ; (as participle of necessity) one who must strike, one who is on the point of striking. Sing. dat. *ṣḥidōikèṭ(è)*, to strike (infinitive of purpose, etc.), loc. *ṣḥidōikèr(o)*, on striking.

Apocopated Infinitive, *ṣḥidō-*.

Noun of Agency, *ṣḥidōiki*, *ṣḥidōik*, one who (is prepared) to strike, hence, a striker.

Present Participle, *ṣḥidōjè*, a-striking, striking.

Conjunctive Participle or Past Participle Active, *ṣḥidé*, *ṣḥidēs*, or *ṣḥidaii*, having struck (but *harí*, having taken away).

Future and Present Subjunctive, I shall strike, I may strike, I strike, etc.

Singular. Common Gender.	Plural. Common Gender.
1. *ṣḥidam*, *ṣḥidum*	*ṣḥidōn*
2. *ṣḥidè*	*ṣḥidᵊát* (but *hárat*)
3. *ṣḥidai*, *ṣḥidaii*, *ṣḥidēi*, *ṣḥidè*	*ṣḥidèn*, *ṣḥidōèn*

Present, I strike, I am striking, etc.

Singular. Masculine.	Singular. Feminine.	Plural. Common Gender.
1. *ṣḥidamus*, *ṣḥidumus*	*ṣḥidamis*	*ṣḥidōnès*
2. *ṣḥidāino*, *ṣḥidèno*	*ṣḥidēinè*, *ṣḥidèeni*	*ṣḥidᵊánèt* (but *háranat*)
3. *ṣḥidēin*, *ṣḥidēen*, *ṣḥidēn*	*ṣḥidīn*	*ṣḥidēinen*, *ṣḥidēènen*, *ṣḥidènen*

Imperfect, I was striking, etc.

1. *ṣḥidamusus*	*ṣḥidimisis*	*ṣḥidōnèses*
2. *ṣḥidèiso*	*ṣḥidèisè*	*ṣḥidᵊánèt* (but *hárèvèt*)
3. *ṣḥidēis*, *ṣḥidès*	*ṣḥidīs*, *ṣḥidīsh*	*ṣḥidēinèsè*, *ṣḥidēinis*

Past, I struck, etc.

1. *ṣḥidégas* (but *harígas*)	*ṣḥidégis*	*ṣḥidégès*, *ṣḥidéigès*
2. *ṣḥidégà*	*ṣḥidéigè*	*ṣḥidégèt*
3. *ṣḥidégu*, *-go*	*ṣḥidégī*	*ṣḥidégè*, *ṣḥidéigè*

Perfect, I have struck, etc.

	Singular. Masculine.	Singular. Feminine.	Plural. Common Gender.
1.	*ṣhidēgunus, -ganus*	*ṣhidēginis*	*ṣhidēgènès*
2.	*ṣhidēgunu, -gano*	*ṣhidēginē*	*ṣhidēgènèt*
3.	*ṣhidēgun*	*ṣhidēgìn*	*ṣhidēgèn*

Pluperfect, I had struck, etc.

1.	*ṣhidēgasus, -gusus*	*ṣhidēgasis*	*ṣhidēgèsès*
2.	*ṣhidēgaso, -guso*	*ṣhidēgèsè, -gisè*	*ṣhidēgùsèt*
3.	*ṣhidēgus*	*ṣhidēgis, ṣhidēgish*	*ṣhidēgès*

Future Perfect, I shall have struck, etc.

	Singular. Common Gender.	Plural. Common Gender.
1.	*ṣhidē baiè'n*	*ṣhidē baiōn*
2.	*ṣhidē baiè*	*ṣhidē baièt*
3.	*ṣhidē baiè, baii*	*ṣhidē baien*

Tense of Obligation, I have to strike, I must strike, etc.

	Singular. Masculine.	Singular. Feminine.	Plural. Common Gender.
1.	*ṣhidōkunus, -anus*	*ṣhidōkanis*	*ṣhidōkanès*
2.	*ṣhidōkano*	*ṣhidōkanè*	*ṣhidōkanèt*
3.	*ṣhidōkun*	*ṣhidōkin*	*ṣhidōkanè*

Imperative, strike thou, etc.

	Singular. Common Gender.	Plural. Common Gender.
2.	*ṣhidè* (but *har*, take thou away)	*ṣhidà, ṣhud'à, ṣhidyà*
3.	*ṣhidōt*	*ṣhidōt.*

The following are examples of the use of the above forms :—

Infinitive.

khōiki saçhu kun, dōiki naro kun, to eat is easy, to give (*i.e.*, to pay for it) is difficult.

jawāb dōiki dubālo to, màrana, if he cannot give the answer, I will kill (him).

rōs ma-jo khujēgu thaī àshpo gàçh ginōiki bōm-à yā nē, he asked me whether I shall be able to buy your horse or not.

anu mōs pajū-jo âre khōik 'un, this meat is to be eaten without salt.

gūcho thaii ṣikī khōiki maṭ harām kan, to eat your bread gratuitously (*i.e.*, without making any return) is unlawful for me.

anu kōmè-kār tus jèk thōiki thaii kār kan, what is your intention to do about this matter ?

kachī-gini jakur churūk thōiki, to cut the hair with scissors.

akhèr anu kōm tus ihōik bè, as a rule you must do this.

anu khat gè keri dāk-khānaèṭ viōik bash bo, having taken away this letter also, you should put it in the post-office.

We have seen that *bōiki* is used to mean 'to be able.' 'Not to be able' is indicated by the verb *dubōiki*. Thus:—

anu kōṭ ādè pīto hun mas banōik dubumus, this coat is so tight I cannot put it on.

Sher Afzal bula dōik dubēen, Sher Afzal cannot play polo.

anu waii achāk tāto han mas piōik dubumus, this water is so hot I cannot drink it.

The infinitive is declined, as in:—

lōṣḥṭaièkèṭ bōla çhakōikèṭè tu wāno nēi wāno, are you coming to watch the polo to-morrow?

è khèn mas dōikèṭ chak asulusus, at that time I was ready to give.

tu ma-kach wà hukam ginōikèṭ, come to me to get orders.

dōikè-ju çhēi ahhaku-ju fatu, three days after giving.

mas raiōikè-jo gūcho, without I saying, *i.e.*, without my instructions.

ro waiōikèr būtè yak tsak uthīlè, on his coming all stood up.

loèṭè ²fāl thōikè-kār çhēi shudarè derkāl han, three boys are required to throw up (*i.e.*, to field) the balls (at tennis).

Apocopated Infinitive.

kè khèn tus ṭāk khō-siò màs ùshpo lāmum, while you are eating bread, I will hold the horse.

tus raiō-siñèṭ mà nō parudunus ro açhuto, until you told (me), I haven't (*i.e.*, hadn't) heard that he ran (*i.e.*, had run) away.

anè dishèr baii mas ho thō-siñèṭ, stay in this place till I call.

Noun of Agency.

è khènèr mas dōik asulusus, at that time I was on the point of giving (or 'prepared to give').

dōik ro mùm, the giver (*i.e.*, the debtor) has died.

Present Participle.

açhūn dè-kir çhakōjè ā̃ṣḥè birès, a-looking down the hole, it (the horse) was shedding tears.

tu ino gù to, anu dūa raiōjè tom jamāata-wār ²fù thè, when you go from here, repeating this prayer (*i.e.*, spell) blow towards your wife.

rāati sūryo rōjè baiyen, he sits weeping night and day.

Conjunctive Participle or Past Participle Active.

wo Yūsuf, çhakē mai hālij jāk àṭè, O Yūsuf, having looked take pity on my state.

taperziñ-gīni jèrè ṣḥiṣḥ dē, having delivered a blow with an axe down on the old woman's head.

mas ẓhakum kyè thē maī rizèk nēi khyē 'Khudaiè khamis' thīn, I shall see why, not eating my daily food, she says 'I eat God's.'

Jibrāīl tom chandè-jo miṣhṭè miṣhṭè ẓhīlè nikhalē Yūsufēṭ banerèn, Gabriel, having taken fine clothes of various kinds out of his pocket, clothes Yūsuf.

Khudā-ga Rasūlick tom jamāat hawāla thē nikhāan, consigning his wife to (the care of) God and the Prophet, he goes off.

pōn fat thē abōm nēi bo, having left the road, do not go across country.

mas hai thē, gyē, ro jap lamīgàs. I, having done running (*i.e.*, having run), having gone, seized him without warning.

tus tom hēdr nīat thē, 'jakun bōt' thē, 'fū thē rèsè-wār, to jèk pashīgà to, pàshè, then, having made a prayer in your heart, having said 'may she become an ass,' make a puff towards her. Then you will see what you will see. The use of *thē*, as here, to mean 'having said,' or 'saying' is very common. So:—

mas tuṭ rēgasus, 'anu 'falaiè tum āñ nē chukè' thē, I said to you, saying 'do not plant the apple-tree here,' *i.e.*, I told you not to plant, etc.

Haiabānsè Naniār-ga Janiār bè sāatī ginī, sōdaṭ yas bēīn, Haiabān, having taken both Naniār and Janiār with him, set out for trading.

aiyo manujèkèṭ ana mūlaii harī dè, having taken this girl, give (her in marriage) to such a man.

rèsè hatiṭ lamī, having taken her by the hand.

alkana rōs charūto pashī nēi lamīgun to, bōdo jakun han, if, having seen the thief he has not caught him, he is very much of an ass.

dūban hilēlo-kach walē fai thènen, having brought the fire of 'ispandur' to the bridegroom, they put it down.

bādshās ẓhakēn, fakīrè-wār ẓhakēi sūyēn, the king looks. Having looked towards (*i.e.*, at) the faqīr, he recognizes (him).

Future and Present Subjunctive.

jèk tus bèchino to mas tuṭ dam, I will give you what you want.

mas dam-à nēi dam-à, thaī jèk kōm 'an, what business is it of yours whether I give or not?

mas dam bai, perhaps I shall give.

maī barùo màrēguno, tèn mas tu kyè thē karam, you have just killed my husband, how am I now to marry you?

'kham' thē, hat ùṭēgo, saying 'I will eat,' he put out his hand (to the dish).

mas tu waram, I will kill you.

mas kyè thē khacho kōm tham, why should I do an evil thing?

mas kil màrōik talāsh tham, I shall make an attempt to kill an ibex.

amusè saatī mas ẓhāṭum, I will send it with this person.

mas ẓhakum kyè thē maī rizèk nēi khyē 'Khudaiè khamis' thīn, I shall see why, not eating my daily food, she says 'I eat God's.'

mas akōṭ giwun (or *harum*), I will take it myself.

mas tu jūk-gīni ṣhidum, I will beat you with a stick.

çhakai to è küyèr tamāsha thèenis, he finds that in that country they were holding sports.

jükaii tōrè nikhalā to, bādshāè puçhsè tom gerèt tsirai, get ye out stumps of wood, (and) the prince will split them up for his wedding.

çhakaii to anu dawai jamāat perā asil, he sees (that) the dev's wife is a fairy.

Khudās sho dashtaii rī kōs kāranis, God best knows who used to take them away.

akhana rèsèt jèk bāwak derkāl han to, tu-jo bèchēi, if he wants anything, he will ask you for it.

rōs tom dī zerūr dēi, he will certainly give his daughter.

thaï dashēr kōs kōm thēi, who will do the work in your place?

lāshtaièkèt chār bashè lōètè dōn, we shall strike balls (*i.e.*, play tennis) to-morrow at four o'clock.

èk perda ganōn, èsè fatu thaï jamāat baii tom okaga thōt, we shall fix up a curtain, and your wife will sit behind it and tell (lit. let her tell) her story.

kaisè shighich bètī to, bādshā ginōn, on whosesoever head it (the hawk) may alight, him we shall take as king.

tu-ga dāsèt kèrōn, you also we shall take to the desert.

anī paisa fash bil to, nēi jèk thōn, when this money is exhausted, then what shall we do?

Khudaiā-wārī buyèt thōn, we shall make a petition to God.

yā muçho yā fatu rèsèi dushmanīs ro mārèn, sooner or later his enemies will kill him.

nèi rino-sā'tī birga thèn, they will do fighting (*i.e.*, will fight) with them again.

döik-ro-ge ginötik-ro-gè baiya mukāmuk therè, ako-majā sūçh thōen, bring the Debtor and the Creditor face to face, and they may make settlement (*i.e.*, let them settle the matter) between themselves.

Present.

dashtamus zerūr thaï būt tser bēin, I know your boots will necessarily go to pieces.

dō thè to, mas khamus, you prepare parched wheat, I eat (*i.e.*, will eat) it.

anu èshpo mas bilkul khush nè thamus, I do not like this horse at all.

anu kōm siçhōiki-kār mas mash thamus, I am practising in order to learn this work.

mas thaï dī tōm pūçhèt bèchumus, I want your daughter (as a wife) for my son.

mas anu nēi bèchumus, amā, kyè-to mutu nish, mas ginumus, I don't want this one, but, because there is no other, I take it.

achak tutàn han, mas sabak raiōiki nēi pàshumus, it is so dark that I do not see to read.

mas çhakum kyè thē maī rizèk nēi khyē, 'Khudaiè khamis' thēn, I shall see why, not eating my daily food, she says 'I (fem.) eat God's.'

jèk bèchèno to, bèch, ask for whatever you want.

jèkè nom khujèno, what are you asking the name of?

tus shiçā thèèno, do you speak Shiçā?

èsè-kār ako tsupush thèèno, for that reason you make yourself grieved (*i.e.*, you are worried).

ko ùshpo bèchino to, kar, take whatever horse you want.

anusé kokèr ĵèk rāano, what do you say in regard to this?

bādshās rāan, 'nēyà, tus khidmat khātir miṣhṭo thèewi,' 'not at all,' says the king, 'you serve me excellently.'

sugōm dē-kīr çhakēen, he looks down through the smoke-hole.

bādshās èk dèzèkèr tom Mīr Wazīruṭ hukam dēen, one day the king gives orders to his Chief Viziers.

anus tōm hyūo-gīnī kōm thèen, he works with his heart (*i.e.*, enthusiastically).

bādshās çhakēn, fakīrè-war çhakēi, sūyēn, the king looks, having looked towards the fakir he recognizes him.

bujōikèr anī buṭōṭ kūlè dēn, on their going away, he gives grain to them all.

kuman tom brag-dapar ganēn, he ties the noose round his waist.

shūo miṣhṭo bō-sīn, waiī khabar ginēn takurèd, by the time the boy is better, the barber, having come, takes news (*i.e.*, inquires how he is).

o mushās rāan, 'mà Kanāanī,' thēn, the man says, 'I am a Canaanite,' says he.

çhelè dujōikēṭ dubus sābun bèchin, the Dhōbī wants soap to wash the clothes with.

akhana rōs ādè rāan to, khaltō rāan, if he says so he lies.

thaī gōṭ kōs kurān rān to, tèshij nikhaii rōt, whoever recites the Qurān in your house, let him come up on the roof and recite it.

ṭikī dō-ga pūçhè sā'ti fakirèṭ çhāṇīn, she sends food with (*i.e.*, by the hands of) (her) daughter and son to the fakir.

mas ako-wāro yā barōnuk yā rupaièk takurèṭ dīn, the mother gives to the barber from herself either a ring or a rupee.

rāani, 'wo Yūsuf, çhakè, maī hālij jāk àṭè,' thīn, she says, 'O Joseph, having looked, take pity on my state,' says she.

Zura Khātūnsè rāan, 'tu-jo mà ²faṭakī-à? tu jo 'mà çheii-à?,' Zura Khatun says, 'am I balder than you? am I blinder than you?' (Here Zura Khātūn is a woman.)

anī ĵārè, kiri waiōkèr, dāsè-jo miṣhṭè miṣhṭè ²funarè walē, Yūsufèṭ dēenen, the brothers, on coming down, having brought fine flowers of many kinds with them from the country, give them to Joseph.

irgātak ai bāi shaçhè thèenen, round about they make the twelve figures.

èk gānèk ²fālistj gānenen, they tie one leg (of the old woman) to a poplar tree.

dūban hilēlo kach walè fat thènen, they bring the fire of 'ispandur' to the bridegroom, and put it down.

zūrī dānū sūrij vēnen, they put the 'zūrī' pomegranates in the sun.

uskūmēs tom tom guṭè-jo ṭikī o mushaṭ walènen, the relations, each from his own house, bring food for that man.

In the above, note how in the verb *raiōiki*, to say, the letter *ā* as the first vowel of the termination, as in *rāano*, thou sayest, *rāan* or *rān*, he says, *rāanī* or *rāan*, she says, is drawlingly lengthened to *āa*. This is not uncommon. In such cases, the *a* may be part of the termination, thus, *rā-aṇo*, *rā-an*, *rā-anī*, and so on. Similarly, from *khōiki*, to eat, we have:—

gati bē khāanen, they eat together.

If the root contains a short vowel, and the stress accent falls upon it, the vowel is liable to be lengthened. Thus, from *ganōiki*, to fix, we have, above, *gānenen*, they tie or fix.

Imperfect.

akhana buta muchho dees to, tèn kyin dēen, if he used formerly to play polo, why does he not play now?

maī gumān bīn, rōs her chhak tōm hasirèt èk rūpai dēis bai, it is my belief, he was probably giving (*i.e.*, he may have been giving) a rupee a day to his cook.

kōs tikī dīgī to, hèshèr nēi khās, if any (woman) gave him food, in his anxiety he was not eating (it).

akhana rās rèsèt zulem thèes to, mat kyin būyèt thēgo, if the Governor was doing oppression to him, why did he not make petition to me?

ana chaga thōikèr, rèsè jārès dārich kōn dēenis, while he was saying this, his brothers were giving ear at the door.

è kūyèr tamāsha thèenis, in that country they were holding festival.

fatu muchhō hai thèenis, they were running backwards and forwards.

Past.

mas akō pashīgas, I saw it myself.

balā mas pīnēgas èsè-jo anu àshpo mishfo hun, this horse is better than the one I rode yesterday.

mas rèsèt rēgas tus rèsèt hukam dèi sik jèk kōm thōkun, I told him you would give him orders what to do.

mas rī du manūjè chār pachār thēgas, I made (*i.e.*, brought) the two men face to face.

mas jūk birachich trak thēgas, I made out (*i.e.*, I cut) the wood crossways.

gumān bīn mas anu baralèt muchho tom mazūrī dēgas bai, I fancy that perhaps I gave this coolie his wages before.

natè dēgà to, abōm nēi wà, subōm wà, if you dance don't move from left to right, but from right to left.

tus kiò adè rēgà, why did you speak thus?

rèsè-jo khōjèw thè kiò anu kōm tus nēi thēgà, ask him, 'why did not you do this deed?'

'kham' thē hat àtēgo, saying 'I will eat,' he put out his hand.

rōs ma-jo khujēgu, he enquired from me.

rōs mat rēgu, he said to me.

aino-majā èksè rēgo, one among them said.

shèk mōrè-kārtè mà ratēgo, mat èl nish, I do not know for what reason he stopped me.

anus anu kōm āsinaiyo thēgu, he did this deed by accident.

rōs anu kōm tom ikhtiār-gā thēgo, he did this on his own initiative.

chēisè tikī ādè khēgi oyanī parulī, the woman ate as if she were hungry.

Note *kōs tikī dīgī to, hèshèr nēi khās* (imperfect), if any (woman) gave him food, in his anxiety he did not eat it. Here, according to the paradigm, we should expect *dēgī*.

ako-majā gash thēigès, we quarrelled among ourselves.

walēgèt to, marōn, when ye have brought him, we shall put him to death.

herkhèn anu àshpij bula dēgè, whenever they played polo on this horse.
rīs ako-majā ger thēige, they quarrelled among themselves.
pōnī-majā waiī, ako-majā sula thēigè, having gone (some way) on the road, they came to terms among themselves.

Perfect.

mas tom tumak rèsèṭ dēgunus, I have given him my rifle.
balà mas tuṭ zhèk rēganus, what did I tell you yesterday?
tus 'dam' thē dēguno, saying 'I will strike,' you struck (*i.e.*, you struck him intentionally).
tus o àshpèṭ du shai rupaiè dēgùno, you have given two hundred rupees for that horse.
maī barào tèn màrēguno, you have just now killed my husband.
derum maiī ūṣḷ mat ēi dēgun, he has not yet given me what he owes me.
o manūjo ber-nahak màrēgun, he has unjustifiably killed that man.
ōs o kōm akōqha thēgun, he has done that deed of himself.
rōs ma-sa"tī àsh ḍuk boiki kāṭ thēgun, he has made promise to meet me to-day.

Pluperfect.

'mas dam' thē, nè dēgasus, saying 'I will strike,' I had not struck him (*i.e.*, I had not struck him intentionally).
è khènèr maī shak bul 'rèsèṭ mas mazūrī nēi dēgusus bai,' at that time my doubt occurred (that) perhaps I had not given to him the hire.
mas tuṭ rēgasus, I had said to you.
pumūko mas ādè thēgasus, at first I had done thus.
akkana rōs è kūi ginōik bèokōgus, pār ginōik boii sik, if he had wanted to take the land, he could have taken (*i.e.*, bought) it last year.
lōtsè àshpè chōmè asbāb būṭè khēgīs, the (she-)fox had eaten all the leather work of the horse (*i.e.*, the saddlery).

Future Perfect.

mas dē baièm, I shall have given.
mà nifaiōikè-jo muchhō zarūr Munshis berālut mazūrī dē baiè, before I arrive the Munshī will certainly have given pay to the coolies.

Tense of Obligation.

mas barālèṭ mazurī dōkunus, I have to give the coolie (his) pay
tus ḍèqarèi gāçḷ dōiki hano (or *dōkano*), *yà rōs dōīki han* (or *dōkun*), you must give the price of the sheep, or he must give.
rōs maṭ dokun, he has to give to me.
tu pashīgī to, rès-ga jādu thōik' 'in (or *thōkin*), when she saw (*i.e.*, sees) you, she too will do magic.
anīs maṭ dōiki kanè (or *dōkanè*), they have to give to me.

The third person singular of this tense may also be used impersonally, as in:—

o manūjo balà wato, èk rūpai èsèṭ dōkun, it is necessary to give a rupee to the man who came yesterday.
àshpè sārpō gauōkun, it is necessary to shoe the horse.

àshpè kūrè jīgè bīlèn, kūrè kerpa thōkun, the horse's hoofs have become long, it is necessary to cut them.

tèn buyèt nēè thōkun, it is not proper to make a petition now.

anu kōm kè-zēligè thōkun, it is necessary to do this work somehow, *i.e.*, this must be done somehow.

mas rèsèṭ rēgas tus rèsèṭ hukam dèi sik jèk kōm thōkun, I told him you would give him orders (as to) what is to be done.

anèsich kālo vōkun, it is necessary to put a patch on this (garment).

Imperative.

çhakè, maï kālij jāk ùṭè, having looked, take pity on my state.

mèçhè kīr çhakè, look under the table.

anu ʼfalaiè tus āñ nè chukè, do not plant this apple-tree here.

kāgazi mèçhich ajì chkurè, put the papers down on the table.

maṭè zhèk ṭikī dè, give me some bread.

achāk bōdo nēè kamè, do not spend so much.

būṭè bavè anu sandūkè-jo nikhalè, take everything out of this box.

tom shadèro-majnè-jo dū hushiār manūjè anu kōmich ṣhè, put two intelligent men from among your servants on this job.

jap lami ṣhidè, strike (him) without warning.

anu chèlèr sumè tèl ṣhak thè, make this lamp (lit. in this lamp) full (with) kero-[illegible]

tus gyā waïè walè, do you, having gone, bring water, *i.e.*, go and bring water.

The following are examples of verbs that omit the final *è* in the second person singular imperative (see p. 352) :—

jèk bichèno to, bich, ask for whatever you want.

anu kāgaz Sāipè kach çhān, send this letter to the Sāhib.

achāk gin, kachāk awājin to, take as much as may be necessary.

ka àshpo bèchino to, har, take whichever horse you want.

The following are examples of the second person plural :—

anè rūpaiè ṭsōs ako-majā bagà (or *samarà*), divide these rupees among yourselves.

herkhèn ro wato to, rèsèṭ ṭikī dàà, whenever he comes, give ye him food.

jūkaii ṭōrè nikhalà, get ye out stumps of wood.

Khān Sāipèṭ rà ma-kach waïè, tell ye the Khān Sāhib to come to me.

muï hukamè-jo gūcho fat nè thèà, do not ye let him go without my orders.

anusè dijōikèṭ shoh thèà, take ye care for its falling, *i.e.*, that it does not fall.

maï shadèri thyk to, ṭsuṭ bōdi talab dam, serve ye me, (and) I will give you much pay.

o bādshāè pūçh walyà (or *walà*) *to, màrōn*, bring ye that king's son, and we shall kill him.

The following are examples of the third person :—

thaïi gōṭ kōs kurōn rān to, tèshij nikhaïi rōt, whoever (it may be that) recites the Qurān in your house, let him come up on to the roof and recite (it).

Khudās nēi thōt o āl nēi bōt, God grant he may not be there (lit. let God not do, let him not be there).

èk pərda ganōn, èsè fatu taš jamlat buii, tom chaga thōt, we shall fix up a curtain, and your wife will sit behind it, and (there) let her tell (her) story.

We have seen above (p. 351) that the Past, Perfect, and Pluperfect tenses are formed from an obsolete past participle ending in *-ēgo* or *-ēgu*, so that we get the forms *ṣhid-ēgas*, I struck; *ṣhid-ēgunus*, I have struck; and *ṣhid-ēgasus*, I had struck. Root-accented verbs (see p. 351), such as *chhīnōiki*, to cut, prefer, however, to substitute *ī* for the *ē* of the termination, so that we get forms such as *chhīn-īgas*, I cut, and so on. The following are the forms of these three tenses :—

Past, I cut, etc.

	Singular. Masculine.	Feminine.	Plural. Common Gender.
1.	*chhīnīgas*	*chhīnīgīs*	*chhīnīgès*
2.	*chhīnīgà*	*chhīnīgè*	*chhīnīgèt*
3.	*chhīnyūgo*	*chhīnīgī*	*chhīnīgè*

Perfect, I have cut, etc.

1.	*chhīnīgunus*	*chhīnīginis*	*chhīnīgènès*
2.	*chhīnīgune*	*chhīnīginē*	*chhīnīgènèt*
3.	*chhīnīgun*	*chhīnīgin*	*chhīnīgèn*

Similarly, the Pluperfect is *chhīnīgasus*, I had cut, and so on.

Some verbs, as will be seen from the following examples take either *ē* or *ī* at option. Thus (p. 358), we have *dīgas*, as well as *dēgas*, *thīgas*, as well as *thēgas*, and so on.

shām bōzīnèt lōèt̤è dīgas, I played tennis till evening.

mas rèsè zimà gīnīgas, I went surety for him.

mas ro jap lamīgas, I seized him without warning.

mas ku lah bōikèr nēi pashīgás, I saw no one pass by.

tus thēyà è chōkij mas-ga thīgas, I did it in the same way that you did (it). Here we have the same verb with both *ē* and *ī* in the same sentence.

kèkhèn tus kōerè banīgà to, jas bōn, as soon as you (have) put on (your) boots, we shall start.

kèkhènè-jo tus ro pashīgà, bōdo jero budun, since you saw him he has become very old.

kèkhèn tus kōm miṣhṭuk thē nēi thīgà to, tuṭ talab baski nēi tham, so long as you did (*i.e.*, do) not work properly, I will not increase your wages. With *thīgà*, compare *thēgà*, a few lines above.

shudāro shākaj lamīgo, he laid hold of the boys' arm (*i.e.*, the arm of each boy).

kaikhèn rōs mà waiokèr pashīgo, isak uthīlo, when he saw me coming he got up.

akhana rōs anu kōm nēi thīgu to, jēl-khanār chhivià, if he does (lit. did) it again (*nēi*), put ye him in prison.

kōs ṭikī dīgī to, hēsèrḥ nēi khās (imperfect), if any (woman) gave him food, in his anxiety he did not eat it.

tu pashīgà to, rès-ga jādu thōik' 'in, when she sees (lit. saw) you, she also will do magic.

è chèisè sho thīgē, the woman agreed (to become your wife).

ṭsos gūche-gūchèl Yūsufèṭ asu khacho mōr kyè thīgèt, why did you (plural) say this evil of Joseph without justification?

rè ako-sā'iś herīgè, they took her with them.

mas èk manūṇuk dāk-khānaèṭ ṭhaṇīgunus, I have sent a man to the post-office.

è khènè-jo ane khèn bosīnèṭ mas ro néi pashīgunus, from that time till now I have not seen him.

tus tom hatè-jo baièk asut tushār damijār thīgàno, you have given us as much trouble as you possibly could.

dōusè thaii dē kai-āpèr herīgun, maṭ pōn pashèrè, in whatever direction the demon has carried off your daughter, show me the way.

akhana rōs cherūṭo pashī nēi lamīgun to, bōdo jakun kan, if, having seen the thief, he has not caught (him), he is a great ass.

kèkhèn ro gōun, anè khèn bōsiṅ maṭ khat nōi likhīgun, since he went away, he has not written a letter to me.

rīno-majā zid hin, kètobal rīs akō-majā jèkèk churi thīgèn, there is enmity between them, because they have committed some theft among each other.

akhana mas rèsèṭ ho thīgasus to, ro loko ma-kach wai sik, if I had sent for him, he would have come at once.

mas 'bai' thīgasus, I had said (*i.e.*, I said some time ago) 'wait'.

anèsè-jo-gè khachakèṭ mà dīgaso to, nēi maī shukur asil, hadst thou given to me an even worse (man) than this, I should still (*nēi*) have been grateful (lit there would still have been my thanks).

tèn ṭikī khīgaso, you had just eaten food.

yer tus ro pashīguso, tèn bōdo jero bulun, since you saw him (some time ago), he has grown very old.

The ī-conjugation.

In the above examples, we have been dealing with certain root-accented transitive verbs that take an ī in the tenses formed from the old past participle There is another group of verbs which always take the letter ī throughout all tenses. This group I call 'the ī-conjugation.' Colonel Lorimer mentions the following verbs as belonging to this conjugation:—

chhivōiki or *chhibōiki*, to place, put down, keep (*cf.* Hindōstānī *rakhnā*).
ōsīōiki, to fill into.
kalōiki, to abuse, to count.
unīōiki, to foster (give milk to) a child.
hal tulōiki, to assemble a plough, to make it ready for use.

The following is a conjugation of the leading forms of *chhivōiki*:—

Present Participle, *chhivīōjè*, a-placing, placing.

Conjunctive Participle or Past Participle Active, *chhivī*, having placed.

Future and Present Subjunctive, I shall place, I may place, etc.

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*chhivīum*	*chhivīun*
2.	*chhivīò*	*chhivīèt*
3.	*chhivī*	*chhivīèn*

Present, I place, I am placing, etc.

	Masculine.	Feminine.	Common Gender.
1.	*chhivīumus*	*chhivīamīs*	*chhivīunès*
2.	*chhivièno*	*chhivièné*	*chhivīunèt*
3.	*chhivièn*	*chhivīn*	*chhivièneu*

Similarly, the Imperfect is *chhivīusus*, I was placing, etc.
Past, *chhivīgas*, I placed, etc., like *chhīnīgas*, above.
Perfect, *chhivīgunus*, I have placed, like *chhīnīgunus*, above.
Pluperfect, *chhivīgasus*, I had placed, like *chhīnīgasus*, above.
Imperative, *chhivī*, place thou; *chhivīt*, place ye; *chhivīōt*, let him or them place.

I have noted the following examples of the use of verbs of this conjugation :—

mas ro akō-kach shaderīr chhivīum, I shall keep him near myself in service, *i.e.*, I shall take him as a servant.

dī-ga pūçḥ shikārè-jo muçhhō ṣhal hat chhivīun, we shall place the girl and the boy a hundred cubits in front of the tower.

tom muçhhō chhivièn, he puts (it) down in front of himself.

èsè-aji shūo chhivièneu, they place the boy on the top of it.

rōs churī thē ūṭīṭī gō akō-kach chhivyūgo, he kept the stolen cow (lit. taken cow having done theft) in his possession.

anu dèger kyè thē unīgisè, how had you (fem.) reared the goat?

mèçḥè kir chhivī, put (it) under the table.

akhana rōs anu kōm nēi thīgu to, jēl-khānār chhivīù, if he does this thing again (*nēi*), put ye (him) in prison.

C. The Intransitive Verb.—The conjugation of the Intransitive Verb differs from that of the Transitive Verb only in the tenses formed from the past participle. In the transitive verb these are based on an obsolete past participle ending in *-ēgo* or *-īgo*, which is added to the conjugational base obtained by rejecting the termination *-ōiki* of the infinitive. Thus, from *ṣḥid-ōiki*, we get the old past participle **ṣḥid-ēgo*.

Intransitive verbs fall into two groups,—original and derivative. An example of an original intransitive verb is *buj-ōiki*, to go, of which the conjugational base is *buj-*. More often an intransitive verb is derivative, *i.e.*, is derived from some transitive verb by the addition of the suffix *-īj-* or *-ij-* to the transitive conjugational base. Thus, from the transitive verb *fer-ōiki*, to turn (something) round, we have the derivative intransitive verb *ferīj-ōiki* or *ferij-ōiki*, to turn round, return. We shall see subsequently that this suffix *-īj-* or *-ij-* is also regularly used to form passive forms, and, in fact, it is sometimes difficult to say whether we are to look upon a given verb as merely intransitive or as passive. In the case of intransitive verbs, variants of the suffix *-īj-* or *-ij-* are *-āj-* or *-aj-*, *-ūj-*, and *-āch-* or *-ach-*, but these are of comparatively rare occurrence, and do not seem to be used to form passive verbs. Examples are *bilājōiki* or *bilajōiki*, to melt; *paruōiks*, to hear; and *uçḥāchōiki* or *uçḥachōiki*, to arrive.

Original transitive verbs form the past participle by adding sometimes *-to* and sometimes *-lo* to the conjugational base; but in making this addition there are many

irregularities. Especially, when the conjugational base ends in a consonant, this is generally dropped before *-to*. Thus, from *much-ōiki*, to escape, we have *mu-to*. Some verbs take only *-to*, others take only *-lo*, and others take one or other without change of meaning. A few original verbs take *-do* instead of *-to*.

Derivative verbs change the *j* of *-ĭj-*, *-ăj-*, or *-uj-* to *-do*, and in several cases have *-lo* as well as *-do*. Thus, from *ferījōiki*, to turn round, we have *ferīdo*, and from *bĭtājōiki*, to move, we have *bĭtĭdo* or *bĭtĭlo*. The few verbs with the suffix *-ăch-*, change the *ch* to *-to*, as in *uçḥăto* from *uçḥăchōiki*.

To illustrate the above remarks, I here give specimens of the formation of the past participles of various intransitive verbs:—

1. Original Intransitive Verbs, with Past Participles in *-to* or *-do*.

Infinitive.	Past Participle.
muchōiki, to escape.	*muto or muchīdo.*
uçḥōiki, to run away.	*uçḥuto* or *uçḥīdo.*
dĕjōiki, to fall.	*dĭto.*
nikhaiōiki, to come out.	*nikhāto.*
woiōiki, to come.	*wato.*

2. Original Intransitive Verbs, with Past Participles in *-lo*.

ōiki, to come.	*ālo.*
bōiki, to become.	*bulo* or *bōgo.*[1]
dubĕiki, to be unable.	*dubalo.*
jōiki, to be born.	*jālo.*
pōiki, to make an appearance.	*pōlo.*
rōoiki, to weep.	*rōlo.*

3. Original Intransitive Verbs, with Past Participles in *-to* (*-do*) or *-lo*.

uthĕiki, to rise.	*uthīdo* or *uthĭlo.*
chōiki, to be delivered (of a child).	*chādi* or *chāli* (feminine).
nĭfaiĭiki, to arrive.	*nĭfāto* or *nĭfālo.*
sīçḥōiki, to learn.	*sīçḥīdo* or *sīçḥīlo.*

4. Derivative Intransitive Verbs.

uçḥachōiki or *uçḥăchōiki*, to arrive.	*uçḥato* or *uçḥăto.*
chānījōiki, to be cut (of itself).	*chīdo.*
lañājōiki, to pass along, die.	*lañīdo.*
parujōiki or *pàrujōiki*, to hear.	*parudo* or *pàrudo.*
shumājōiki, to be tired.	*shumīlo.*
manupījōiki, to be skilled in.	*manupīdo* or *manupīlo.*

5. The following are altogether irregular:—

baiōiki or *bèōiki*, to sit, remain.	*baiṭo* or *bèṭo.*
ămŭshōiki, to forget.	*ămŭṭo* or *ămushīlo.*
bujōiki, to go.	*gōṇ* or *gaun.*
mirjōiki or *mirījōiki*, to die.	*mŭo.*
pachōiki or *pajōiki*, to ripen.	*pako* or *pajīdo.*

[1] Note that this verb may also be conjugated as if it were transitive.

In all the above, the stress accent is on the syllable preceding the *to*, *do*, or *lo*. Thus *uçhúto*, *díto*, *sçhído*, *dubálo*.

The following verbs, though transitive in English, are in Shiṇā treated as intransitives: *āmushôiki*, to forget; *pārujōiki*, to hear; and *sīçhōiki*, to learn.

The personal terminations of the past tense of an intransitive verb, are not the same as those of the transitive. They differ in the first and second persons singular masculine. Thus:—

	Singular.				Plural.	
	Masculine.		Feminine.		Common Gender.	
	Transitive.	Intransitive.	Trans.	Intrans.	Trans.	Intrans.
1.	-as	-as	-is, -ēs	-is, -ēs	-ēs	-ēs
2.	-ā	-o	-ē	-ē	-ēt	-ēt
3.	-u or -o	-u or -o	-ī	-ī	-ē	-ē

It will be observed that the intransitive terminations are the same as those of *asus*, the past tense of the verb substantive. The case is different with the Perfect and Pluperfect tenses. Both in transitive and in intransitive conjugations, these are compounds of the past participle with *hanus* and *asus*, respectively. The Intransitive conjugation is therefore, in these tenses, the same as the transitive conjugation.

It will be remembered that the subject of a transitive verb is put into the Agent case in *-s(è)*. This is not the case with intransitive verbs, the subject of which is put into the nominative.

In order to illustrate the formation of the tenses of an intransitive verb, I here give a sketch of the conjugation of the verb *baiōiki*, to sit:—

Future and Present Subjunctive. I shall sit, I may sit. *baiàm*, etc., like *ṣhidàm*.
Present. I sit, I am sitting. *baiamus*, etc., like *ṣhidamus*.
Imperfect. I was sitting. *baiamusus*, etc., like *ṣhidamusus*.

Past. I sat, etc.

	Singular.		Plural.
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Common Gender.
1.	*bèṭus*	*bèṭis*	*bèṭès*
2.	*bèṭo*	*bèṭè*	*bèṭèt*
3.	*bèṭu*, *bèṭo*	*bèṭī*	*bèṭè*

Perfect. I have sat. *bèṭunus* or *bèṭanus*, etc., like *ṣhidēgunus*, etc.
Pluperfect. I had sat. *bèṭasus* or *bèṭusus*, etc., like *ṣhidēgasus*, etc.
Future Perfect. I shall have sat. *baiē baièm*, etc., like *ṣhidē haièm*, etc.
Tense of Obligation. I have to sit, etc. *baiōkunus*, etc., like *ṣhidākunus*, etc.
Imperative. sit thou, etc.

baiè or *baii*, sit thou. *baià* or *baiyà*, sit ye.
baiōt or *baiyōt*, *baiut*, *baiyut*, or *bēōt*, etc., let him or them sit.

The verb *bujōiki*, to go, is irregular in some of its forms. Thus :—
Conjunctive Participle or Past Participle Active, *gyē*, having gone.

Past, I went, etc.

1. *gās*	*gyē'ɜ*	*gyē'ɜ*
2. *gā*	*gyè*	*gyē'i*
3. *gō*, *gōu*, *gaun*	*gyei*, *gēi*	*gyē'*

Perfect, I have gone, etc.

1. *gānus*	*gyē'nès*	*gyēanès*
2. *gāno*	*gyē'nè*	*gyēanèt*
3. *gōun*, *gauàn*	*gīn*	*gyēon*

Pluperfect, I had gone, etc.

1. *gāsus*	*gyē'sis*	*gyē'sus*
2. *gāso*	*gyē'sè*	*gyē'sèt*
3. *gōus*, *gōs*	*gīs*	*gyē'ɜ*

Imperative. *bo*, go thou. *bà*, *bujà*, go ye. *bujōt*, let him or them go.

The verb *waiōiki*, to come, also presents difficulties in conjugation. The following are its principal forms :—

Conjunctive Participle or Past Participle Active. *wasī*, having come.
Future and Present Subjunctive, I shall come, I may come, etc.

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*wām*	*wōn*
2.	*wā*, *wà*	*wāat*
3.	*waii*	*waèn*, *wān*

Present, I come, I am coming, etc.

	Singular. Masculine.	Feminine.	Plural. Common Gender.
1.	*wāmus*	*wāmīs*	*wōnas*
2.	*wāono*, *wāno*	*wāinè*	*waanèt*
3.	*wāan*, *wān*	*wāīn*, *wāan'*	*wāanen*

Imperfect, I was coming, etc.

1. *wāmusus*	*wāmisis*	*wōnesas*
2. *wèiso*	*wèisè*	*wāesèt*
3. *wèis*	*wèis*	*wānisè*

Past, I came, etc.
watus, etc., like *baituɜ*.

Perfect, I have come, etc.
watunus, etc., like *baiṭunus*.

Pluperfect, I had come, etc.
watusus, etc., like *baiṭusus*.

Future Perfect, *waiɜ baièm*, etc. I shall have come, etc.

Tense of Obligation, *waiōkunus*, etc. I have to come, etc.

Imperative, *wà*, come thou, or, come ye. *wōt*, *wàwōt*, let him or them come.

The above are the forms used in Gilgitī Ṣhiṇā. In Punālī, a different verb is used, *viz.*:—

Infinitive, *ōiki*, to come.

Present Participle, *ōjà*, a-coming, coming.

Conjunctive Participle or Past Participle Active, *eiī*, having come.

Future and Present Subjunctive. I shall come, I may come, etc.

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*àm*	*ōn*
2.	*èi*	*ōāt*, *āat*, *āt*
3.	*èi*	*èn*

Present, I come, I am coming, etc.

	Singular. Masculine.	Feminine.	Plural. Common Gender.
1.	*āmus*, *àmus*	*āmēs*	*ōwàs*
2.	*ā'so*	*àinà*	*ā'nèt*
3.	*à'n*	*ēn*	*ànen*

Imperfect, *āmusus*, etc., I was coming, etc.

Past, *ālus*, etc., I came, etc.

Perfect, *ālunus*, etc., I have come, etc.

Pluperfect, *ālusus*, etc., I had come, etc.

Future Perfect, *eiī baièm*, etc., I shall have come, etc.

Tense of Obligation, *ōkunus*, etc., I have to come, etc.

Imperative, *è*, come thou. *ā*, come ye. *ōt*, let him or them come.

Although this verb is looked upon as Punālī, the Past, Perfect, and Pluperfect are also heard in Gilgit.

The following are examples of the use of regular intransitive verbs:—

Infinitive.

kōiñ-èt tàn baiōik bēino to āñ tsag bo, stay here as long as you are able to stay, (*i.e.* as long as you can).

shilōiki sababich mà sōikì dubunus, I am unable to sleep because of the aching.

mà nifaiōikè-jo muçhhō, before my arrival.

Gilitèt bī-ga èk tārīkèr nifaiōikè-kār, in order to reach Gilgit on the 21st.

anu kōm āçhōiki-kār mas mash thamus, I am practising in order to learn this work.

kōa baiōikèt dish nēi dèenen, no one gave (her) a place to sit down (*i. e.* a lodging).

du bashōikèt, at striking two, *i. e.* at two o'clock.

agār nishōikèt taiār han, the fire is ready to go out.

ro o àshpich pīnōikèt bijèn, he is afraid to ride that horse.

chōiki asilī, she was about to be delivered (of a child).

Present Participle.

rāati sūryo rōjà baiyèn, he sits weeping night and day.

Conjunctive Participle.

kaikhèn ro uçhachī (or *nifaiī*) *baiīun*, at what time he arrived (lit. having arrived), he sat down.

tèshij nikhaiī rōt, having come out on to the roof, let him recite.

āshiñaiyo but ṣhèchi mūo, being struck accidentally by a stone, he died.

Future and Present Subjunctive.

loshṭaèèk hosẽnèṭ uçhāchum, I shall arrive tomorrow.

àshpè chijõṭò kir baiam, I shall sit under the shade of the horse.

yā Çhēçhalèṭ bujum, yā Gizerèr baiyum, nēi mà māzēi ṭanzmoi Junèṭ Giltèṭ nifaèum, whether I go to Chitral or stay in Ghizer, I shall be back in Gilgit by the 15th of June.

mà Giltèr nifaièm bai, I may perhaps reach Gilgit.

èvè fatu tai jamaat baii, thy wife will sit behind it.

Present.

ʸfāsĕ-jo nēi bījumus, I am not afraid of hanging (*i. e.* being hanged.)

āpi apí satār bashumus, I play the guitar a very little.

mà ash bula çhakõikèṭ bujõik dubumus, I cannot go to-day to watch polo.

mas banõik dubumus, I cannot put it (a coat) on.

anu kōm thōiki mà nēi parujumus, I do not hear (*i. e.* understand) how to do this work.

mà tēn Ṣhiṇā sīçhumus, I am now learning Ṣhiṇā.

achāk gin kachāk awājin to, take as much as is necessary.

ai jago-jo o shūo dūr gyē baiyèn, the lad, going far away from those people, sits down.

bula dõik dubēen, he cannot play polo.

ashmūo berāzhèr kūi būṭèr kōnèr jèn, in the eighth year a famine appears (lit. is born) in all countries.

herkhèn anu àshpij bula dēgè to, kuḍājèn, whenever they have played polo on this horse, it goes lame.

Shātīrè Perī kūyèr nifaien, he arrives in Shātīra Perī's country.

hōshè-jo nikhāan, he becomes unconscious (lit. comes out of his senses).

ro mishto bē parujèn-à, does he hear well?

àshpo fatūṭ yaiyèn, the horse walks backwards.

o dāsēi chupèr nifaièn, they come to the edge of that plain.

We have feminine forms of the third person singular in :—

taupush lē tom gōṭ baiin, having become grieved, she sits in her own house.

èk kūyèkèr nifaiin, she arrives in a certain country.

pōnich yaiin, she proceeds along the road.

Imperfect.

gōṭè-jo fatu baiès, he was sitting behind the house.

tumè kir sèès, he was sleeping under the tree.

Past.

anu kōmich manupīdus, I am skilled in this work (*manupījõiki*).

ahèk ius raiśtuk mà pàrudus, I have heard what you said (*pàrujõiki. Raiśtuk* is past participle passive with the suffix *k* of unity) (see p. 373).

èsh balātèṭ ma-kach wà. Dubālo to, chèl bujèṭ wà, come to me this evening. If you cannot, come early tomorrow morning (*dubõiki*).

kerè ṣhumīlo to, hukuk ṣhù thè, if at any time you get tired, take a little rest (*ṣhumījõiki*).

tus nēi raiō-sinèṭ mà nē pàrudunus ro uçhuto, until you told me, I haven't (*i.e.* hadn't) heard that he ran (*i.e.* had run) away (*uçhōiki*).

kuikhèn rōs mà waiōikèr paskāgo, tsak uthālo, when he saw me coming, he got up (*uthōiki*).

Haiabān, tom dā-pūçho-sa"tā, mā-mālo-sā"tā, tom gutèr khushānuo-sā"tā baiṭo, Haiàbān abode happily in his home with his children and parents (*baiyōiki*).

jawāb dōiki dubālo, he could not give an answer (*dubōiki*).

tèshi ajonō kirṭè dito, he fell down from the top of the roof (*dijōiki*).

ro tsago dapèr lañēdo, he passed through the garden (*lañijōiki*).

ro ma-jo muçho nifālo, he arrived before me (*nifaṣōiki*).

junèk baṭè kiro nikhāto, a snake came out from under the stone (*nikhaiōiki*).

mai kēr pōlo, in my understanding it came into existence, *i.e.* I understood (*pōiki*). (*Hēr* is locative I of *hyūo* or *hīwo*, the heart, mind).

kèsai māk diak è pòn dapèr waiī, pfut thē rōlo to, cherūṭo o ham, if any one's mother or daughter come along that road, and, looking away from it (*i.e.* the suspended corpse), wept (*i.e.* weeps), that person is the thief (*roōiki*).

kaisè ṣhiṣhioh bòṭi to, bādshā ginōn, on whosesoever head she sat (*i.e.* the hawk may alight), him we shall take as king (*baiyōiki*).

ro waiōikèr būṭè jak tsak uthilè, on his coming all the people stood up (*uthōiki*).

Perfect.

rèsè nōm mà āmūṭunus, I have forgotten his name (*amūshōiki*).

tus nēi raiō-sinèṭ mà nē parudunus ro uçhuto, until you told me, I haven't (*i.e.* hadn't) heard that he had run away (*parujōiki, uçhōiki*).

tu ṣhumīluno to, dūèk ṣhū thè, if you have become tired, rest a little (*ṣhumījōiki*).

kaikhèn ro uçhatun baiṭun, when he (has) arrived he (has) sat down (*uçhaokōiki, baiyōiki*).

baṭè-'jī lèl ditun; gumān bin kākas gala dito bulun, blood has fallen on the stone, (so) the partridge has probably been wounded (*dijōiki, bōiki*).

andèd açhkēur fuk pōlun, cataract has made its appearance on his eyes (*i.e.* he has cataract) (*pōiki*).

akhana ros Ṣhiṇā sīçhilun to, kyin mori Ṣhiṇā rōs nēi thèen, if he has learnt Ṣhiṇā, why does he never speak it? (*sīçhōiki*).

chèi chālīn, mūlaṭèk jālīn, the woman has given birth, and a child has been born (*i.e.* the woman has given birth to a baby girl) (*chōiki, jōiki*).

anè bālī katārgi chhinītī, akī nēi chhīdīn, this rope was severed with a knife; it was not severed of itself. (*chhīnōiki*, to cut (transitive); *chhīnījōiki*, to become cut, to cut (intransitive). *Chhīnīto* is the past tense passive of *chhīnūiki*, while *chhīdo* is the past tense intransitive).

tèshij sugomich chūnè shudārè baiṭèn, small children have sat down (*i.e.* are seated) on the roof at the smoke-hole (*baiyōiki*).

Pluperfect.

kèkhèn mà āl baiṭusus, du manuṭjè hai thōjè watè, while I had sat down (*i.e.* was seated) there, two men came running up (*baiyōiki*).

kūṭ dapèr baiṭus, he had sat down (*i.e.* was seated) on the top of the wall (*baiyōiki*).

shudār asul, ān ṣhumēlus nēi aṭēn, he was (only) a boy, and so he had become tired and fell asleep (*ṣhumējōikē*).

koñkoro thè baṭès, they had sat down (*i.e.* were seated) round about (*baiyōiki*).

Imperative.

tu ān basi ro nēi watè-sūnèṭ, sit down (*i.e.* remain) here till he comes.

ajèṭ nikkà, climb up (*nikhaiōiki*).

lōko uçhà, flee ye at once (*uçhōiki*).

dāmadā baiyà, sit ye down round about.

rèsèṭ rù, koiñ han, al bēyut, tell him to stay where he is (lit. where he is, there let him sit down).

maii jèk peruo nish yā ro miriōt yā jōno muchōt, I do not care whether he lives or dies (lit. either let him die, or let him escape alive).

The following are examples of the use of some irregular intransitive verbs :—

1. *bujōiki*, to go.

anèsè bujōikèṭ rak nish, he does not intend to go.

ai jago-jo o shèo dur gyē baiyèn, the lad, having gone far from those people, sits down.

bujōikèr anī buṭoṭ kūlè dēn, on (their) going away, he gives them all grain.

na ro rukhsatij bujōik bēen, na tu, neither you nor he can go on leave.

derum nēi bujō-sun tu ma-kach wà hukam ginōikèṭ, before you start (lit. up to your not starting) come to me to get an order.

mà akī bujum, I shall go myself.

akhana ro āñ asul to, rōjèr bujè sik, if he were here, he would be very angry (lit. he would go into anger).

mà-ga tu bōn, you and I shall go.

tu Gilitèṭ bujèno-à ? awa, Gilitèṭ bujumus, are you going to Gilgit ? yes, I am going to Gilgit.

dèo akōṭ, jèk khōik-kār, jèlèṭ bujèn, the Dev goes off by himself to the jungle to get something to eat.

kachāk dèzè-jo Zulēkha zindānèṭ bujīn, in the course of a few days, Zulaikha goes to the prison.

chār būṭès, cherūṭè mōr-ginī, zhataicèr āru bujèuen, at the thief's saying, all the four get into the bag.

Mīr Sāip Nagirēi ma-kach wato ; nēi to mà tènisèṭ bujumusus, the Mīr of Nagir came to see me ; otherwise, I would have gone [note the use of the imperfect] to (play) tennis.

chukari bujèiso, you were going uphill.

bichōikèṭ gas, I went off to beg.

tu ino gà to, anu dūa raiōjà tom jamāatè-wār ²fā thè, when you go (lit. went from here, repeating this spell, blow towards your wife.

ro ako ṣhā gō, he went off of his own will (*i.e.* without permission).

dūt pūçhēs ailar gōu, the milk went into the boy's mouth.

eilèṭ gawu, he went for a walk.

paisa būṭ waii mukhij gēi, all the money (fem.) went on the face of the waters (*i.e.* was wasted).

mà Gilāt nifaiōikè-jo muçho ro gōun bai, he may have left before I reach Gilgit.

wēa-kār gōun (or *gauan*), he has gone for water.

akhana ro chkāt bul to, mà gyē baièm, if he comes late, I shall have gone.

pōn fat thē abōm nēi bo, having left the road, do not go across country.

gèr bā, go ye on forward.

chār būtè ṣhałaièr ārū buju, all four of you go inside into the bag (*i.e.* get into it).

yā ro Chilāsèt bujōt yā ro Giltè bēyot, yā muçho yā fùtu rèsèi dushmanīs ro màrèn, let him go to Chilās or let him stay in Gilgit (*i.e.* whether he goes or stays), sooner or later his enemies will murder him.

2. *mirājōiki*, or *mirjōiki*, to die.

akhana ro mirājè to, rèsè pūçh, rèsè dishèr Rā baii sik, if he were to die, his son would become Rājā in his place.

bēshak ro mirājēi, of course he will die.

'mus dam' thē nè dēgasus; ashiñaiyo bat ṣhèckr mūo, I had not struck (him) saying 'I will strike' (*i.e.* intentionally); accidentally being hit by a stone he died.

dōik ro mūun, the giver (or debtor) has died.

mat lèl nish ro mūun-à, jōno han, I do not know whether he is dead or alive (lit. 'has he died ?, is alive ?').

akhana mūus to, rèsè pūçh rèsè dishèr Rā baii sik, if he had died, his son would have become Rājā in his place.

akhana ro ō chhārè-jo nere gōun to, èkhènèr-akī mūus bai, if he has fallen from that cliff, he must have died on the spot.

3. *waiōiki* and *ōiki*, to come.

ani jārè, kīri waiōikèr, dāsè-jo mighṭi mīṣhṭi pfunarè walē, Yūsufèt dēènen, the brothers, on coming down, having brought fine flowers of many kinds from the country, give them to Joseph.

ārū waiōikè-ju muçhō dārè-'ji dañ dañ thè, before coming in knock at the door.

mà Chilāsèt waiō-sin ṭhañ gumān bīn ro aiākèr Giltèt nifaii bai, by the time I arrive at Chilās, he will probably in the meantime reach Gilgit.

derāj waii kirṭè ho thīn, coming to the window she calls down.

tōṣhṭak tū-kach wām, I shall come to you tomorrow.

tu āñ baii ro nēi waio-sinèt. Ro lōko waii, you will remain here till he comes (.it. up to the time he does not come). He will come soon.

bè rèsè merākèt kyè-bē wōn, why should we come to his court ?

tu shabāk añ baii, mà firijī wāmus, you will sit here a little, I am coming back (*i.e.* stay here, I shall return).

tu ma-sāati wāano, yā nē, are you coming with me or not ?

tu herchhak ma-kach wāno, you are always coming to me.

rīno fatu rōs-ga hai thē gōt wān, he too, running after them, comes to the house.

dashtamus anus hai thēgun, anèsēī hīṣh (fem.) *wāùn'*, he looks as if he had run, he is breathing so (lit. I know he has done running, his panting comes).

Astōrājè Giltèt wāanea kūlo harōikè-kār, the Astōrīs come to Gilgit to buy grain.

lôṣḳṭaiẽk tu watə to, mas tūṭ ẽk rūpai damus ḇai, if you come (lit. came) to-morrow, perhaps I shall give (lit. am giving) you a rupee.

o manūjo balà wato, ẽk rūpai ẽsẽṭ dōkun, give a rupee to the man who came yesterday (lit. the man came yesterday, to him a rupee is to be given).

tūṭ damijār (fem.) *watī to, anu ²furgo dai*, if trouble comes (lit. came) to you, burn this feather.

kẽkhẽn mà ãl baitusus, du manūjè kai thō-'jè watè, while I was seated there, two men came running up.

tu ãsh watuno ? nè, balà watumus, have you come to-day? no, I have come yesterday.

rōs buyèt thōikèṭ watun, he has come to make a petition.

aḵhana rèsèi ṣhāl (fem.) *watin to, rèsèṭ kwinēn dè*, if he gets fever (lit. if his fever has come), give him quinine.

ãsh rājà būṭè Gilit der watèn, to-day all the rājās have come into Gilgit.

mà-gè anèsè-kār watusus, I too had come for this purpose.

kèsèṭ lèl nush, ro koño watus, ro koiñṭè go", no one knows (lit. to any one it is not known) whence he came (lit. had come), or whither he went.

har dèz gōu ma-kach warōkun, every day (lit. every day went) you must come to me.

ãsh balatèṭ ma-kach wà; dubālo to, chèl bujèṭ wà, come to me this evening; if you can't, then come early to-morrow morning.

būṭè nalā ma-kàch wà, all come to me together.

rèsèṭ ḵhabar thè, ma-kach wōt, tell him to come to me.

ro-ga wàwōt, let him also come.

ãjo wàwōt, yā nè wàwōt, mà zerur dorūṭ bujum, whether it rains or not (lit. let rain come or let it not come), I am certainly going out.

ajonō ashinaiyo èk baṭèk ālo, suddenly a stone came down from above.

ṣhishak-gini fakīrèk ālun, a faqīr has come with (*i.e.* carrying) a head.

D. The Passive Voice.—A transitive verb may be put into the Passive Voice by adding *-ẽj-* or *-ij-* to the root. Thus, *ṣhidōiki*, to strike, *ṣhidijōiki*, to be struck. The employment of *-ẽj-* or *-ij-* depends on the stress accent. For instance, in *ṣhidijōiki* the accent is on the *ō*, and therefore we have *-ij-*, with the *i* short, but in *ṣhidijum*, I shall be struck, the accent is on the *-ẽj-*, and therefore we have the *ã* long. The passive verb so obtained is then conjugated like a derivative intransitive verb in *-ẽjōiki*. It thus occurs that it is often difficult to say whether a given verb in *-ẽjōiki* is intransitive or passive. In a few verbs there is, however, a difference of form. Colonel Lorimer gives the following:—

mirōiki, mirjōiki, or *mirẽjōiki*, to die.

màrōiki, to kill (causal).

màrijōiki, to be killed (passive of causal).

nikhalōiki, to get out of.

nikhalōiki, to turn out, extract (causal).

nikalijōiki, to be turned out, extracted, etc. (passive of causal).

The verb *chhīnōiki*, to cut, has *chhīnijōiki* both for its intransitive (to cut, become

cut of itself) and for its passive (to be cut by some one) forms, but these differ in the past participle. Thus:—

chhīnājèn, cuts (of itself) (intr.), or it is being cut (by some one) (pass.).
chhīdo, it cut (of itself), it broke (intr.).
chhīnīto, it was cut (by some one) (pass.).

We have seen (p. 364) that most intransitive verbs in *-ṭjoiki* form the past participle in *-do*. Thus, *ferījōiki*, to turn round, has *ferīdo*. Passive verbs generally form their past participles in *-to*, not *-do*, as in *chhīnīto*, above, but the termination *-do* is sometimes used.

The past participle is frequently used as a simple adjective, as in *chhenītā balī*, the cut rope. When the *-to* of the past participle is changed to *-tuk* (*i.e.* with the suffix of unity added), the word becomes a substantive, as in *thītuk* (from *thōiki*), a (or the) thing done, an act; *raiītuk*, a (or the) thing said, an injunction.

As in Indian languages, the use of the passive voice is rare, and the only examples that I have noted are all in tenses formed from the past participle, although I know of no prohibition to the use of the other tenses. The following is a list of passive forms that have been noted by me:—

Active.	Passive.	
	Infinitive.	Past participle.
chhinōiki, to cut (something).	*chhenijōiki*	*chhīnīto*
dōiki, to give, to strike.	*dijōiki*	*dīto*
raiōiki, to say.	*raiijōiki*	*raiīto*
ṣhidōiki, to strike.	*ṣhidijōiki*	*ṣhidīto*
thōiki, to do, make.	*thijōiki*	*thīto*
kamōiki, to spend.	*kamijōiki*	*kamīdo*
màrōiki, to kill.	*màrijōiki*	*màrīdo*
pālōiki, to rub on.	*palijōiki*	*palīdo*

The following are examples of the use of these passive verbs in tenses formed from the past participle:

anè bālī katār-gī chhīnītā, aki nēi chhidēn, this rope was cut with a knife; it did not cut (*i.e.*, break) of itself.

o gala dīto parulo bē yaiyen, he walks as if he were wounded (lit. being like a wounded person).

ro Mīr Sāipè shadarè katè-jo turi-gīni ṣhidīiun, he has been beaten by the Mīr Sāhib's servant with a whip. Here we have an example of the rule that when a personal agent is expressed in connexion with a passive verb, this is done by the aid of the phrase '*katè-jo*', by the hand of.

Mīr Sāip tom shadarè zhèk thītuj (= *thīto* + *ajè*) *ªfītīk bul*, the Mīr Sāhib was displeased at something which his servant had done (lit. displeased on something done of the servant).

achāk bōdo kamōiki nē azul. Mas jèk tham? Guṭè-kar kamīdo, you should not have spent so much. What am I to do? It was expended for the house (hold).

ro dāṛu-gī màrīdo, he was killed by a bullet.

koerī-'j tōk palēdun, (your) boots are muddy (lit. mud is smeared on the boots).
zhèk tus raiītuk mà pàrudus. I have heard what you say. Note here that *tus* is in the agent case, although *raiītuk* is passive. This is the rule in such cases.
Khudaiè shukur thaiè thōtuk, thanks be Thine, O God, for what Thou hast done. Here, by an alternative idiom, *thaiè* is in the genitive.

E. The Causal Voice.—A causal verb is made by adding the syllable *er* or *ar* (or, when the accent falls on it, *èr*) to the root of the primary verb. If the root ends in a vowel, the contiguous vowels usually coalesce, but the typical *r* remains unchanged. If the primary verb is intransitive, the causal formed from it is usually an active causal, as in *nikhaiōiki*, to come out, causal *nikhairōiki*, to cause to come out, to take out. If the primary verb is transitive, the causal usually implies the passive of the primary verb, as in *màrōiki*, to kill, causal *màrarōiki*, to cause to be killed, to have killed. There are, as in India, some irregular causals. One of these is *màrōiki*, to kill, just mentioned, which, itself is the causal of *mirōiki*, to die. Another is *nikhaiōiki*, to emerge, causal *nikhalōiki*, to extract, beside *nikhairōiki*, to cause to emerge. *Nikhalōiki* has, itself, a double causal *nikhalerōiki*, to cause to be extracted. I have no record of other irregular causals, but they probably exist.

In some cases double causals may be formed by doubling the *-èr-*. Colonel Lorimer gives the following example :—

pachōiki, to ripen, to be in the process of being cooked, to cook (intr.).
causal *pacherōiki*, to cook (something), as in *tus tèn ṭiki pachèrè*, cook some food now.
double causal *pachererōiki*, to cause to be cooked, as in *tus tèn ṭiki tom shaderè hatè-jo pachèrerè*, have some food now cooked by your servant.

The following are examples of causal verbs :—

Primary verb.	Causal verb.
banōiki, to clothe (oneself).	*banerōiki*, to put (clothes on another person).
chèlōiki, to proceed.	*chèlerōiki*, to cause to proceed, to carry on (affairs).
dōiki, to give.	*derōiki*, to cause to be given, to put.
ganōiki, to fix.	*ganerōiki*, to cause to be fixed.
ginōiki, to take, buy.	*ginerōiki*, to cause to be bought.
kuḍijōiki, to be lame.	*kuḍerōiki*, to lame.
khoiki, to eat.	*khaierōiki*, to give (food) to be eaten, to feed.
mirōiki, to die.	*màrōiki*, to kill.
màrōiki, to kill.	*màrarōiki*, to cause to be killed.
nikhaiōiki, to emerge.	*nikhairōiki*, to cause to emerge.
nikhalōiki, to extract.	*nikhalerōiki*, to cause to be extracted.
pēōiki, to drink.	*pēerōiki*, to give to be drunk, to give to drink.
pashōiki, to see.	*pasherōiki*, to cause to be seen, to show.
raiōiki, to say, to recite.	*rēirōiki*, to cause to be said, to cause to be recited.

sēōiki, to sew.
ṣhidōiki, to strike.
thōiki, to do.
waloiki, to bring.
sēerōiki, to get sewn.
ṣhiderōiki, to have (a person) beaten.
therōiki, to cause to be done.
walerōiki, to cause to be brought, to obtain.

The following are examples of the use of these causal verbs:—

Jibrāēl tom chandè-jo mishṭè mishṭè ṣhālè nikhalē, Yusufèṭ banerēn, Gabriel, having taken fine clothes of various kinds from his pocket, puts (them) on Joseph.

anē ashrafiè ginē anè jeris tōm guṭcēi kōm mishṭuk thē chèlerīn, taking the *ashrafis*, the old woman carries on the affairs of her house well.

tèn lōilyo àshpich tīlèn derōkun, now the saddle is to be put on the red horse (*i.e.* have the red horse saddled now).

anèsè-jo fatu mas tom àshpo sārpè gànerum, in future I shall have shoes fixed on my horse (*i.e.* I shall have him shod).

anē khachi bām maṭ ginerēguno, you have made this worthless mare bought to me (*i.e.*, you have made me buy it).

anu àshpo tus kuḍerēguno, you have lamed this horse.

yèr thē àshpèṭ wair pēerè, fatu baspūr khaierè, first make water to be drunk to the horse, afterwards make grain to be eaten to it (*i.e.* first water the horse, then feed it).

rōs Mīr Sāipè shadarè hatè-jo tumakè dīḍū-gī (or *dīṭū-gī*) *ako màrarēgo*, he has had himself killed with a gun-bullet by the Mīr Sahib's servant.

ro mas tom ṯsagè-jo nikhairum, I will make him get out of my garden.

ro mas tom ṯsagè-jo nikhalerum, I will have him removed from my garden.

àshpo cho thē, herā sēnich, mas tuṭ wair pēeram, gallop your horse, bringing it to the river, and I will give you water to drink.

rèsèṭ pasherè anu kōm zhèk chukuj thèn to thēi, show him how to do this job (lit. show him how one does it, so that he may do it).

chāno barōṭ sūnṛho hāwo-gī kalima rēirènen, they cause to young and old the creed to be recited with a sincere heart (*i.e.* they made young and old recite it).

mas akō-kār ṣhālè derāē hatè-jo sēerumus, I am having clothes sewn for myself by the tailor.

ukhana tus anu kōm thēgà to, màs tu kūri ṣhiderum, if you do this, I will have you severely beaten.

tus tom hatè-jo baièk asul tushār damijār therēguno, you have caused me as much trouble as possible.

cherūṭus ajōni chèlak-gī mà sharminda therēgo, the thief (has) caused me (to be) ashamed (*i.e.* has put me to shame) by an extraordinary trick.

mas tèn-akā è chèi tūṭ shō theram, I shall now at once get that woman to accept you.

ma-kār Kashgārè-jo rōs èk mishṭo àshpo walerēgun, he has had brought (*i.e.* obtained) a good horse for me from Kashgar.

V. INDECLINABLES.—The negative particle is *nè, nē, nèi,* or *nēi,* not. It may also be used to mean 'is not', as in *anè maii dī nè,* this is not my daughter. The same words are used to mean 'no'. A stronger negative is *nèya,* not at all, or 'O, no'. 'Yes' is *awa.* 'Neither . . . nor' is *na . . . na.*

The word for 'and' or 'both . . . and' is *ga* or *gè.* It is used enclitically after the first of the conjoined members, and may be repeated after the second. Colonel Lorimer gives as examples :—*mà-ga tu bōn,* I and you shall go; *mà-ga ro-ga baiyà bōn,* both I and he shall go. The same word is also used with the meaning of 'and also' 'too' as in *kuno àshpo walè, loilo-ga walè,* bring the black horse, and also bring the bay.

We have seen above (p. 351) that when the particle *à* is appended to the future tense of a verb, it gives it a subjunctive force. This particle is also employed to indicate direct interrogation, when there is no definite interrogative word in the sentence. In this case it is usually appended to the last word in the sentence, which is generally the verb, as in *tu Gilteṭ bujèno-à,* are you going to Gilgit? If there is an alternative, it is usually appended only to the first element, as in *ro watun-à, nei watun,* has he come or not?

The particle *to* is of very frequent occurrence in Ṣhiṇā, and is, I believe, the same as the termination *-ta* of the polite present imperative of Kāshmīrī, as in *wuchh-ta,* please to see, or, as we should say in English 'just see'. In Ṣhiṇā it is put at the end of the phrase, *i.e.* generally immediately after the verb, and its effect seems to be to give a slight element of hesitation or doubt to the whole clause. Thus, *anī paisa fash bil to, nēi jèk thōn,* (when) this money became (*i.e.* is) expended, then what shall we do? Note that *to* does not here mean 'then', as we might think from the analogy of Hindī. That word is supplied by *nēi,* which is here an adverb of time with that meaning. The *to* belongs to the first clause, and here really means 'when', with the additional idea of uncertainty as to how long the money will last. Or, again, it may, like the English suffix '-ever' be employed to give an indefinite force to an interrogative pronoun, as in *mà kōs paida thēgun to, o Dabōnsè maṭ rizek dēn,* whoever has created me, that Lord gives me my daily food. But *to* most often occurs in the protasis, or if-clause, of a conditional sentence, the word 'if' being indicated at the beginning of the clause by *akhana.* Thus, *akhana rōs ādè rāan to, khaltē rēan,* if he speaks so, he lies. Sometimes *akhana* is omitted, and the whole burden of the 'if' is thrown upon the *to,* as in *oyàno hano to, tūṭ khurma bōdo vēum,* if you are hungry, I will throw down lots of dates for you.

If the conditional sentence is such a one as we would require the use of 'would' or 'would have' in English, the word *sik* is appended to the apodosis, or then-clause, as in *akhana ro mūo to, rèsè pāçh rèsè dishèr Rā baii. sik,* if he died, his son would become Rājā in his place. Or again, *akhana mūus (sik) to, rèsè pāçh rèsè dishèr Rā baii sik,* if he had died, his son would have become Rājā in his place. As in the last example, *sik* may sometimes also be optionally inserted in the protasis, without affecting the meaning.

From several of the above examples, it may be noted that there is a marked tendency in Ṣhiṇā to put the verb of the protasis in the past indicative, where we, in English, should use the present indicative or the phrase 'were to' or the auxiliary 'should'.

Sometimes, but much more rarely, *to* is used, as in Hindī, to introduce a new article in a sequence. In such cases it begins, not concludes a clause, and may be translated, as in Hindī by 'then'. Thus :—

fat chūpèr bādshās 'Khudaiya, anè kachèrèk bōt', thē, dam dēa ; to aiāko-majā bādshāè jamāat āṅ-aṅ thē kachèrè bīn, finally, the king saying 'O God, may this woman become a mule', blows (towards her); then, on this (or 'thereupon', *aiāko-majā*), the king's wife, saying 'hee-haw', becomes a mule.

I owe the following version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son into Ṣhiṇā, to the kindness of Colonel Lorimer. It was made by Sarfarāz, son of Bakhtawār, a Kachatei Yashkun of Gilgit, and was revised by Colonel Lorimer. Attention must be drawn to the laxity in regard to vowel sounds, to which, especially in the conjugation of verbs, reference has been made on p. 352 *ante*. In several instances, the spelling of declensional and conjugational forms in this specimen will be found to differ slightly from those given in the preceding pages. There is, however, nothing which need cause difficulty.

ṢHIṆÂ.

(*Lieutenant-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer, C.I.E., 1923.*)

Ko-manūjakaii dū dārè asil. Chūno pūçḥsè mālèṭ rēgo,
Of-a-certain-man two sons were. The-small son to-the-father said,
'ala bābo, thaii-jàbè-jo jèk bāguk maṭ nifaien-to maṭ dē,'
'*O father, from-thy-property what a-share to-me may-arrive to-me give,*'
thèn. Mālus tom jap dāruṭ samaregu. Nè bōdo
he-says. The-father his-own property to-the-sons divided. Then many
dēzi majā nè gyèès, chūno pūçḥsè tōm
days in-the-midst not had-gone, the-small son his-own
būṭo-jèk gaṭi thē (*or* sūalā) dūr-kūyèkèṭ
every-what (i.e. *everything*) *collected having-made* (or *having-collected*) *to-a-far-country*
jas bē gōu. Nè āl tōm jap
setting-out having-become went. Then there his-own property
khacho-yaiyōiki 'jè naiēgo. Nèi karē-gè jèk hano ,būto
on-bad-proceeding he-lost (i.e. *wasted*). *Then as-soon-as what is all*
karanēgus-to, ē-kūyèr kūri kōner pōlo (*or* wato). Dugūnyo
he-had-expended, in-that-country strong famine occurred (or *came*). *Again*
nè ro yūçḥo bulo; ē-kūyè èk-manūjèkè-kachi gōu.
then he destitute became; of-that-country to-beside-a-man he-went.
Rōs ro tōm-çḥēçḥur sūri charaṛōikèṭ çḥaṇīgu. Nè rèsè-hīēi
He him in-his-own-fields swine for-to-make-graze sent. Then of-his-heart
gunāo asu ki kèi kōiè sūris khàanis ainè-jo tōm
the-desire was that what pods the-swine used-to-eat them-from his-own
dèr shak thōiki; kōs-gè rèsèṭ jèkèk nè dènis. Nè
belly full to-make; anyone to-him anything not used-to-give. Then
ròs hōshar waii rēgu ki, 'maii-mālè kachāk-būoṭ
he in-sense having-come said that, 'of-my-father to-how-many-hired-labourers
ṭiki pasōm-nishi-'j laiik bīn, nè mà ān oyàno mirījumus.
food on-grudging-there-is-not obtainable becomes, and I here hungry am-dying.
Mà uthēi tōm-mālè-kachi bujam, nè rèsèṭ raam, "ala
I having-arisen to-beside-my-own-father will-go, then to-him I-will-say, "O
bābo, mà Khudā (*or* āsmānēi) muçḥho nèi thaii-ăçḥhiè muçḥho dōjorōlo
father, I God (or *of-heaven*) *before then-again of-thy-eyes before sinful*
bulus; anè yashki fat nèi bīgas ki, 'nè mà thaii
became; of-this worthy remaining not I-have-become that. 'again I thy

pūçḥ hanus' thē, raiōiki. Mà tōmo būè parulè the."
son am' having-said, to-say. Me thy-own hired-labourers like make".
Anī mōrè anu pūçḥsè akōsḥā tōm-hīar rās. Ālo
These words this son of-himself in-his-own-heart was-saying. Thence
fatu ro uthēī tōm-mālè-kach gauu. Ro darum dur
after he having-arisen to-beside-his-own-father went. He yet distant
asul ki, ro pàshī, rèsè-mālei hīar jāk ālī (*or* nūrei watīḷ
was when, him having-seen, of-his-father in-the-heart pity came (or *compassion came*).
Mālus, hai thē, tōm pūçḥ walē, ṣḥōṭar
The-father, running having-done, his-own son having-brought, on(-his-own)-neck
vīgu. Nè rèsè tōm-puçḥè
threw (i.e. *drawing his son to him clasped him to his neck*). *Then his of-his-own-son*
mukhi 'j ăçḥhīu-'j bōchè dēgu. Pūçḥsè mālèṭ rēgu, 'ala bābo,
on-the-face on-the-eyes kisses gave. The-son to-the-father said, 'O father,
mà āsmān-gè thēi-ăçḥhiè muçḥho dōjopōlo bulus; anè yashki nè
I heaven-and of-thy-eye before sinful became; of-this worthy not
bīgas ki, "nè mà thaii pūçḥ hanus" thē, raiōiki.'
I-have-become that, "again I thy son am" having-said, to-say.'
Mālus tōm-shadarut rāan ki, 'miṣḥṭi-jo miṣḥtè çḥhīlè lōko
The-father to-his-own-servants says that, 'than-good good clothes quickly
nikhalē maii-chūno-pūçḥèṭ banarà, nè rèsei-hatar barōno
having-taken-out to-my-small-son cause-ye-to-be-put-on, then on-his-hand ring
tharià, nè pāwur paizārè banaryà', thèn.
cause-ye-to-be-done, then on-feet shoes cause-ye-to-be-put-on', he-says.
Mālus nèi ràan shadaruṭ, 'unito ro baṭgo walē halāl
The-father then says to-servants, 'nurtured that calf having-brought slain
thèà, tā-ke bēs khyē shuriār thōn; kyè-to maii anu
make-ye, so-that we having-eaten rejoicing may-make; because my this
pūçḥ mūus, thèn jōno bulu; naiyīto bulus, thèn laiak bulu'.
son had-died, now alive became; lost had-become, now found became'.
Ālo fatu rīs shuriār thoiki ṣḥatè
Thence after they rejoicing to-make began.
Ēkhyèn anisè baro pūçḥ çhēçhar asul. Ro waii
At-that-time of-this-one elder son in-field was. He having-come
guṭè-kachi uçḥato. Gaiè dōikè shōno parudo. Nè
house-near arrived. Songs of-giving the-sound he-heard. Then
tōm-ēk-shadarèkèṭ khujōik ṣḥāto ki, 'nè jòkèk bīu.' Rōs
to-his-own-one-servant to-enquire he-began that, 'this a-what becomes?' He

rèsèṭ rēgu, 'thaii jā watun, nè thaii mālus unito
to-him said, 'thy brother has-come, then thy father the-nurtured
baṯso halāl tharēgun, anèsè-kāri ki ro
calf slain has-caused-to-be-made, this-on-account that that
chūno pūçḥ misḥṭeri-'j lēgo.' Baṛo pūçḥ
small son on-goodness (i.e. *well*) *he-found.' The-elder son*
rōsḥ bēen, guṭèṭ āru bujōiki rak nè thēgu. Magar rèsēi
anger became, to-the-house into to-go intention not he-made. But his
mālo daru gyē baṛo pūçḥ mòrar-tharèn.
father out having-gone the-elder son in-word-causes-to-be-made (i.e *entreats*).
Rōs tōm-mālei raiītikèr rēgo ki, 'çhakè, achāk-barījar
He of-his-own-father on-the-said (*-thing*) *said that, 'look, in-so-many-years*
mas thaii kōm thamus, mas karē-gè thaii-raiītuk nè nē
I thy work am-doing, I at-any-time (*to-*) *thy-a-said* (*-thing*) *not "no"*
thēganus; magar maṭè tusè karē-gè èk-aiēi chālak-gè nèi
have-said; but to-me thou at any-time of-one-she-goat a-kid-even not
digà ki mas tōm-shugūlo-sāati shuriār tham (*or* tharum)-sik.
gavest that I my-own-friends-with rejoicing may-make(or *cause-to-be-made*).
Karē-gè thaii anu pūçḥ wato, kōs thaii jap khacho-kōmèr
As-soon-as thy this son came, who thy property in-evil-work
(*or* kanchanio fatu) naiēgo, tus rèsè kār tus unīto
(or *harlots after*) *lost* (i.e. *wasted*), *thou of-him for-the-sake thou the-nurtured*
baṯso halāl tharēgà.' Mālus baṛo-pūçḥèṭ rāan, 'ala
calf slain hast-caused-to-be-made.' The-father to-the-elder-son says, 'O
pūçḥ, tu har chhak ma kach hano; nè maii jèk hanuk
son, thou every day me with art; and-then mine whatever is-thing
o thaii aki han. Nè shuriār tharōiki, shuriār bōiki
that thine one is. Then rejoicing to-cause-to-be-made, rejoicing to-be
yaṣḥki asil, "ki" thēgà-to, thaii anu jā mūus,
proper was, "why?" if-thou-say (i.e. *because*), *thy this brother had-died,*
thèn jōno buło; naiēgasis, thèn lēganis (*or* naiītus,
now alive became; we-had-lost, now we-have-found (or *he-had-been lost,*
thèn laiīto)', thèn.
now he-was-found)', he-says.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE ṢHIṆĀ OF GILGIT LANGUAGE.

English.	Ṣhiṇā.	English.	Ṣhiṇā.
1. One	èk.	24. Of you	ṯsaï, ṯsaii.
2. Two	du.	25. Your	ṯsaï, ṯsaii.
3. Three	ṛhōi.	26. He	ro, o, rōs, ōs.
4. Four	chār.	27. Of him	rèsè, rèsēi, èsè, èsēi.
5. Five	pōĩ, (*Punialī*) push.	28. His	rèsè, rèsēi, èsè, èsēi.
6. Six	ṣhā.	29. They	ri, ris, ai, aisè.
7. Seven	sat.	30. Of them	rino, rinēi, aino, ainēi.
8. Eight	aṣh, (*Punialī*) aṣhṭ.	31. Their	rino, rinēi, aino, ainēi.
9. Nine	nau.	32. Hand	hat.
10. Ten	daii.	33. Foot	pā.
11. Twenty	bi.	34. Nose	natho.
12. Fifty	di bu-ga dai.	35. Eye	àçhi, àçhu.
13. Hundred	shal.	36. Mouth	aĩ, aiĩ.
14. I	mà, mas.	37. Tooth	dōn.
15. Of me	maï, maii.	38. Ear	kōn.
16. Mine	maï, maii.	39. Hair	jakur, (*a single hair*) bālo.
17. We	bò, bòs.	40. Head	ṣhuṣh.
18. Of us	asaï, asaii.	41. Tongue	jip.
19. Our	asaï, asaii.	42. Belly	dèr.
20. Thou	tu, tus.	43. Back	pit.
21. Of thee	thaï, thaii.	44. Iron	chimar, chimar.
22. Thine	thaï, thaii.	45. Gold	son.
23. You	ṯso, ṯsos.	46. Silver	rūp.

English.	Ṣhiṇā.	English.	Ṣhiṇā.
47. Father	bābo, māle.	73. Duck	bārnṣh.
48. Mother	āje, mā.	74. Ass	jakan.
49. Brother	jā.	75. Camel	ūṭ.
50. Sister	sā.	76. Bird	chaiĩ.
51. Man	manūṭo, mushā.	77. Go	bujōiki (*infinitive*).
52. Woman	chèi, (*dialectic*) ṣhèi.	78. Eat	khōiki (*infinitive*).
53. Wife	gyēn, grēn, jamāat.	79. Sit	baiōiki (*infinitive*).
54. Child	shudār.	80. Come	waōiki (*infinitive*).
55. Son	pūcḥ	81. Beat	ṣhudōiki, dōiki (*infinitives*)
56. Daughter	dī.	82. Stand	ṭsak bōiki (*infinitive*).
57. Slave	dimalo, maristan.	83. Die	mirjōiki, mirtjōiki (*infinitives*).
58. Cultivator	.....	84. Give	dōiki (*infinitive*).
59. Shepherd	peyālo.	85. Run	hai thōiki (*infinitive*).
60. God	Khudā, Dabōn.	86. Up	ajè.
61. Devil	Shētān.	87. Near	kach.
62. Sun	sūrī.	88. Down	kiri.
63. Moon	yūn.	89. Far	dūr.
64. Star	tāro.	90. Before	yèr
65. Fire	agār.	91. Behind	fatā.
66. Water	waii.	92. Who?	ko.
67. House	gōṭ.	93. What?	jèk.
68. Horse	āshpo.	94. Why?	kyè.
69. Cow	gào, gōⁿ, gō.	95. And	-ga.
70. Dog	shā.	96. But	magar, ama.
71. Cat	būshī.	97. If	akhana.
72. Cock	kūkurcho.	98. Yes	awa.

English.	Ṣḥiṇā.	English.	Ṣḥiṇā.
99. No	nè, nèi, nēya.	125. Of good men	miṣḥṭè manūjo.
100. Alas	girpà.	126. To good men	miṣḥṭè manūjuṭ.
101. A father	bābo, bābus.	127. From good men	miṣḥṭè manūju-jo.
102. Of a father	bābè, bābōi	128. A good woman	èk miṣḥṭi chèi (*or* chèièk).
103. To a father	bābèṭ.	129. A bad boy	èk khacho shūo.
104. From a father	bābè-jo.	130. Good woman	miṣḥṭè chèiè.
105. Two fathers	du bābè.	131. A bad girl	èk khachi mulaii (*or* mulaièk).
106. Fathers	bābè, bābès.	132. Good	miṣḥṭo.
107. Of fathers	bābo.	133. Better	(rèsè-jo) miṣḥṭo (*better than that*).
108. To fathers	bāboṭ, bābuṭ.	134. Best	(būṭè-jo *or* buṭinè-jo) miṣḥṭo (*best of all*).
109. From fathers	bābo-jo, bābu-jo.	135. High	uthalo.
110. A daughter	di, dis	136. Higher	(rèsè-jo) uthalo.
111. Of a daughter	dijōi.	137. Highest	(būṭè-jo) uthalo.
112. To a daughter	dijèṭ.	138. A horse	èshpo.
113. From a daughter	dijà-jo.	139. A mare	bām.
114. Two daughters	du dijàrà.	140. Horses	èshpè
115. Daughters	dijàrà, dijàrès.	141. Mares	bāmè.
116. Of daughters	dijāro.	142. A bull	dōno.
117. To daughters	dijāruṭ.	143. A cow	gào, gōⁿ, gō.
118. From daughters	dijārn-jo.	144. Bulls	dōnè.
119. A good man	èk miṣḥṭo manūjo (*or* manūjuk).	145. Cows	gawè, go.
120. Of a good man	èk miṣḥṭo manūjè.	146. A dog	shī.
121. To a good man	èk miṣḥṭo manūjèṭ.	147. A bitch	sonçhi shī.
122. From a good man	èk miṣḥṭo manūjè-jo.	148. Dogs	shīi, shīwi.
123. Two good men	du miṣḥṭè manūjè.	149. Bitches	sonçhè shīwi.
124. Good men	miṣḥṭè manūjè.	150. A he goat	mūgar.

English.	Ṣhiṇā.
151. A female goat . .	ai.
152. Goats . . .	mōgarī, laṭhè.
153 A male deer . .	.....
154. A female deer .	.....
155. Deer . . .	.....
156—219. ...	For the conjugation of the verb, see Grammar.
220. What is your name ?	thaii nom jèk 'an ?
221. How old is this horse?	anu èshpo kachāk barijo hau ? (*of how many years is this horse ?*)
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	ăno Kashīrètè kachāk dūr hanī ?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	thaii bābāi guṭèr dārè kachāk hanè ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	mà àsh jigàh gatal gānus.
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	maï chūno mālāi pūchèṭ o mushaiè sà gar thè àṭāgòn (*marrying, they have brought the sister of that man to the son of my father's younger brother*)
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	guṭèr shèo àshpāi tilèn hau.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	èsij tilèn dè.

English.	Ṣhiṇā.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	mas èsè pūchè bōdo mughṭakā dāgnus (*lit. I have pummelled his son severely with flats*).
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill	rōsè māl ṭhiṭhè charūj charēin.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	rōsè o tomè kir àsnpij pīnēgun. (pīnōiki, *to mount on; is treated as a transitive verb without a direct object.*)
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	èsèi jà tomi saiè-jo jigo hau.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	èsèi gūṭh du rūpaiè-ga traṅ hani.
233. My father lives in that small house.	mai bābo o chūno guṭèr baryèn.
234. Give this rupee to him	anè rūpai èsèṭ dè.
235. Take those rupees from him.	ai rūpaiè rèsè-jo gin.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes	o mightuk thè ṭhidā bālī-gī gānè.
237. Draw water from the well	daljè-jo (*from the irrigation channel*) waii nikhalè.
238. Walk before me	ma-jo yèr yaii.
239. Whose boy comes behind you ?	kèsè shūo tu-jo fatu wāan ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	kèsè-jo anè gūṭh ginīgāno ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	hètèi hètèwālè-jo.

384—Ṣhiṇā of Gilgit.

VOLUME X.

Page 123, line 8.—In the Addenda to Volume VIII, Part ii (*ante*, p. 247), I have expressed my gratitude to Dr. Morgenstierne for much information there given regarding the more western Dardic languages. In Volume X I have given a pretty full account of the Ōrmuṛī language as spoken at Kaniguram in Wazīristān. On page 123, speaking of other localities in which that language might be expected to be found, I said 'In the Logar Valley, in some villages, the Ōrmuṛs speak Persian, while in others,—Leech mentions the village of Barak,—they have retained their own form of speech.' Leech was writing nearly a century ago, and since then no further information has been received about Ōrmuṛī in Afghanistan proper. This want has now also been filled by Dr. Morgenstierne, who has added to his previous kindness by sending me the following information collected by him during his stay in Kābul. He also sends me a note on Parachī, an allied language also spoken in Afghanistan. He writes as follows :—

ŌRMUṚĪ OF LOGAR.

At the present day Ōrmuṛī is spoken by only a few people of the older generation at Barakī Barak in the Logar Valley. At Butkhāk (some miles east of Kabul) there are people who belong to the Ōrmuṛ tribe; but they have given up their native language and speak Paṣhtō.

The Ōrmuṛī of Logar preserves a palatal *sh* in many cases where the dialect of Kanigrām [*i.e.* Kaniguram] has *s*; but on the other hand it makes no distinction between *ṣh* and *sh*. The complicated system of verbal stems has been such simplified, and the vocabulary has undergone a strong Pārsī influence.

The First Sentences of the Parable in Ōrmuṛī of Logar.

Ta-shē saṛai dō klân būk. Afò zārī klānak ta-khūy pē kī
Of-one man two sons were. The younger boy of-himself father to
ghōk, 'ai pē, tar-tu ta-mâl artsa takhsīm tar-mūn bu-se, ku-mūn kī
said, 'O father, of-thee of property whatever part of-me is, to-me to
ar-shēr.' A saṛai ta-khūy ta-klân minzi-ne ta-khūy a mâl dō takhsīm
give.' The man of-himself of-sons middle-to of-himself the property two parts
dâk. Tsōnd rosh pēts ta-khūy a zārī klân ta-khūy a mâl
made. Some days afterwards of himself the younger son of-himself the property
tōl dâk; pēts râi-nē ai-tsawōk, pēts jâi-nē al-tsawōk.
collected made; then road-to he-went, then a-place-to he-went.

In the above, the letter *â* is sounded as a deep *ā* like the Swedish long *a*.

PARACHĪ.

This language is mentioned by Bābur ('Memoirs', p. 225, Leyden's and Erskine's trans., ed. King), and Masson ('Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan, and the Punjab'). It is spoken in Ghujulān in Dārre-i-ghosh in Nijrau,

in Pachaghān in Tagau, and, with some dialectic difference in the Shutul Valley north of Gulbahār, where the people are said to have come from Nijrau. Formerly it is said to have been in use in Panjshir, and the name of the village Parachi in the Paghmān Hills, west of Kābul, may indicate that the tribe was also once settled there.

Like Ormuṛī, with which language it presents some striking similarities, it shows some 'West-Iranian' features; but it is also closely connected with Minjānī [the 'Munjānī' of the Survey] and the Pāmīr dialects. I hope to be able to demonstrate that neither Ormuṛī nor Parāchī are recent immigrants from Western Iran, but are the remnants of the old Iranian languages spoken in Eastern Afghanistan before the advent of the 'Sakic' Paṣhtō language.

Parāchī has been very deeply influenced by Pashaī, not only in its vocabulary, but also in its morphology and phonology. Especially striking is the adoption of aspirates, not only in loanwords, but even in original Parāchī words, through a kind of transposition. E.g. *gurum*, I seize, but *ghīt*, seized, from * *grifta-*, * *gift*, * *ghit*; *pechem*, I cook, but *phōk*, cooked, from * *pakkva-*, * *pakk*.

The First Sentences of the Parable in Parāchī of Shutul.

Zhū âdam dī push dērō-bōn. Push-e-chīnō bâw-kun-ē jaṛī, 'ai
One man two sons had. Son-which-younger father-to-his said, 'O
bâw, havī mâl-a takhsīm kan, ma-kân hisâb da.' Bâw mâl-e-
father, this property-thy division make, me-to share give.' The-father pro-
khukā̃ takhsīm kuṛ, zaghân-e-khukā̃-kun-ē dâ. Châ rūch pēsh
perty-which-his-own division made, boys-which-his-own-to-he gave. Some days after-
chhān push-e-chīnō-ē mâlân-ē jam kōṛ, mulk-e-derīn tar rawân
wards son-which-younger-his goods-his collected made, country-which-far to starting
chhī.
went.

Dr. Morgenstierne tells me that, before *n* and *m* the sound of *â* is 'darker' than in other positions. Thus, the two *âs* in *mâkhân*, ours, are not quite the same. He has also provided the following lists of words in these two languages.

English.	Ōrmuṛi of Logar.	Parachī.	English.	Ōrmuṛi of Logar.	Parachī.
1. One	ṣhē	ṣhū.	26. He	afō	ēdê.
2. Two	dō	dī.	27. Of him	afō	ēdē.
3. Three	ṣḥó	ṣhī.	28. His	tar-afō	ēdân.
4. Four	ṣṣār	chōr.	29. They	afō	ēdānân.
5. Five	pēnṭa	pōnch.	30. Of them	afō	ēdânân.
6. Six	ṣḥo	khī.	31. Their	.....	ēdânân.
7. Seven	wā	hōt.	32. Hand	dest, kaf	dōst.
8. Eight	ṣṣhṭ	ṣṣhṭ.	33. Foot	pāī	pā.
9. Nine	nā	nō.	34. Nose	nunī	nōṣhṭ.
10. Ten	das	dōs.	35. Eye	ṣṣimī	tochh
11. Twenty	jīst	ghoṣhṭ.	36. Mouth	pōs	ṣḥōṇd.
12. Fifty	pandzēsta	pinjā.	37. Tooth	giaḥi	danân.
13. Hundred	aś	pōnch ghoṣhtak, aś.	38. Ear	gōr	gū.
14. I	az	ân.	39. Hair	drī	dōṣh, jāl, (*singic hair*) ginō.
15. Of me	mun	man.	40. Head	sar	sōr.
16. Mine	tar-mūn	manân.	41. Tongue	zubân	bân.
17. We	mākh	mā.	42. Belly	nās	ashtāf.
18. Of us	mākh	mā.	43. Back	pūṣhṭ	pōshpuṭ.
19. Our	tar-mākh	mākhân.	44. Iron	āin	āhen, rū.
20. Thou	tū	tū.	45. Gold	t^{a}la	t^{a}lā, sīta.
21. Of these	tū	tō.	46. Silver	nokra	noghrā, chaṭai
22. Thine	tar-tū	tān.	47. Father	pē	dāda, bāw.
23. You	tōs	vā.	48. Mother	māw^{a}	māna, āi.
24. Of you	tōs	vā.	49. Brother	marzā	b^{a}yā.
25. Your	tar-tōs	vākhân.	50. Sister	khwār	khī.

English.	Oraunī of Logar.	Parachī.	English.	Oraunī of Logar.	Parachī.
51. Man	saṛai, mâli	mânesh, meṛ.	74. Ass	khar	khōr.
52. Woman	zârka	zâlf.	75. Camel	shutor	shutar.
53. Wife	nâk	jinch.	76. Bird	mirga	murchē.
54. Child	wōṛkai	bâlā.	77. Go	tsām[1]	param[1].
55. Son	klân	push.	78. Eat	khram	kharem.
56. Daughter	duka	kashts.	79. Sit	nustuk[a]m	n[a]hashtim, (*I sit down*) nhīnom.
59. Shepherd	...	khowân.	80. Come	zâyam	shim.
62. Sun	tōa	rūch	81. Beat	zhanam	dehem.
63. Moon	mâtau	mahōk.	82. Stand	darūk[a]m	apâ hem
64. Star	sitâra	aitâru.	83. Die	mrē (*he dies*)	merem.
65. Fire	rūṛ	âṛ, rhîne.	84. Give	shiriu	dahem.
66. Water	wōk	âwo.	85. Run	dangam	halai kanem, dhâw dahem.
67. House	nēr	ghus.	156. I am	um	ân em.
68. Horse	yâsp	âsp.	157. Thou art	ōn	tu ō.
69. Cow	gōi	gū.	158. He is	a, ō	hō a, sī.
70. Dog	[a]spuk	[a]spō, [a]spagh.	159. We are	ōn	mâ iman.
71. Cat	pishī	pishak.	160. You are	ō	vâ ōr.
72. Cock	pīng	khurās, bâshana.	161. They are	iu	edân en.
73. Duck	murghâwi	kurgh-e-âwi.			

[1] Present sing. 1., and so throughout.

APPENDIX I.

Classified List of Indian Languages as shown in THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA and in the CENSUS OF 1921.

The following pages show the statistical results of the Linguistic Survey of India, compared, so far as is possible, with the language-figures of the Census of 1921.

A few words must be added as to the classification of the languages mentioned in this list. For those which have been dealt with in the Linguistic Survey, I have followed the grouping there adopted. The only exception is Mikir (No. 189), which later information has caused me to transfer from the Nāgā-Bodo to the Nāgā-Kuki sub-group. As regards the other languages,—nearly all of which are spoken in Burma,—I have thought it best, for convenience of reference, to follow the classification of the Census of 1921. A Linguistic Survey of Burma is at the present moment in progress, and it seems to me to be advisable to defer any alteration of the Census arrangement until that Survey has put the attempt upon a secure foundation. Any immediate change could only be temporary and provisional.

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
	Austric Family	**3,052,046**	**4,529,351**	
	Austro-Nesian Sub-Family	...	***5,561***	
	Indo-Nesian Branch	...	**5,561**	None of the languages of this Branch come within the scope of the Survey.
	Malay Group	...	5,561	
1	Salōn	...	1,951	
2	Malay	...	3,610	
	Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family	***3,052,046***	***4,523,790***	
	Mōn-Khmēr Branch	**177,293**	**549,917**	Except Khāsi, none of the languages of this Branch came within the scope of the Survey
	Mōn-Khmēr Group	...	189,263	
3	Mōn or Talaing	...	189,263	
	Palaung-Wa Group	...	147,889	
4	Palaung	...	117,773	
5	Wa	...	13,848	
6	Yanglam	...	12,553	
7	Danaw	...	1,433	
7a	Others[1]	...	2,182	
	Khāsi Group	177,293	204,103	
8	Khāsi	177,293	204,103	
9	*Standard*	*113,190*	...	
10	*Lyng-ngam*	*1,850*	...	
11	*Syntēng*	*51,750*	.	
12	*Wār*	*7,000*	...	
	Unspecified	*3,513*	...	
	Nicobar Group	...	8,662	
13	Nicobarese	...	8,662	
	Munḍā Branch	**2,874,753**	**3,973,873**	
14	Kherwārī	2,537,528	3,503,215	
15	*Santālī*	*1,614,829*	*2,223,573*	
16	*Munḍārī*	*406,524*	*624,506*	
17	*Bhumij*	*79,078*	*137,309*	
18	*Birhāṛ*	*1,234*	*258*	
19	*Kōḍā*	*8,949*	*19,690*	
20	*Hō*	*383,196*	*447,862*	
21	*Tūrī*	*3,727*	*11,932*	
22	*Asurī*	*15,095*	*3,099*	The Survey figures are certainly excessive.
23	*Agariā*	*1,616*	*524*	
24	*Brijiā*	*3,000*	*825*	
25	*Korwā*	*20,227*	*21,655*	
	Unspecified	...	*1,982*	
26	Kūrkū	111,684	120,893	
27	Khajiā	72,172	137,476	
28	Juāng	15,697	10,531	
29	Savara	102,039	168,441	The Survey figures are those of the Census of 1891.
30	Gadabā	35,833	33,066	
31	Unspecified	...	251	

[1] Including Khamak (203), Lem (633), and Yang (1,137), for which see index.

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1921).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
	Karen Family	...	**1,114,026**	Spoken only in Burma.
31	Karen	...	1,114,026	
32	*Bwè*	...	*10,627*	
33	*Karenbyu*	...	*11,160*	
34	*Sgaw*	...	*368,282*	
35	*Pwo*	...	*352,466*	
36	*Taungthu*	...	*210,535*	
37	*Padaung*	...	*13,743*	
38	*Yinbaw*	...	*5,362*	
39	*Gheko*	...	*2,579*	
40	*Karenni*	...	*34,486*	
41	*Zayein*	...	*3,911*	
41a	*Obhori*[1] *and Unspecified*	...	*100,873*	
	Man Family	...	**591**	Spoken in Burma.
42	Yao	...	197	
43	Miao or Hmông	...	394	
	Tibeto-Chinese Family	**1,984,512**	**12,885,346**	
	Siamese-Chinese Sub-Family	***4,205***	***926,335***	
	Tai Group	4,205	926,335	Mostly spoken in Burma.
44	Lao	...	3,851	
45	Siamese	...	8,744	
46	Lü	...	26,108	
47	Khün	...	33,210	
48	Daye	...	746	
49	Shân	200	843,810	
50	*Aiton*	*200*	...	Spoken in Assam.
51	Ahom	...	...	Now extinct. Formerly spoken in Assam. It is described in the Survey.
52	Khāmtī	4,005	9,866	Spoken in Assam.
53	*Khāmtī Proper*	*2,930*	..	
54	*Phākial*	*625*	...	
55	*Tai-rong*	*150*	...	
56	*Norā*	*300*	...	
	Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family	***1,980,307***	***11,959,011***	Most of the speakers of these languages belong to Burma, which was not subject to the operations of the Survey.
	Tibeto-Himalayan Branch	**399,742**	**440,263**	
	Tibetan Group	205,508	231,885	
57	Bhōṭiā	205,508	231,885	
58	*Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan*	*7,968*	*8,995*	
59	*Bhōṭiā of Baltistan or Balti*	*130,678*	*148,366*	The Survey figures for these three dialects are those of the Census of 1901. No figures were available in 1921.
60	*Bhōṭiā of Purik*			
61	*Bhōṭiā of Ladakh or Ladakhi*	*29,806*	*33,302*	
62	*Bhōṭiā of Lahul or Lāhuli*	*1,579*	...	
63	*Bhōṭiā of Spiti*	*3,548*	...	
64	*Bhōṭiā of Upper Kanawar or Nyamkat*	*1,544*	...	

[1] Incl. *Mo Mongsen* (72), *Bok* (816), *Pale* (1,908), and *Wanso* (305), for which see Index.

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
65	*Bhōṭiā of Tehri Garhwal or Jad*	106	..	
66	*Bhōṭiā of Garhwal*	4,300	...	
67	*Sharpa Bhōṭiā*	900	5,180	From here the difference between the Survey figures and those of the Census of 1921 arose partly to the fact that the latter covered a larger area than did that of 1891, and partly to classification, less stringent than that adopted in the Survey. In 1911, 11,480 speakers were not classified at all.
68	*Bhōṭiā of Sakkiya or Dō-ajong-kā*	20,000	10,046	
69	*Bhōṭiā of Bhutan or Lhoke*	5,079	10,526	
70	*Kāgato*	..	.	Spoken in East Nepal and Darjiling but no figures are available. Akin to Sharpa.
71	*Bhōṭiā of Khams*	...	...	Spoken in East Tibet between U and China. No figures available.
	Other Dialects (Unspecified)	...	15,470	
	Pronominalized Himalayan Group	93,978	107,841	
	Western Sub-Group	27,093	22,733	Many speakers of this Sub-Group have been classed under some other head, perhaps Bhōṭiā (67), in the Census.
72	Manchāṭī or Paṭnī	2,995	.	
73	Chamba Lāhulī	1,887	...	
74	Bunān	} 2,987	...	
75	Ranglōī, Gōndlā, or Tinan			
76	Kanāshī	980	539	
77	Kanauri	13,099	22,098	
78	Rangkas	614	...	
79	Darmiyā	1,761	7	
80	Chaudángsī	1,485	...	
81	Byāngsī	1,58..	..	
82	Janggalī	200	89	
	Eastern Sub-Group	66,885	85,108	Nearly all the speakers of these languages have their homes in Nepal. The figures given represent only the speakers found in British Territory. The languages are, however, all described in the pages of the Survey.
83	Dhimāl	..	505	
84	Thāmī	100	423	
85	Limbū	24,045	23,402	
86	Yākhā	1,250	1,087	
87	Khambū	} 41,490	{ 3,066	
88	Rāi or Jimdār		56,342	
89	(Khambū Dialects)	...	...	These are all spoken in Nepal and no figures for them are available. They are, however, all described in the pages of the Survey.
90	*Bāhing*	...	...	
91	*Bulāli*	...	.	
92	*Sāngpōng*	...	...	
93	*Lōhorōng*	.	...	
94	*Lāmbichhōng*	..	...	
95	*Wāling*	...	..	
96	*Chhingtāng*	...	...	
97	*Rungchhenbōng*	...	...	
98	*Dungmāli*	...	...	
99	*Rōdōng or Chamling*	...	...	
100	*Nāchhrēng*	...	...	
101	*Kālung*	...	...	
102	*Thūlung*	...	...	
103	*Chaurāsya*	...	...	
104	*Khāleng*	...	...	
105	*Dānī*	...	...	
106	Vāyu or Hāyu	...	...	The same remarks apply to this and the next following.
107	Chēpāng	...	...	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
108	Kusūnda	...	..	
109	Bhrāmu		...	
110	Thâksya	..	...	The classification of this language is doubtful. See Vol. I.B. Pt. I. p. 408.
	Unspecified	...	283	Given the general term of Kirānti.
	Non-Pronominalized Himalayan Group.	100,256	100,537	
111	Gurung	...	5,211	No estimates for this language were returned for the Survey. The Census figures for 891 were 7,461. As in the preceding group nearly all the speakers of the languages of this group have their homes in Nepal, and the figures given represent only those found in British Territory.
112	Murmi	36,348	38,512	
113	Sunwār	5,356	4,132	
114	Mājgarī	16,979	20,536	
115	Nēwārī	5,979	10,134	
116	*Nēwārī Proper*	*5,979*	..	
117	*Paḍhī, Pahrī, or Pahī*	...	..	
118	Rōng or Lepcha	34,894	20,569	
119	Kāmī	...	649	The classification of Kāmī and Sāuchī is doubtful. See Survey, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 173.
120	Mānjhī	...	523	
121	Tōtō	200	271	
	North Assam Branch	**36,910**	**80,482**	Except in the case of Miri, nearly all the speakers of these languages live outside settled British Territory. Hence the small numbers recorded.
122	Aka or Hruseo	20	71	
123	Abor	170	13,317	
124	Miri	35,510	65,289	
125	Daflā	990	959	
126	Mishmi	220	846	
	Assam-Burmese Branch	**1,543,655**	**11,438,266**	Most of the speakers of the languages of this Branch live in Burma, a province which was not subject to the operations of the Survey.
	Bāṛā or Bodo Group	618,659	715,696	
127	Bāṛā, Bodo, or Plains Kachārī	272,231	271,612	
128	*Bodo Proper*	*178,320*	...	
129	*Mech*	*93,911*	...	
130	Lālung	40,160	10,383	
131	Dimā-sā or Hills Kachārī	18,681	11,040	
132	*Standard*	*15,931*	...	
133	*Hōjai*	*2,750*	...	
134	Gārō	139,763	216,117	
135	*Āchik or Standard*	*55,400*	...	
136	*Abeng*	*38,000*	...	
137	*Atong, Atung, or Kuchu*	*15,000*	.	
138	*Awi*	*20,000*	..	
139	*Chibok*	*1,500*	.	
140	*Dēlu*	*500*	...	
141	*Rugā*	*500*	..	
	Unspecified	*8,963*	...	
142	Koch	10,300	16,165	
143	*Haugayā*	*1,100*	...	
144	*Salpargyā*	*1,100*	...	
145	*Dasgayā or Banai*	*1,100*	...	
146	*Wanang*	*1,100*	...	
147	*Tunbekiyā*	*1,400*	..	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
	Unspecified	*4,500*	...	
148	Rabhā	31,370	22,545	
149	*Rāngdāniā*	*30,370*	...	
150	*Mataraā or Matrai*	*1,000*	...	
151	Tipurā or Mrung	105,850	163,720	
152	Chutiyā	304	4,113	The Survey estimate is probably too small.
153	Morān	...	1	This language has apparently died out, but it is dealt with in the Survey.
	Nāgā Group	292,799	338,634	
	Western Nāgā Sub-Group	*68,930*	*88,264*	
154	Angāmi	35,410	43,050	
155	*Tengimā*	*26,900*	...	
156	*Dzumā*	*1,430*	...	
157	*Kehenā*	*6,490*	...	
158	*Nāli or Mimā*	*59*	...	
159	Semā	26,400	34,883	
160	*Semi*	...	...	These two dialects are referred to in the Survey, but no separate figures for them were obtainable.
161	*Ehemomi*	...	...	
162	Rengmā or Unzā	5,500	5,103	
163	*Unzā*	*2,750*	..	
164	*Māyi*	*2,750*	...	
165	Kezhāmā	1,620	5,228	
	Central Nāgā Sub-Group	*38,000*	*48,554*	In the Survey column, the number of speakers given for the Sub-Group does not agree with the total of the number of speakers given for each separate language. For languages spoken outside settled British Territory it was impossible even approximately to estimate the number of speakers. This fact has been allowed for in giving the figures for the Sub-Group, which should be considered as a very low estimate of the total number of speakers—probably too low.
166	Ao or Hatigorria	15,500	30,142	
167	*Chungli or Zungi*	*9,300*	..	
168	*Mongsen*	*6,200*	..	
169	Lhotā or Tsontsū	22,000	18,412	
170	Tengsa Nāgā	?		
171	Thukumi	?	...	These three languages are spoken beyond the frontier. See the preceding note. They are all briefly described in the Survey.
172	Yachumi	?	..	
	Eastern Nāgā Sub-Group	*10,000*	...	In the Survey column, the number of speakers given for the Sub-Group does not agree with the total of the number of speakers given for each separate language. For languages spoken outside settled British Territory it was impossible even approximately to estimate the number of speakers. This fact has been allowed for in giving the figures for the Sub-Group.
173	Angwānku or Tableng	5,000	...	
174	Tamlu or Chingmōgnu		...	
175	Banpurā	1,600	...	
176	Matonā		...	
177	Mohongiā, Bordusariā or Pānidusriā		...	
178	Namsangiā	1,870	...	
179	Chāng or Mojung	?	...	These four languages are all really trans-frontier forms of speech. See the preceding note. One estimate gives the number of speakers of Chāng as about 5,000, but its value is doubtful. All four are dealt with in the Survey.
180	Assirungiā	?	...	
181	Möshāng	?	...	
182	Shānggā	?	...	
	Nāgā-Bodo Sub-Group	*36,353*	*27,109*	The Survey includes Mikir in this Sub-Group, but later information leads me to class it in the Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group.
183	Empēo or Kachchā Nāgā	10,280	9,959	
184	*Inzēmi*	...	...	The numbers of the speakers of these three dialects are unknown.
185	*Sengimā*	...	...	
186	*Tēuā or Jēuā*	...	...	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
187	Kabui or Kapwī	11,073	15,647	Kabui and Khoirão were not censused in 1891, so that the Survey estimates are very rough.
188	Khoirão	15,000	1,563	
	Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group	*139,516*	*152,266*	
189	Mikir	88,516	109,128	Regarding the inclusion of Mikir in this Sub-Group, see above.
190	*Standard*	*77,986*	..	
191	*Bhoi Mekir*	*10,080*	...	
192	*Amri*	*795*	...	
193	*Rengkhung*	*725*	...	
194	Sopvomā or Māo Nāgā	10,000	13,096	None of the remaining languages of this Sub-Group were censused in 1891, so that the survey estimates are very rough. Sopvomā (194) is closely allied to Kachāmā (185) and may with equal propriety be put into the Western Nāgā Sub-Group.
195	Marām	2,500	3,522	
196	Myāngkhāng	5,000	...	
197	Kwoireng or Liyāng	5,000	...	
198	Tāngkhul	26,000	24,170	
199	*Tāngkhul Proper*	*25,000*	*24,170*	
200	*Phadāng*	*500*	...	The Survey estimates for these two dialects are very doubtful.
201	*Khangoe*	*500*	...	
202	Mariung	1,500	2,355	
	Nagā Unclassed	...	*22,441*	
	Kachin Group	1,920	151,196	The great majority of the speakers of the languages of this Group belong to Burma, which was not subject to the operations of the Survey. The speakers of the Singpho dialect, however, belong to Assam.
203	Kachin	1,920	151,196	
204	*Chingpaw*	...	*150,896*	
205	*Singpho*	*1,920*	...	
205*a*	*Others*[1]	...	*300*	
	Kuki-Chin Group	567,625	796,314	Many of the languages of this Group are spoken only in Burma, which Province was not subject to the operations of the Survey. Moreover, in the case of languages dealt with in the Survey, the many discrepancies between the figures of the Survey and those of the 1921 Census are explained by the fact that in the Census a very large number of speakers was entered as "Unclassed," see "Unclassed Kuki-Chin" below.
206	Manipuri, Meithei, Kathē, or Pōlhā	240,637	342,645	
	Northern Chin Sub-Group	*60,345*	*83,033*	
207	Thādo	31,437	33,258	
208	*Khongsāi*	*20,000*	...	In Manipur.
209	*Langtang*	*5,500*	...	In the Naga Hills.
210	*Jangshān*	...	..	In North Cachar, but the number of speakers is unknown.
211	*Sairang*	*5,403*	...	In Cachar Plains.
	Unspecified	*534*	...	In Sylhet.
212	Soktā	9,005	30,633	Census figures include 6,964 speakers of the Kamhow dialect.
213	Sayin	1,770	3,143	
214	Ralbā	18,183	5,539	
215	Poitē	?	10,460	Described in Survey, but the number of speakers was then unknown.
	Central Chin Sub-Group	*107,604*	*141,668*	
216	Shunkla or Tashōn	41,215	20,754	Census figures include 3,150, shown as Haulaigē.
217	*Shunkla Proper*	*39,215*	*10,709*	
218	*Zahao or Yahow*	*2,000*	*10,045*	
219	Lai	24,550	43,731	The difference between the Survey and the Census figures is probably due to differences of classification. See Other Unclassified below.
220	*Haka*	*14,250*	*2,453*	Called Kwelshās in the All-Indian Census.
221	*Tlantlang*	*4,925*	...	

[1] The Census gives Hōgtung (168), Nokkyo (183), Mūt, Pangsī, Lang, Langkhai, Sōyo, and Tlwhzang. Only the first two were in the Census area.

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
222	*Yokwa*	*2,675*	*212*	
223	*Lakher, Mara, or Tlongsei*	*1,100*	*6*	The name 'Mara' is not given in the Survey.
223a	*Others*[1] *and Unspecified*	*1,600*	*41,055*	
224	Lushēi or Dalien	40,539	77,180	The Survey figures include those for dialects. The figures for the separate dialects are unknown.
225	*Fanwar*	...	...	
226	*Ngentē*	...	...	
227	Banjōgi	800	3	
228	Pānkhū	500	...	
	Old-Kuki Sub-Group	*48,814*	*26,245*	
229	Hrāngkhol, Rāngkhōl, or Hrangchal	8,450	671	The correct name is Hrangkhol, not Rāngkhōl, as in the Survey.
230	*Hrāngkhol Proper*	*7,820*	...	
231	*Beitē*	*630*	...	
232	Hallām	26,848	3,131	
233	*Hallām Proper*	*26,523*	...	
234	*Khelma*	...	...	
235	*Sakāgaik or Shekasup*	*315*	...	
236	Langrong	6,266	...	
237	Aimol	750	387	The Survey estimates for the remaining languages of this Sub-Group were admittedly very rough and their correctness is doubtful.
238	Chiru	750	1,577	
239	Kolhreng or Kolrēn	750	600	The name 'Koirenu,' also given in the Survey and adopted in the Census of 1911, is incorrect. The true name is Kolhreng.
240	Kōm	750	2,855	
241	Kyau or Chaw	?	351	
242	Hmār	2,000	8,586	The spelling "Hmār" is more correct than 'Mizo.'
243	Chote	?	264	
244	Muntuk	?	...	
245	Karum	?	...	
246	Pūrūm	750	1,132	
247	Anāl	750	3,065	
248	Hirū-Lamgāng	750	744	
249	Vaiphei	...	2,882	Not described in the Survey
	Southern Chin Sub-Group	*110,925*	*35,206*	Most of the languages of this Sub-Group belong to Burma, a Province which was not subject to the operations of the Survey. Many, however, are discussed in the Survey, although the number of their speakers was unknown. For the others, the classification of the Census has been followed.
250	Chinmè	?	...	
251	Welaung	?	...	
252	Chinbōk	?	...	
253	Yindu	?	105	
254	Chinbōn	?	683	
255	Taungtha	?	6,253	
256	Khyang or Shō	95,599	107	The Survey figures are taken from the Burma Census of 1901. Excepting Khami (27), they include all speakers of the Sub-Group, who were then all connoted in Burma by the general name of Chin or (Arakanese) Khyang. About 100 Khyangs are recorded in the Survey as found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.
257	Khamī, Khwē-myī, or Kumi	14,626	27,346	
258	Anu	...	712	
259	M'hang	?	...	
	Unclassed Kuki-Chin	...	*167,517*	
259a	Kuki (Unspecified)	...	25,052	
259b	Chin Unclassed[2] and (Unspecified)	...	142,465	
	Burma Group	62,652	9,335,595	Nearly all the languages of this Group belong to Burma, a Province which was not subject to the operations of the Survey. The Census treats Mru as an unclassed language, in other respects the classification of the Census is followed.
260	Maingtha	...	339	
261	Szi or Atsi	...	5,663	

[1] Includes, in Census, Ye or Zo (5,423), Laiye (9,277), Kwengli (3,684), and Kangtee (57).
[2] The Census gives the following unclassed Chin languages:—Ngam (4,583), Saingtaung (7,232), Lawt'u (3,045), Yotan (6,109), Sheetaung (5,720), Changgyi Chin (886), Kaukadon (9), Lewe (3,011), Mara (61), Siyin (3,256), and Zanan (69).

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	According to Census, 1921.	Remarks
262	Lashi	...	16,570	
263	Maru	..	20,577	
264	Mrū	17,991	22,907	
265	Burmese	...	8,423,256	
266	Arakanese	44,661	304,549	
267	Taungyo	...	22,532	
268	Intha	...	55,007	
269	Danu	...	72,955	
270	Taveyan	...	131,748	
271	Chaungtha	.	9 052	
272	Yanbye	...	250,018	
272a	Others[1]	...	422	
	Lolo-Mos'o Group	...	75,686	No languages of this Group are dealt with in the Survey. The classification in that of the Census of 1921, for which I am not responsible. I have adhered to it merely for convenience of reference
273	Lolo	...	769	
274	Mo-s'o	...	22,742	
275	Lisu	...	13,152	
276	Aka	...	34,265	Spelt 'Akha' in Gazetteer of Upper Burma, Pt. I, Vol. II, p. 692.
277	Kwi	...	3,676	
277a	Others[2]		1,082	
	Sak (Lūi) Group	...	25,145	
278	Lūi	...	...	This language is mentioned by two writers as spoken in Manipur, but no information has been obtainable regarding it. See Survey, Vol. III, Part III, p. 43.
279	*Andro-Sengmai*		..	
280	*Chairel*	..	.	
281	Kuki	...	18,594	
282	Daingnet	...	4,915	
283	Ganan	..	1,022	
284	Sak or Thet	...	614	
	Dravidian Family	**53,073,261**	**64,128,052**	Most of the languages of this Family,—at least, the most important ones,—belong to Southern India, a tract which was not subject to the operations of the Survey. The Survey, however, for the sake of completeness, gives the figures for each language for the whole of India, utilizing the returns of the Census of 1891, corrected in details of dialects by local reports
	Dravida Group	30,940,550	37,285,594	
285	Tamil	15,272,856	18,779,577	
286	*Standard and Unspecified*	*15,207,256*	..	
287	*Korava*	*55,116*	...	
288	*Yerukala*			
289	*Irula*	*1,614*	..	
290	*Kasuva*	*315*	...	
291	*Kaikāḍi*	*8,289*	...	
292	*Burgaṇḍi*	*265*	...	
293	Malayālam	5,425,919	7,497,638	
294	*Standard and Unspecified*	*5,423,392*	..	
295	*Yerava*	*2,587*	...	
296	Kanarese	9,710,832	10,374,204	
297	*Standard*	*9,666,163*	...	
298	*Baḍaga*	*30,656*	...	
299	*Kuruma or Kurumbā*	*10,399*	...	
300	*Gōlarī or Hōligā*	*3,614*	...	
301	Koḍagu or Coorgi	37,218	39,995	
302	Tulu	491,723	592,325	

[1] Includes Phun (343), Yaw (3), and Mergese (127), for which see Index.
[2] Includes Wat'o-Khun (40), Sung (65), Akō (51), Ejya (987), Tangali (...), and Hop'a (...), for which see Index

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921	Remarks.
303	Toda	736	663	
304	Kōta	1,201	1,192	
	Intermediate Group	**2,180,858**	**3,056,598**	
305	Kurukh or Orāō	503,980	865,722	
306	Malhar	...	344	This language was discovered after the Survey had been finished for the Group. It is probably corrupt Kurukh (No. 305). See Vol. IV, p. 46.
307	Malto or Maler	12,801	65,964	
308	Kui, Kandhī, or Khond	318,592	483,668	Many speakers of this language belong to the Madras Presidency, which was not subject to the operations of the Survey.
309	Kōlāmī	23,295	23,989	
310	*Kōlāmī Proper*	*23,100*	...	
311	*Bhīlī of Basun*	?	...	
312	*Naikō*	*195*	...	
313	Gōṇḍī	1,322,190	1,616,911	
314	*Standard*	*1,147,180*	...	
315	*Gaṭṭa*	*2,039*	...	
316	*Kōi*	*51,127*	...	
317	*Maṛiā*	*104,340*	...	
318	*Parji*	*17,387*	...	
	Unspecified	*123*	...	
	Andhra Language	**19,783,901**	**23,601,492**	
319	Telugu	19,783,901	23,601,492	
320	*Standard and Unspecified*	*19,735,840*	...	
321	*Kōmṭau*	*3,827*	...	
322	*Sālēwārī*	*3,660*	...	
323	*Gōlārī*	*25*		
324	*Bēraḍī*	*1,250*	...	
325	*Voḍarī*	*27,099*	...	
326	*Kamāṭhī*	*12,200*	...	
327	*Dēsarī*	?	...	
	North-Western Language	**165,500**	**184,368**	
328	Brāhūī	165,500	184,368	
	Semi-Dravidian Hybrids	**2,452**	...	
329	Ladbādī	2,122	...	
330	Bhariā	330	...	
	Indo-European Family	**231,874,403**	**232,852,817**	
	Aryan Sub-Family	***231,874,403***	***232,852,817***	
	Eranian Branch	**4,617,890**	**1,987,943**	
	Persian Group	**7,579**	**6,268**	For this Branch no trustworthy figures were available from the Census of 1891. The Survey figures are accordingly based on those of the Census of 1911. But, even from this, no dialect figures can be obtained. In the pages of the Survey, this Branch and the Indo-Aryan Branch are styled, on a current view, 'Families,' not 'Branches.' In those pages, the general question of the relationship of the languages discussed in the order Indo-European Family did not arise.
331	Persian	7,579	6,268	
332	*Dēkhwārī*	*7,579*	*6,268*	
333	Mastung Sub-Dialect	?	...	
334	Kalāt Sub-Dialect	?	...	
335	Kirānī Sub-Dialect	?	...	
336	*Badakhshī*	?	...	Spoken outside British Territory but described in the Survey
	Eastern Group	**4,610,311**	**1,981,675**	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
	Afghanistan-Baluchistan Sub-Group	*4,610,311*	*1,981,675*	
337	Paṣhtō	3,905,125	1,496,267	The Survey figures include an estimated number of 2,359,000 persons who speak the language outside British Territory. The numerous Sub-Dialects are described in the Survey, but no figures are available for them.
338	*North-Eastern Dialect*	*806,974*	..	
339	Standard of Peshawar	?	..	
340	Buner Sub-Dialect	?	..	
341	Yūsufzai Sub-Dialect	?	..	
342	Swāt Sub-Dialect	?	...	
343	Bajour Sub-Dialect	?	...	
344	Ghilzai Sub-Dialect	?	...	
345	Afridī Sub-Dialect	?	...	
346	Chitrālī Paṣhtō	?	...	
347	Bangaṣh Sub-Dialect	?	...	
348	*South-Western Dialect*	*676,402*	...	
349	Standard of Bannu	?	...	
350	Khaṭak Sub-Dialect	?	...	
351	Banūchī	?	...	
352	Marwat Sub-Dialect	?	...	
353	Wazīrī	?	...	
354	Standard of Kandahar	?	...	
355	Kākaṛī	?	...	
356	Lūṇī	?	...	
357	Sūlēmānī	?	.	
358	Mandūḷhēl Sub-Dialect	?	...	
359	Tarīnō or Chalgarī	?	...	
	Unspecified Dialect	*63,349*	...	
	Estimated number of speakers outside British Territory.	*2,359,000*	.	
360	Ormuṛī or Bargiṣṭā	?	...	This language is spoken outside settled British Territory.
361	Balōchī	704,586	485,408	The Survey figures include a number of 200,000 estimated speakers of the Western Dialect outside British Territory.
362	*Western Dialect*	*324,899*	...	
363	Makrānī (Kēchī)	?	...	
364	Makrānī (Panjgūrī)	?	...	
365	*Eastern Dialect*	*376,822*	...	
366	Standard (of Dera Ghazi Khan and Jacobabad).	125,510	...	
367	Standard (of North Baluchistan)	105,522	..	
368	Kaccānī	?	.	
369	Mixed Dialects (of Las Bela, Sind, and Bahawalpur).	145,790	...	
	Unspecified Dialect	*2,865*	..	
	Ghalchah Sub-Group	*?*	...	All the languages of this Sub-Group are spoken outside British Territory, except the Yidgha dialect, which is spoken in Chitral. No figures are available for any of them. All are classified in the Survey.
370	Wakhī	?	...	
371	Shighnī	?	...	
372	*Sarīkolī*	?	..	
373	Ishkāshmī	?	...	
374	*Ishkāshmī Proper*	?	...	
375	*Sanglēchī*	?	...	
376	*Zebakī*	?	...	
377	Munjānī or Mungī	?	..	
378	*Yidghā*	?	...	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921	Remarks.
	Dardic or Piśācha Branch	**1,195,902**	**1,304,319**	Except for Kashmīrī, the 1921 Census returns for all the languages of this Branch are incomplete. No figures were originally available for the Survey. The Survey figures for Kāshmīrī are based on those of the 1911 Census. Nearly all the languages are described in the Survey.
	Kāfir Group	?	..	
379	Bashgali	?	.	
380	Wai-alā	?	..	
381	Wasī-werī or Veron	?	.	
382	Ashkund	?		
	Kalasha-Pashai Sub-Group	?	...	
383	Kalāshā	?	.	
384	Gawar-bati or Narsātī	?	.	
385	Pashai, Laghmāni, or Dehgānī	?	..	
386	*Eastern Dialect*	?	?	
387	*Western Dialect*	?	?	
388	Dirī	?	..	
389	Tirāhī	?	..	
	Khōwār Group	?	121	
390	Khōwār, Chitrālī, or Arniyā	?	121	
	Dard Group	1,195,902	1,304,198	
391	Shinā	?	28,482	
392	*Gilgitī*	?	?	
393	*Astōrī*	?	?	
394	*Chelāsī*	?	?	
395	*Gurēzī*	?	?	
396	*Drās Dialect*	?	?	
397	*Brōkpā of Dāh-Hanū*	?	?	
398	*North-Western Dialect*	?	?	
399	Kāshmīrī	1,195,902	1,268,854	The Survey figures differ from those of the Census, owing to difference of classification of some of the Mixed Dialects.
400	*Standard*	*1,039,964*	?	
401	*Kashṭawārī*	*7,464*	?	
402	*Mixed Dialects*	*45,316*	?	
403	Pōgulī	8,189	?	
404	Sirāji of Dōḍa	14,732	?	
405	Rāmbānī	2,174	?	
406	Riasī Dialects	20,263	?	
	Unspecified	*103,158*	?	
407	Kōhistānī	?	6,862	
408	*Gārwi or Bashgarik*	?	?	
409	*Tōrwāli or Tōrwālāk*	?	?	
410	Chilis	?	?	
411	*Maiyā*	?	?	
412	Kili-Dubēri Job	?	?	
413	Kōli-Palus	?	?	
414	Soo-Bankar	?	?	
	Indo-Aryan Branch	**226,060,611**	**229,360,555**	
	Sanskrit	..	*356*	
	Outer Sub-Branch	*117,778,342*	*123,328,825*	
	North-Western Group	10,162,251	9,023,972	For the difference between the Survey and Census figures, see Lahnda, below.
415	Lahnda or Western Panjabi	7,092,781	5,652,264	The Census figures are too low, many speakers of the language having been shown as speakers of Panjabi.
416	*Standard*	*1,507,827*	..	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers.		Remarks.
		Survey Estimates (1891).	According to Census, 1921.	
417	Standard of Shahpur	447,000	...	
418	Jaṭkī	459,219	.	
419	Paṭjābī	48,033	.	
420	Jaṭgalī	30,687	...	
421	Chinkwarī	73,479		
422	Niswānī	9,433	...	
423	Kachhī	17,972	...	
424	Bāḍī Bōlī	275,000	...	
425	Jaṭmardī Bōlī	147,000	...	
426	*Multānī*	*2,176,283*	*2,542,954*	
427	Multānī Proper	1,709,336	...	
428	Hindkī, or Jaṭkī, of Dera Ghazi Khan	362,270	...	
429	Sirāīkī Hindkī of Sind	104,675	...	
430, 431	*Khetrānī and Jāṭkī*	*14,581*	...	
432	*Thaḷī or Jaṭkī*	*759,210*	...	
433	*North-Western Dialect, or Hindkō*	*881,425*	...	
434	Standard	827,000	...	
435	Tinānī	54,425	...	
436	*North-Eastern Dialects*	*1,752,756*	*423,802*	
437	a. Pōṭhwārī	684,363	423,802	
438, 439	Pahārī (including Dhūṇḍī)	87,777	...	
440	Chibhālī	521,388	...	
441	Punchhī	220,069	..	
442	b. Dialect of Western Salt Range	25,000	...	
443	Awānkārī	153,901	..	
444	Ghōbī	90,303	...	
	Unspecified Dialects	...	*2,885,508*	
445	Sindhī	3,069,470	3,271 708	
446	*Vichōlī*	*1,575,686*	...	
447	*Sirāīkī Sindhī*	*1,112,926*	...	
448	*Tharēlī*	...	..	This is a mixture of Sindhi and Mirwārī, and the 204,746 speakers are recorded under Rājasthānī (Marwārī) (No. 713).
449	*Lārī*	*42,613*	...	
450	*Lōṛī*	*40,000*	...	
451	*Kachchhī*	*491,214*	..	
452	Kachchhī Proper	484,714	...	
453	Kayasthī	500	...	
454	Bhāṭiā	6,000	.	
	Unspecified	*7,031*	...	
	Southern Group	**18,011,948**	**18,797,831**	
455	Marāṭhī	18,011,948	18,797,331	
456	*Standard or Dēśī*	*6,193,063*	...	
457	*Konkan Standard*	*2,350,817*	...	
458	Pa^rbhī	160,000	...	
459	Kōlī	169,186	...	
460	Kiristāv	25,500	...	
461	Kan^rbī	368,000	.	
462	Ag^rī	22,326	.	
463	Dhan^gari	1,760	.	
464	Bhāṇḍārī	8,663		
465	Thāk^rī	25,405	...	
466	Karhāḍī	2,000	...	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.		Number of Speaking. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speaking. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
467	Sangamēśvarī		1,232,300	...	
468	Bānkōṭī		1,757	...	
469	Ghaṭī		2,000	...	
470	Māoli		35,000	...	
471	Kātkarī or Kāthōḍī		76,700	...	
472	Varlī		92,000	...	
473	Vāḍvaḷ		3,500	...	
474	Phuḍ^ēgī		1,000	...	
475	Samvēḷī		2,700	...	
476	*Dialect of Berar, the Central Provinces, and the Nizam's Dominions.*		*7,677,432*	...	
477	Varhāḍī or Bērārī		2,084,023	...	
478	Nāgpurī		1,833,475	...	
479	Dhan^garī		1,300	...	
480	Ḍāṅgī		5,000	...	
481	Gōvārī		2,550	...	
482	Kōṭhāṭī		2,900	...	
483	Kumbhārī		4,500	...	
484	Khaṭhāṭī		110,150	...	
485	Mahārī		19,000	...	
486	Marhāṭī		?	...	
487	Nataḷkānī		120	...	
488	Kaṭkī		18,700	...	
489	Broken dialects		111,196	...	
490	Halbī	104,971			
491	Bhumjī	2,000			
492	Nāhārī	482			
493	Kamārī	3,743			
	Unspecified of Hyderabad		3,493,353	...	
494	*Kōṅkaṇī*		*1,565,391*	*406,808*	The difference between the Census figures and those of the Survey is due to differences in the classification of the many sub-dialects of Konkan Standard. The Survey also includes 500,000 speakers in Portuguese India not included in the Census returns.
495	Standard		633,650	...	
496	Kuḍāḷī		90,000	...	
497	Dāṅlī		23,500	...	
498	Chitpāvanī		89,000	...	
	Unspecified		699,241	...	Includes 500,000 speakers in Portuguese India.
	Marāṭhī Unspecified		*225,225*	*18,387,536*	
499	Singhalese		...	3,437	This language did not fall within the scope of the Survey.
500	*Standard*		...	..	
501	*Mahl*		...	...	
	Eastern Group		**89,604,143**	**61,171,923**	
502	Oriyā		9,042,525	10,148,165	
503	*Standard*		*8,359,228*	...	
504	*Mixed Dialects of the North*		*582,798*	...	
505	*Bhatrī*		*17,387*	...	
	Unspecified		*90,112*	..	
506	Bihārī		37,180,182	7,331	In the Census of 1921 nearly all speakers of Bihari and Eastern Hindi were returned as speaking 'Hindi.' If we adopt the system of calculation followed on p. 255 of the Census Report of 1911, and take 20 per cent. of the total of the Census figures for Bihari, Eastern Hindi, and Western Hindi, we find that the number of speakers of Bihari was approximately 36,23,230.
507	*Maithilī*		*10,263,357*	...	
508	Standard		1,946,300	...	
509	Southern Standard		2,300,000	...	
510	Eastern		1,302,300	...	
511	Eastern Proper	1,300,000			
512	Thārū	2,300			

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
513	Chhika-chhikī	1,719,731	...	
514	Western	1,783,495	...	
515	Jolahā Bōlī	337,000	...	
	Unspecified	873,981	...	
516	*Magahī*	*6,504,817*	...	
517	Standard	5,926,103	...	
518	Eastern	313,864	...	
	Unspecified	264,850	..	
519	*Bhojpurī*	*20,412,608*	...	
520	Southern Standard	4,324,293	...	
521	Northern Standard	6,165,151	...	
522	Saran Dialect	1,504,500		
523	Gorakhpurī	1,307,500		
524	Sarwariā	3,353,151		
525	Western	3,939,500	...	
526	Nagpuriā	594,257	...	
527	Madhēsī	1,714,036	...	
528	Thārū Bhojpurī	39,700	..	
	Unspecified	2,635,671	...	
529	Bengali	41,933,284	49,284,099	
530	*Central or Standard*	*8,443,996*	...	
531	*Western*	*3,967,641*	...	
532	Standard	3,868,846	...	
533	Sarākī	48,127	...	
534	Khaṛia-ṭhar	2,298	...	
535	Pahāṛiā-ṭhār	462	...	
536	Māl Pahāṛiā	27,908	...	On p. 89 of Vol. V, Pt. I of the Survey the figures (13,901) given for this language are a mistake.
537	*South-Western*	*346,502*	...	
538	*Northern*	*6,108,553*	...	
539	Standard	5,439,930	...	
540	Kōch	65,000	..	
541	Siripuria	603,623	...	
542	*Rājbangsī*	*3,509,171*	...	
543	Standard	3,461,736	...	
544	Bāhē	47,435	...	
545	*Eastern*	*16,910,651*	...	
546	Standard	15,989,430	...	
547	Haijang	5,000	...	
548	Sylhettā	906,221	..	
549	*South-Eastern*	*2,310,784*	...	
550	Standard	2,290,784	...	
551	Chākmā	20,000	..	
	Unspecified	*335,986*	...	
552	Assamese	1,447,552	1,727,323	
553	*Standard*	*859,950*	...	
554	*Western*	*543,500*	...	
555	*Moyāng*	*23,500*	...	
556	*Thēwā*	*9,000*	...	
	Unspecified	*11,602*	...	
	Mediate Sub-Branch	***24,511,647***	***1,399,528***	
	Mediate Group	24,511,647	1,399,528	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.		Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891)	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
557	Eastern Hindī		24,511,647	1,399,528	In the Census of 1921 nearly all speakers of Bihārī and Eastern Hindī were returned as speaking 'Hindī.' If we adopt the system of calculation followed on p. 385 of the Census Report of 1911 and take 23 per cent. of the total of the Census figures for Bihārī, Eastern Hindī, and Western Hindī, we find that the number of speakers of Eastern Hindī was approximately 23,667,982.
558	*Awadhī, Kōsalī, or Baiswārī*		*16,143,548*	...	
559	*Baghēlī, Baghēlkhaṇḍī, or Rīwāī*		*4,612,756*	...	
560	Standard		3,992,126	...	
561	Broken Dialects of the West		924,900	...	
562	Tirhārī	235,700			
563	'Bundēlī'	236,200			
564	Gahōrā	243,400			
565	Jūgar	114,500			
566	Banāphārī	5,000			
567	Broken Dialects of the South		95,820	...	
568	Mōnārī	52,700			
569	Pōwārī	43,000			
570	Kumbhārī	30			
571	Ōjhī	100			
572	*Chhattīsgarhī, Larīā, or Khalṭāhī*		*3,755,343*	...	
573	Chhattīsgarhī Proper		3,335,375	...	
574	Surgujiā		384,546	...	
575	Broken Dialects		34,922	...	
576	Sadrī Korwā	4,000			
577	Baigānī	7,100			
578	Bhujhwārī	9,662			
579	Kalahgā	600			
580	Bhulia	13,560			
	Inner Sub-Branch		***83,770,622***	***139,166,945***	
	Central Group		81,665,821	137,249,408	
581	Western Hindī		38,013,928	96,714,369	In the Census of 1921 nearly all speakers of Bihārī and Eastern Hindī were returned as speaking 'Hindī.' If we adopt the system of calculation followed on p. 385 of the Census Report of 1911 and take 42 per cent. of the total of the Census figures for Bihārī, Eastern Hindī, and Western Hindī, we find that the number of speakers of Western Hindī was approximately 41,310,916.
582	*Hindōstānī*		*16,633,169*	..	
583	Vernacular Hindōstānī		5,288,733	...	
584	Literary Hindōstānī		7,996,264	...	
585	Urdū		...	...	
586	Hindī		...	..	
587	Dakhinī Hindōstānī or Musalmānī		3,054,172	..	
588	*Bōngarū, etc.*		*2,166,784*	...	
589	Bāngarū Proper		876,536	...	
590	Jaṭṭu		732,296	...	
591	Harīānī or Dēswālī		557,953	...	
592	*Braj Bhākhā or Antarbēdī*		*7,864,374*	...	
593	Standard		4,470,462	...	
594	Standard Proper	4,202,462			
595	Jādōbaṭī	140,000			
596	Sikarwārī	127,000			
597	North-Western		1,967,621	...	
598	Southern		1,426,784	...	
599	Southern Dialect Proper	652,003			
600	Pāngī or Kā-kuchhū-ki Bōlī	504,436			
601	Dūgar-wārā	106,766			
602	Kālimṭī	81,216			
603	Dāōgbāng	80,363			
604	*Kanauji*		*4,431,500*	...	
	Kanauji Proper		3,201,500	...	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.		Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
606	Mixed Dialects		1,280,000	..	
607	Kanauji of Cawnpore	1,090,000			
608	Tirhari of Cawnpore	40,000			
609	Kanauji of East Hardoi	150,000			
610	*Bundēlī or Bundēlkhaṇḍī*		*6,269,201*	...	
611	Standard		3,519,729	...	
612	Pāwārī		353,500	...	
613	Lodhanti or Baṭhōra		145,500	...	
614	Khaṭōla		891,200	...	
615	Mixed Dialects of the North-East		356,600	...	
616	Banāphari	335,400			
617	Kunḍri	11,000			
618	Nibbaṭṭa	10,200			
619	Bhadauri or Tōwargaṇhi		1,313,000	...	
620	Broken Dialects of the South		289,672	..	
621	Lōdhi	18,600			
622	Chhindwara Bundēli	145,500			
623	'Baghēli'	35,000			
624	'Bundēli'	33,500			
625	Pōwari	3,000			
626	Gōoli	16,098			
627	Raghōbansi	3,114			
628	Kirari	4,750			
	Others	43			
629	Kōshti Dialects	14,692			
630	Kumbhar Dialects	4,980			
631	Nāgpuri Hindi	105,600			
632	Pañjābi		12,762,539	16,233,596	
633	*Standard*		*11,180,611*	*14,795,309*	The difference between the figures of the Survey and those of the Census is due to the fact that the latter include many speakers of Lahnda. See Lahnda, above (No. 416).
634	Majhi		2,307,628	...	
635	Jullundur Dōabi		2,258,769	...	
636	Dōabi Proper	2,051,448			
637, 638	Kahlūri or Bilāspuri, and Hoshiarpur Pahāri	207,321			
639	Pōwādhi		1,327,146	...	
640	Paobhāṇḍi, Raṭhi, Jaṇḍ, or Naili		38,390	...	
641	Mālwai, Jangali, or Jaṭki		2,130,054	...	
642	Bhaṭṭiani		116,000	..	
643	Raṭhi of Bikaner	22,000			
644	'Bagri' of Fazilka	56,000			
645	Raṭhauri of Ferozepore	28,000			
646	Pañjābi merging into Lahnda		2,432,024	...	
647	*Ḍōgrā or Dōgri*		*1,229,927*	*418,678*	The difference between the figures of the Survey and those of the Census is probably due to the Kangri Dialect being included in the latter as a form of Standard Panjabi.
648	Ḍōgrā Proper	568,727		...	
649	Kanḍiali	10,000		...	
650	Kangra Dialect	636,500		...	
651	Bhaṭṭali	14,000		...	
	Unspecified		*552,801*	*1,019,609*	
652	Gujarāti		10,646,227	9,561,993	According to the Survey, the number of speakers of Gujarati in countries of which it was the vernacular was 9,318,459.
653	*Standard*		?	...	
654	*Nāgarī*		?	...	
655	*Bombay Dialect*		?	..	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1891.	Remarks.
656	*Gāmaḍiā*	?	...	
657	*Surᵃtī*	?	...	
658	*Aṅāwᵃlā or Bhāṭhēlā*	?	...	
659	*Dialect of Eastern Broach*	?	...	
660	*Pārsī Gujarātī*	?	...	
661	*Chorōberī*	?	...	
662	*Pāṭīdarī*	?	...	
663	*Vaḍōdarī*	?	...	
664	*Gāmaḍiā of Ahmedabad*	?	...	
665	*Paṭṭanī*	?	...	
666	*Kāṭhiyāwāḍī*	2,596,000	...	
667	Jhālāwāḍī	437,000	...	
668	Sōraṭhī	722,000	...	
669	Halādī	770,000	...	
670	Gōhilwāḍī	631,000		
671	Unspecified	25,000	...	
672	*Vāgṛīdī*	10,150	...	
673	*Khārᵃwā*	?		
674	*Paṭᵃṇālī*	5,800	...	The Survey figures refer only to the speakers found in the Bombay Presidency.
675	*Kākarī*	122	...	
676	*Tārmākī or Ghisāḍī*	1,669	...	
	Unspecified Dialects	1,330,977	...	
677	Bhīlī	2,691,701	1,856,617	The difference between the Survey figures and those of the Census is due to variation in classification. In regard to many dialects it is impossible to decide definitely whether they belong to Bhīlī, to Gujarātī, or to Rājasthānī. The classification of the Survey has been made with some care, and is most likely the more correct.
678	*Bhīlī or Bhīlōṭī*	1,163,872	...	
679	*Ahīrī*	30,500	..	
680	*Anāriya or Pahāḍī*	43,500	...	
681	*Bāorī*	43,000	...	
682	*Barōl*	1,000	...	
683	*Chārōṇī*	1,200	...	
684	*Chōdhᵃrī*	121,253	...	
685	*Dēhāwalī*	45,000	...	
686	*Dhōḍiā*	60,000	...	
687	*Dublī*	14,050	...	
688	*Gāmᵃṭī*	43,715	...	
689	*Gavārīā*	90,700	...	
690	*Habūrī*	950	..	
691	*Kōṅkaṇī*	232,613	...	
692	*Kōṭalī*	40,000	..	
693	*Magᵃrī*	44,500	...	
694	*Māwchī*	30,000	...	
695	*Nāhurī or Bāglānī*	13,000	...	
696	*Nāikᵃḍī*	12,100	...	
697	*Nōrī*	?	...	The figures of the Census of 1891 were 340. The number of speakers was not recorded for the Survey or in the Census of 1901.
698	*Panchāḷī*	560	...	
699, 700	*Pārᵃdhī* (5,410) and *Tākaṇkārī* (3,228)	8,643	...	Pārᵃdhī and Tākaṇkārī are really the same language, as spoken by different tribes.
701	*Pāwᵃrī*	25,000	...	
702	*Rānāwāī*	500	...	
703	*Rāṇī Bhīl*	87,549	...	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect		Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
704	*Rāṭhᵉvī*		*8,000*	...	
705	*Sīyālgūrī*		*120*	...	
706	*Wāgᵉḍī*		*525,375*	...	
707	Khāndēśī		1,253,966	213,272	The remarks made against Bhīlī (No. 677) apply also here. It is certain that many speakers of this language escaped enumeration as such at the Census.
708	*Standard*		*877,736*	...	
709	*Kuṭᵉbāū*		*400,000*	...	
710	*Dāngī*		*31,700*	...	
711	*Rangārī*		*3,530*	...	
712	Rājasthānī		16,298,260	12,680,562	In the Census, some speakers of this language were recorded as speaking Bhīlī.
713	*Mārwārī*		*6,088,389*	...	
714	Standard		1,591,160	...	
715	Eastern		1,974,864	...	
716	Mārwārī-Dhundhārī	49,300			
717	Gōṛawārī	15,000			
718	Ajmer Dialect	209,700			
719	Merwara Dialect	17,000			
720	Mēwātī	1,387,100			
721	Mārwārī	54,500			
722	Sarwarī	15,000			
723	Khairārī	228,264			
724	Southern		477,570	...	
725	Gōḍwārī	147,000			
726	Sirōhī	179,300			
727	Standard	171,300			
728	Abū Lōk-kī Bōlī	2,000			
729	Sāṭh-kī Bōlī	6,000			
730	Dēorāwārī	86,000			
731	Mārwārī-Gujarātī	65,270			
732	Western		685,649	...	
733	Thalī	480,900			
734	Mārwārī-Sindhī	131,960			
735	Dhaṭᵉkī	72,789			
736	Northern		1,359,146	...	
737	Bīkānērī	643,770			
738	Shēkhāwārī	488,017			
739	Bāgṛī	227,359			
740	*Central Eastern Rājasthānī*		*2,907,200*	...	
741	Jaipurī		1,437,899	...	
742	Standard	790,231			
743	Tōrāwārī	242,554			
744	Kāṭhairī	127,957			
745	Chanrārī	182,133			
746	Nāgarchōl	71,575			
747	Rajāwārī	173,449			
748	Kishangarhī		116,700	...	
749	Ajmērī		111,500	...	
750	Hāṛautī		991,131	...	
751	Standard	943,101			
752	Sīpārī	48,000			

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect		Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	According to Census, 1931.	Remarks.
753	*North-Eastern Rājasthānī*		*1,570,099*	...	
754	Mewātī		1,121,154	...	
755	Standard	253,300			
756	Raṭhī	222,200			
757	Nahārā Mēwātī	169,300			
758	Kaṭhēr Mēwātī	193,300			
	Unspecified	282,554			
759	Ahīrwāṭī or Hīrwāṭī		448,945	...	
760	*Mālvī*		*4,350,507*	..	
761	Mālvī Proper or Ahīrī		3,372,328	...	
762	Rāṭgrī or Rāj-wārī				
763	Sōndwārī		203,556	...	
764	Mixed Dialects		274,723	...	
765	Hoshangabad Dialect	126,523			
766	Dhōlēwārī	119,000			
767	Bhōyarī	11,000			
768	Kaḍiyā	18,000			
769	Paṭ'vī	200			
770	*Nēmāḍī*		*474,777*	...	
771	*Banjārī or Labhānī*		*158,500*	...	
772	Labhānī of Panjab and Gujarat	23,788		..	
773	Other Banjārī	131,855		...	
774	Kakārī	40			
775	Bahrūpiā	3,872		...	
776	*Gujarātī*		*297,673*	...	The figures originally available for the Survey were altogether incomplete, the language not having been recorded in the Census of 1891. The Survey figures here given are based on those of the Census of 1901. All the dialects mentioned are dealt with in the Survey.
777	Gujarī of Hazara				
778	Ajirī of Hazara		25,619		
779	Kashmīr Gujarī	253,692		...	
780	Gujarī of the Plains	19,362		...	
	Unspecified Dialects		*451,115*	..	
	Pahārī Group		**2,104,801**	**1,917,537**	
781	Eastern Pahārī, Khas-kurā, or Naipālī		143,721	279,715	The number of speakers of this language in British India apparently fluctuates. Most of them are temporary immigrants or Gōrkhā soldiers.
782	*Standard*		*143,721*	*279,715*	
783	*Pālpā*		...	...	
784	Central Pahārī		1,107,612	3,858	The Census figures are certainly incorrect. Numerous speakers must have been returned as speaking Hindī.
785	*Kumaunī*		*436,788*	...	
786	Khasparjiyā	75,020		...	
787	Phaldākōṭiyā	29,908		..	
788	Pachhaī	95,750		.	
789	Rau-Chaubhaisī	56,079		...	
790	Rau-Chaubhaisī Proper	6,375			
791	Standard of Naini Tal	18,047			
792	Chhakāṭiyā	25,800			
793	Rāngaṛhiyā	3,957			
794	Bāzarī	2,000			
795	Bhābarī of Rampur	390		...	
796	Kumaiyā	27,896		...	
797	Chaugarkhiyā	37,210		...	
798	Gangōlā	37,734		.	
799	Dānpuriyā	22,851		..	
800	Sōryālī	19,866		...	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
801	Askōṭi	10,964	...	
802	Sirōli	12,481	...	
803	Jōbarī	7,419	...	
804	*Garhwālī*	*670,824*	...	
805	Śrīnagariyā	12,048	...	
806	Raṭhī or Raṭhwālī	63,057	...	
807	Lōhbyā	9,748	...	
808	Dasauliyā	17,023	...	
809	Badhānī	14,108	...	
810	Miśh-Kumaiyā	33,011	...	
811	Nagpuriyā	51,331	...	
812	Salīnī	239,768	...	
813	Tehrī or Gaṅgāpāriyā	240,281	...	
814	Western Pahāṛī	858,468	1,633,916	
815	*Jaunsārī*	*47,437*	*427,702*	
816	*Sirmaurī*	*124,562*		
817	Dhārṭhī	32,729		
818	Girīpārī	24,364		
819	Bīśiau	17,459		
820	*Baghāṭī*	*29,195*		
821	*Kiūṭhalī*	*188,763*		
822	Kiūṭhalī Proper	43,377		
823	Haṇḍūrī	50,211		
824	Sīmla Sirājī	28,833		
825	Baṅkṛī	7,894		
826	Śōṭkohōlī	2,438		
827	Kīrnī	3,938		
828	Kōchī	51,883		
829	*Satlaj Group*	*38,893*	*126,795*	
830	Śōṭkohī	18,893		
831	Outer Sirājī	20,000		
832	*Kulu Group*	*84,531*	*237,934*	
833	Kuluī	54,080		
834	Inner Sirājī	20,591		
835	Sainjī	10,060		
836	*Mandī Group*	*212,164*		
837	Maṇḍīālī	150,000	...	
838	Chhōṭa Baṅghalī			
839	Maṇḍīālī Pahāṛī or Maṇḍī Sirājī	10,000	..	
840	Sukētī	52,184		
841	*Chambā Group*	*109,236*		
842	Chambālī	68,338		
843	Gaḍī or Bhaṛmaurī	14,946		The Survey figures for Gaḍī are based on the population figures of the Census of 1881. The two subsequent Censuses show a large increase in the population. The Survey figures are thus are too low.
844	Churāhī	27,301		
845	Paṅgwālī	3,701	*139,262*	
846	*Bhadrawāh Group*	*26,517*		
847	Bhadrawāhī	20,977		
848	Bhaḷēsī			
849	Pāḍarī	4,540		
	Unspecified	...	*702,224*	
	Unspecified Pahāṛī	...	54	

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers. Survey Estimates (1891).	Number of Speakers. According to Census, 1921.	Remarks.
	Unclassed Languages	**101,671**	**15,598**	
850	Burushaski or Khajuna	?	...	The speakers of this language have never been subjected to a Census and their number is unknown. The language and its dialectic variations are described in the Survey.
851	*Standard of Hunza-Nagar*	?	...	
852	*Warshikwār or Bellum of Yāsin*	?	...	
853	Andamanese	...	580	Not dealt with in the Survey.
854	Gipsy Languages	101,671	15,018	These are mostly secret languages, and, as such, their numbers can hardly be obtained with any accuracy by the ordinary operations of a census. The Survey figures are the result of local inquiries.
855	*Bēldārī*	5,140	...	
856	*Bhāmṭī*	14	...	
857	*Dōm*	13,500	...	
858	*Gārōḍī*	?	...	
859	*Gulguliā*	853	...	
860	*Kañjarī*	7,065	...	
861	Kuchbandhī	?	...	
862	*Kōlhāṭī*	2,867	...	
863	*Lāḍī*	500	...	
864	*Macharvā*	30	...	
865	*Malār*	2,309	...	
866	*Myānwālī or Lhārī*	?	...	
867	*Naṭī*	11,534	...	
868	*Ōḍkī*	2,814	...	
869	*Pendhārī*	1,250	...	
870	*Qaṣāī*	2,700	...	
871	*Sānsī*	51,550	...	
872	*Sikalgārī*	25	...	
	Language not returned	...	5,664	

Appendix IA.—Details of Languages and Dialects.

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Languages and Dialects. According to Survey. Languages.	According to Survey. Dialects.	According to Census, 1921. Languages.	According to Census, 1921. Dialects.
	Austric Family	**7**	**14**	**18**	**11**
	Austro-Nesian Sub-Family	...	...	***2***	...
1, 2	Malay Group	...	...	2	...
	Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family	***7***	***14***	***16***	***11***
	Mon-Khmēr Branch	**1**	**3**	**16**	.
	Mōn-Khmēr Group	...	...	1	.
3	Mōn	...	...	1	.
	Palaung-Wa Group	...	...	7	...
4	Palaung	...	..	1	.
5	Wa	...	...	1	..
6	Yanglam	...	...	1	.
	Danaw	...	...	1	..
7a	Others	...	..	3	.
	Khāsī Group	1	3	1	..
8	Khāsī	1	3	1	..
	Nicobar Group	...	...	1	..
13	Nicobarese	...	...	1	...
	Munḍā Branch	**6**	**11**	**6**	**11**
14	Khērwārī	1	11	1	11
26	Kūrkū	1	...	1	...
27	Khariā	1	...	1	...
28	Juāng	1	...	1	.
29	Savara	1	...	1	...
30	Gadabā	1	...	1	..
	Karen Family	...	...	**1**	**14**
31	Karen	...	...	1	14
	Man Family	...	...	**2**	...
42	Yao	...	...	1	...
43	Miao or Hmōng	...	...	1	...
	Tibeto-Chinese Family	**116**	**86**	**124**	**15**
	Siamese-Chinese Sub-Family	***3***	***4***	***7***	...
	Tai Group	3	4	7	...
44	Lao	...	..	1	..
45	Siamese	...	...	1	...
46	Lū	...	..	1	..
47	Khūn	...		1	...
48	Daye	.	...	1	.
49	Shān	1	1	1	..
51	Āhom	1	..	...	...
52	Khāmtī	1	3	1	..
	Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family	***113***	***82***	***117***	***15***
	Tibeto-Himalayan Branch	**32**	**31**	**20**	**6**
	Tibetan Group	1	14	1	6
57	Bhōṭiā	1	14	1	6

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Languages and Dialects. According to Survey. Languages.	According to Survey. Dialects.	According to Census, 1921. Languages.	According to Census, 1921. Dialects.
	Pronominalized Himalayan Group	**22**	**16**	**10**	...
	Western Sub-Group	*11*	...	*4*	..
72	Manchāṭī or Paṭnī	1	...		...
73	Chamba Lāhulī	1	...	...	..
74	Bunān	1	...	...	..
75	Ranglōi, Gōndlā, or Tinan	1	...	...	..
76	Kanāshī	1	...	1	
77	Kunaurī	1	...	1	..
78	Rangkas	1	...	...	..
79	Darmiyā	1	...	..	...
80	Chaudāngsī	1	...	1	.
81	Byāngsī	1	...	..	..
82	Janggalī	1	...	1	..
	Eastern Sub-Group	*11*	*16*	*6*	...
83	Dhimāl	1	...	1	..
84	Thāmī	1	...	1	...
85	Limbū	1	...	1	.
86	Yākhā	1	...	1	...
87	Khambā	1	16	1	..
88	Rāi or Jimdā	1	...	1	..
106	Vāyu or Hāy	1	...	...	...
107	Chēpāng	1	...	..	..
108	Kusunda	1	...	...	..
109	Bhrāmu	1	.	...	..
110	Thākaya	1	...	...	...
	Non-Pronominalized Himalayan Group	**9**	**1**	**9**	...
111	Gurung	1	..	1	..
112	Murmi	1	...	1	...
113	Sunwār	1	...	1	...
114	Māgarī	1	...	1	..
116	Nēwārī	1	1	1	...
118	Rōng or Lepcha	1	...	1	...
119	Kāmī	1	...	1	...
120	Mānjhī	1	...	1	.
121	Tōṭō	1	...	1	..
	North Assam Branch	**5**	...	**5**	...
122	Aka or Hrusso	1	...	1	..
123	Abor	1	...	1	...
124	Miri	1	...	1	..
125	Daflā	1	...	1	..
126	Mishmi	1	...	1	...
	Assam-Burmese Branch	**76**	**51**	**92**	9
	Bāṛā or Bodo Group	**9**	**15**	**9**	...
127	Bāṛā, Bodo, or Plains Kāchārī	1	1	1	...
128	Lalung	1	...	1	...

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Languages and Dialects. According to Survey. Languages.	Dialects.	According to Census, 1921. Languages.	Dialects.
131	Dimā-sā or Hills Kachārī	1	1	1	...
134	Gārō	1	6	1	...
142	Kōch	1	5	1	...
148	Rābhā	1	2	1	...
151	Tipurā or Mrung	1	...	1	...
152	Chutiya	1	...	1	...
153	Morān	1	...	1	...
	Nāgā Group	29	18	14	...
	Western Nāgā Sub-Group	*4*	*8*	*4*	...
154	Angāmi	1	4	1	...
159	Semā	1	2	1	...
162	Rengmā or Unsā	1	2	1	...
165	Kezhāmā	1	...	1	...
	Central Nāgā Sub-Group	*5*	*2*	*2*	...
166	Ao or Hatigorria	1	2	1	...
169	Lhōtā or Tēōntsū	1	...	1	...
170	Tengsa Nāgā	1	...	...	...
171	Thukumi	1	...	...	...
172	Yachumi	1	...	...	...
	Eastern Nāgā Sub-Group	*10*	...	...	...
173	Aagwānku or Tableng	1	...	...	...
174	Tamlu or Chingmōgna	1	...	...	...
175	Banparā	1	...	...	...
176	Mutoniā	1	...	...	...
177	Mohongiā, Borduariā, or Pāniduariā	1	...	...	...
178	Namsangiā	1	...	...	...
179	Chāng or Mojung	1	...	...	...
180	Assiringiā	1	...	...	...
181	Mōshāng	1	...	...	...
182	Shānggē	1	...	...	...
	Naga-Bodo Sub-Group	*3*	*3*	*3*	...
183	Ēmpēo or Kachchā Nāgā	1	3	1	...
187	Kabui or Kapwī	1	...	1	...
188	Khoirāo	1	...	1	...
	Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group	*7*	*5*	*5*	...
189	Mikir	1	3	1	...
194	Sōpvomā or Māo Nāgā	1	...	1	...
195	Marām	1	...	1	...
196	Miyāngkhang	1	...	...	...
197	Kwoireng or Liyāng	1	...	...	
198	Tāngkhul	1	2	1	...
202	Maring	1	...	1	...
	Kachin Group	1	1	9	1
203	Kachin	1	1	9	1
	Kuki-Chin Group	34	14	29	8

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Languages and Dialects. According to Shafer. Languages.	Dialects.	According to Census, 1931. Languages.	Dialects.
	Meithei Sub-Group	1	...	1	...
206	Manipuri, Meithei, Kathē, or Pōṇṇā	1	...	1	..
	Northern Chin Sub-Group	5	4	5	...
207	Thādo	1	4	1	...
212	Soktē	1	...	1	...
213	Siyin	1	...	1	...
214	Rāltē	1	...	1	...
215	Paitā	1	...	1	..
	Central Chin Sub-Group	5	7	4	8
216	Shunkla or Tashōo	1	1	1	1
219	Lai	1	4	1	7
224	Lushēi or Dulien	1	2	1	..
227	Banjōgī	1	...	1	...
228	Pānkhū	1	...	...	...
	Old Kuki Sub-Group	15	3	13	..
229	Hrāngkhol, Rāngkhōl, or Hrangchal	1	1	1	...
232	Hallām	1	2	1	...
236	Langrong	1	...	...	.
237	Aimol	1	...	1	...
238	Chiru	1	...	1	...
239	Kolhreng or Kolrāu	1	...	1	
240	Kōm	1	...	1	...
241	Kyau or Chaw	1	...	1	..
242	Hmār	1	...	1	...
243	Chote	1	...	1	.
244	Muntuk	1	...	..	..
245	Karum	1	...	...	.
246	Pūrūm	1	...	1	.
247	Anāl	1	...	1	.
248	Hiroi-Langāng	1	...	1	..
249	Vaiphei	...	...	1	
	Southern Chin Sub-Group	8	...	6	..
250	Chinmè	1	.	..	...
251	Welaung	1	..	...	...
252	Chinbōk	1	...	...	..
253	Yindu	1	...	1	...
254	Chinbōn	1	...	1	...
255	Taungtha	1	...	1	.
256	Khyang or Shō	1	...	1	...
257	Khami, Khweymi, or Kumi	1	...	1	...
258	Anu	...	...	1	...
259	M'hang	...	...	...	..
	Burma Group	2	...	16	..
260	Maingtha	...	...	1	...
261	Szi or Atsi	...	...	1	...

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Languages and Dialects. According to Survey. Languages.	According to Survey. Dialects.	According to Census, 1931. Languages.	According to Census, 1931. Dialects.
262	Lashi	...	...	1	
263	Maru	...	...	1	
264	Mrū	1	...	1	...
265	Burmese	...	...	1	
266	Arakanese	1	...	1	..
267	Taungyo	...	...	1	...
268	Intha	...	..	1	
269	Danu	...	...	1	...
270	Tavoyan	...	...	1	
271	Chaungtha	...	...	1	..
272	Yanbye	...	...	1	..
272a	Others	...	...	3	
	Lolo-Mos'o Group	...	...	11	...
273	Lolo	...	..	1	..
274	Mo-s'o	...	...	1	..
275	Lisu	...	...	1	...
276	Aka	...	...	1	
277	Kwi	.	...	1	
277a	Others	...	...	6	
	Sak (Lūi) Group	1	2	4	...
278	Lūi	1	2	..	...
281	Kadu	...	...	1	..
282	Daingnet	...	...	1	.
283	Ganan	...	...	1	...
284	Sak or Thet	...	..	1	
	Dravidian Family	**16**	**23**	**15**	...
	Dravida Group	7	10	7	..
285	Tamil	1	6	1	...
293	Malayālam	1	1	1	...
296	Kanarese	1	3	1	..
301	Koḍagu or Coorgi	1	...	1	..
302	Tuḷu	1	...	1	
303	Toda	1	...	1	..
304	Kōta	1	...	1	..
	Intermediate Group	5	6	6	..
305	Kurukh or Orāōn	1	...	1	.
306	Malhar	...	...	1	...
307	Malto or Maler	1	...	1	..
308	Kui, Kandhī, or Khond	1	..	1	.
309	Kōlāmī	1	2	1	...
312	Gōṇḍī	1	4	1	..
	Andhra Language	1	7	1	.
319	Telugu	1	7	1	..
	North-Western Language	1	...	1	...
328	Brahūī	1	...	1	..

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Languages and Dialects. According to Survey. Languages.	Dialects.	According to Census, 1921. Languages.	Dialects.
	Semi-Dravidian Hybrids	2	...	...	...
329	Ladhāḍī	1	...	...	...
330	Bhariā	1	...	...	...
	Indo-European Family	**38**	**402**	**26**	**9**
	Aryan Sub-Family	***38***	***402***	***26***	***9***
	Eranian Branch	**8**	**35**	**3**	**1**
	Persian Group	1	5	1	1
331	Persian	1	5	1	1
	Eastern Group	7	30	2	...
	Afghanistan-Baluchistan Sub-Group	*3*	*26*	*2*	...
337	Paṣhtō	1	20	1	
360	Ormuṛī or Bargiatā	1	...	...	
361	Balōchī	1	6	1	..
	Ghalchah Sub-Group	*4*	*4*	...	...
370	Wakhī	1	...	...	...
371	Shighnī	1	1		.
372	Iṣhkāshmi	1	2	..	...
377	Munjānī or Munjī	1	1	...	...
	Dardic or Piśacha Branch	**13**	**22**	**4**	...
	Kāfir Group	9	2	...	...
	Kāfir Sub-Group	*4*	...	...	...
379	Bashgalī	1		...	...
380	Wai-alā	1	...	...	..
381	Waṣī-veri or Veron	1	...	...	...
382	Ashkund	1	...	..	...
	Kalāshā-Pashai Sub-Group	*5*	*2*	...	...
383	Kalāshā	1	...	...	...
384	Gawar-bati or Narsātī	1	...	...	...
385	Pashai, Laghmānī, or Dēhgānī	1	2	...	...
388	Dīrī	1	...	...	.
389	Tirāhī	1	...	...	..
	Khōwār Group	1	...	1	...
390	Khōwār, Chitrālī, or Arniyā	1	...	1	...
	Dard Group	3	20	3	..
391	Shiṇā	1	7	1	.
399	Kāshmīrī	1	6	1	..
407	Kōhistānī	1	7	1	...
	Indo-Aryan Branch	**17**	**345**	**19**	**8**
	Sanskrit	...	...	*1*	...
	Outer Sub-Branch	***7***	***110***	***8***	***3***
	North-Western Group	2	31	2	2
415	Lahndā or Western Pañjābī	1	24	1	2
445	Sindhī	1	7	1	...
	Southern Group	1	39	2	1

Serial No.	Name of Language or Dialect.	Number of Languages and Dialects. According to Survey. Languages.	Dialects.	According to Census, 1921. Languages.	Dialects.
455	Marāṭhī	1	39	1	1
499	Singhalese	...	...	1	...
	Eastern Group	4	40	4	...
502	Oṛiyā	1	2	1	...
506	Bihārī	1	19	1	...
529	Bengali	1	16	1	
552	Assamese	1	3	1	...
	Mediate Sub-Branch	***1***	***18***	***1***	...
557	Eastern Hindī	1	18	1	...
	Inner Sub-Branch	***9***	***217***	***9***	***5***
	Central Group	6	161	6	1
581	Western Hindī	1	39	1	...
602	Panjābī	1	15	1	1
652	Gujarātī	1	21	1	...
677	Bhīlī	1	28	1	...
707	Khāndēśī	1	3	1	...
712	Rājasthānī	1	55	1	...
	Pahāṛī Group	3	56	3	4
781	Eastern Pahāṛī, Khas-kurā, or Naipālī	1	1	1	...
784	Central Pahāṛī	1	26	1	...
814	Western Pahāṛī	1	29	1	4
	Unclassed Languages	**2**	**19**	**2**	...
850	Burushaskī or Khajuna	1	1	...	...
853	Andamanese	...	...	1	...
854	Gipsy Languages	1	18	1	...
	Total for all India	**179**	**544**	**188**	**49**

Appendix IB.—Summary of the General Tables.

Name of Language-Group.	Number of Speakers.	
	Survey Estimates (1891).	According to Census, 1921.
Austric Family	**3,052,046**	**4,529,351**
Austro-Nesian Sub-Family	...	***5,561***
Indo-Nesian Branch	...	**5,561**
Malay Group	...	5,561
Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family	***3,052,046***	***4,523,790***
Mōn-Khmēr Branch	**177,293**	**549,917**
Mōn-Khmēr Group	...	189,263
Palaung-Wa Group	...	147,889
Khāsi Group	177,293	204,103
Nicobar Group	...	8,662
Mundā Branch	**2,874,753**	**3,973,873**
Karen Family	...	**1,114,026**
Man Family	...	**591**
Tibeto-Chinese Family	**1,984,512**	**12,885,346**
Siamese-Chinese Sub-Family	***4,205***	***926,335***
Tai Group	4,205	926,335
Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family	***1,980,307***	***11,959,011***
Tibeto-Himalayan Branch	**399,742**	**440,263**
Tibetan Group	205,508	231,885
Pronominalized Himalayan Group	93,978	107,841
Non-Pronominalized Himalayan Group	100,256	100,537
North Assam Branch	**36,910**	**80,482**
Assam-Burmese Branch	**1,543,655**	**11,438,266**
Bodo Group	618,659	715,696
Nāgā Group	292,799	338,634
Kachin Group	1,920	151,196
Kuki-Chin Group	567,625	796,314
Burma Group	62,652	9,335,595
Lolō-Mos'o Group	...	75,686
Sak (Lūi) Group	...	25,145
Dravidian Family	**53,073,261**	**64,128,052**
Dravida Group	30,940,550	37,285,594
Intermediate Group	2,180,858	3,056,598
Andhra Language	19,783,901	23,601,492
North-Western Language	165,500	184,368
Semi-Dravidian Hybrids	2,452	...
Indo-European Family	**231,874,403**	**232,852,817**
Aryan Sub-Family	***231,874,403***	***232,852,817***
Eranian Branch	**4,617,890**	**1,987,943**
Persian Group	7,579	6,268
Eastern Group	4,610,311	1,981,675

Name of Language-Group.	Number of Speakers.	
	Survey Estimates (1891).	According to Census, 1921.
Dardic or Piśācha Branch	**1,195,902**	**1,304,319**
Kāfir Group	?	..
Khōwār Group	?	121
Dard Group	1,195,902	1,304,198
Indo-Aryan Branch	**226,060,611**	**229,560,555**
Sanskrit	...	***356***
Outer Sub-Branch	***117,778,342***	***123,328,825***
North-Western Group	10,162,251	9,023,972
Southern Group	18,011,948	18,797,831
Eastern Group	89,604,143	61,171,923
Mediate Sub-Branch	***24,511,647***	***1,399,528***
Inner Sub-Branch	***83,770,622***	***139,166,945***
Central Group	81,665,821	137,249,408
Pahārī Group	2,104,801	1,917,537
Unclassed Languages	**101,671**	**15,598**
Total for all Indian Languages	**290,085,893**	**315,525,781**

APPENDIX II.

List of Gramophone Records available at the time of writing this Volume.

[Sets of these records have been deposited for the use of Students at the India Office Library, the British Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society, the School of Oriental Studies, the Bodleian Library, the University Libraries of Cambridge, Dublin, and Edinburgh, and the Institut de France.]

Language, with Serial No. in Appendix I.	Province.	Distinguishing No. of Record.
MÖN-KHMÊR.		
3. Mōn or Talaing	Burma	5501-AK., 5510-AK.
4. Katarr Palaung	Do.	5498-AK., 5527-AK.
7. Danaw	Do.	5525½-AK.
MUṆḌĀ.		
15. Santali	Bihar and Orissa	3297-Y., 3298-Y., 3301-Y.
16. Muṇḍārī	Do.	3290-Y., 3291-Y., 3293-Y., 3303-Y., 3305-Y., 3306-Y.
19. Kōḍa-kū	Central Provinces	5460-AK., 5461-AK.
20. Hō	Bihar and Orissa	3294-Y., 3295-Y., 3296-Y., 3299-Y., 3300-Y.
25. Korwā	Central Provinces	5457-AK., 5458-AK., 5459-AK.
26. Kūrkū	Do.	5477-AK., 5478-AK., 5479-AK., 5468-AK.
27. Khaṛiā	Bihar and Orissa	3289-Y., 3292-Y.
29. Savara	Madras	136-AK., 137-AK.
30. Gadabā	Central Provinces	5471-AK., 5472-AK.
Do.	Madras	139-AK., 140-AK., 141-AK.
KAREN.		
32. Bwè	Burma	5511-AK.
32. Karenni (Red Karen)	Do.	5503-AK., 5515-AK.
33. Karenbyu (White Karen)	Do.	5514-AK.
34. Sgaw	Do.	5505-AK., 5507-AK.
35. Pwo	Do.	5504-AK., 5506-AK.
35. Mopwā	Do.	5512-AK.
36. Taungthu	Do.	5500-AK.

Language, with Serial No. in Appendix I.	Province.	Distinguishing No. of Record.
KAREN—*contd.*		
37. Padaung	Burma	5516-AK.
39. Gheko	Do.	5517-AK.
41[a]. Wewaw	Do.	5518-AK.
TAI.		
47. Khāu	Do.	5513½-AK.
49. Shān	Do.	5508-AK., 5509-AK.
TIBETO-BURMAN.		
111. Gurung	United Provinces	6951-AK.
114. Māgar	Do.	6950-AK.
115. Nēwār	Do.	6952-AK.
204. Chingpaw	Burma	5519-AK., 5522-AK.
219. Lai	Do.	5533-AK.
255. Taungthā	Do.	5531-AK., 5532-AK.
(P) 256. Southern Chin	Do.	5502-AK.
263. Maru	Do.	5520-AK.
265. Burmese	Do.	5497-AK.
266. Arakanese	Do.	5499-AK.
267. Taungyo	Do.	5523-AK.
268. Intha	Do.	5524-AK.
269. Danu	Do.	5526-AK.
270. Taroyan	Do.	5530-AK.
272[a]. Phun	Do.	5528-AK., 5529-AK.
272[a]. Yaw	Do.	5534-AK.
275. Lisu (Lis'aw)	Do.	5521-AK.
DRAVIDIAN.		
285. Tamil	Madras	142-BK., 143-BK., 148-BK., 149-BK.
287. Koraga	Do.	154-BK.
289. Irula	Do.	128-AK., 130-AK., 131-AK.
290. Kasuva	Do.	126-AK., 127-AK.

Language, with Serial No. in Append.x I.		Province.	Distinguishing No. of Record.
	DRAVIDIAN—*contd.*		
293.	Malayāḷam	Madras	113-AK., 114-AK., 144-BK., 145-BK., 150-BK., 151-BK., 156-BK., 157-BK
296.	Kanarese	Bombay	5535-AK., 5536-AK., 5537-AK.
	Do.	Madras	146-BK., 147-BK., 152-BK.
298.	Baḍaga	Do.	115-AK., 120-AK.
299.	Kurumba	Do.	129-AK.
301.	Koḍagu	Do.	118-AK., 119-AK.
302.	Tuḷu	Do.	116-AK., 117-AK., 132-AK., 133-AK
303.	Toda	Do.	122-AK., 123-AK.
304.	Kōṭa	Do.	124-AK., 125-AK.
305.	Kurukh	Bihar and Orissa	3302-Y.
308.	Kui	Madras	134-AK., 135-AK., 138-AK.
309.	Kōlāmi	Central Provinces	5482-AK., 5483-AK.
312.	Gōṇḍi	Do.	5466-AK., 5467-AK.
317	Maṛiā	Do.	5462-AK., 5463-AK.
318.	Parji	Do.	5468-AK., 5469-AK.
319.	Telugu	Do.	5475-AK., 5476-AK.
	Do.	Madras	159-BK., 164-BK., 165-BK.
	INDO-ARYAN.		
..	Sanskrit	United Provinces	6954-AK., 6955-AK., 6956-AK., 6957-AK.
..	Vedic Sanskrit	...	6953-AK.
445	Sindhī	Bombay	5702-AK., 5703-AK., 5704-AK.
447	Sirāiki Sindhi	Do.	5706-AK.
448.	Thareli	Do.	5705-AK.
455.	Marāṭhi	Do.	5540-AK., 5541-AK., 5542-AK.
	Do.	Madras	162-BK., 163-BK
477.	Berāri Marāṭhī	Central Provinces	5493-AK., 5494-AK.
478.	Nāgpuri Marāṭhi	Do.	5489-AK., 5490-AK.
481.	Mixed Marāṭhi of Chhindwara (? Govāri).	Do.	5484-AK., 5485-AK
490.	Halbi	Do.	5464-AK., 5465-AK

Language, with Serial No. in Appendix I.	Province.	Distinguishing No. of Record.
INDO-ARYAN—*contd.*		
494. Kōṅkaṇī	Bombay	5538-AK., 5539-AK.
502. Oriyā	Bihar and Orissa	6590-AK., 6596-AK.
507. Maithilī	Do.	6589-AK., 6595-AK.
516. Magahī	Do.	6585-AK., 6591-AK.
519. Bhojpurī	Do.	6586-AK., 6587-AK., 6592-AK., 6593-AK.
	United Provinces	6964-AK., 6965-AK., 6968-AK., 6969-AK.
526. Nagpuriā	Bihar and Orissa	6588-AK., 6594-AK.
559. Baghēlī	Central Provinces	5491-AK., 5492-AK.
	United Provinces	6972-AK., 6973-AK.
572. Chhattisgarhī	Central Provinces	5473-AK., 5474-AK.
585. Urdū (Delhi)	Delhi	6825-AK., 6826-AK.
Urdū (Lucknow)	United Provinces	6974-AK., 6975-AK.
586. Hindī (Āgra)	Do.	6960-AK., 6961-AK.
Hindī (Benares)	Do.	6966-AK., 6967-AK.
592. Braj Bhākhā	Do.	6958-AK., 6959-AK.
604. Kanaujī	Do.	6962-AK., 6963-AK.
610. Bundelī	Do.	6970-AK., 6971-AK.
Do.	Central Provinces	5480-AK., 5481-AK.
652. Gujarātī	Bombay	5696-AK., 5697-AK., 5698-AK.
674. Paṭṇūlī	Madras	160-BK., 161-BK
677. Bhīlī (Gujarātī)	Bombay	5699-AK., 5700-AK., 5701-AK.
Bhīlī (Marāṭhī)	Do.	5544-AK., 5547-AK., 5548-AK.
707. Khāndēśī	Do.	5543-AK., 5545-AK., 5546-AK.
754. Mēwātī	Delhi	6827-AK., 6838-AK.
759. Ahirwāṭī	Do.	6828-AK., 6837-AK.
770. Nimāḍī	Central Provinces	5486-AK., 5487-AK.
781. Khas-kurā	United Provinces	6948-AK., 6949-AK.
785. Kumaunī	Do.	6946-AK., 6947-AK.
804. Gaṛhwālī	Do.	6944-AK., 6945-AK.
815. Jaunsārī	Do.	6943-AK.

APPENDIX III.

INDEX OF LANGUAGE-NAMES.

NOTE

The following Index contains all the language-names occurring in the pages of the Linguistic Survey, with references to the place or places where each is mentioned. For the sake of completeness I have added all other names of Indian languages that I have collected from many different sources and more especially from the Census Reports of 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921. I must specially acknowledge my indebtedness to the excellent Glossary of Obscure Language-names given by Mr. Sedgwick as Appendix B. of the 1921 Bombay Census Report. With its aid, supplemented by further information kindly supplied by him, I have been able to clear up many points that had hitherto been doubtful.

A Linguistic Survey of Burma has been begun, and a valuable preliminary list of the languages spoken in that Province has already been issued. With the permission of the Government of Burma, I have incorporated in the present Index the names of many languages mentioned in that list. As these names were not recorded in the Linguistic Survey of India,—which did not extend to Burma,—their inclusion will greatly enhance the completeness of this Index.

The only contraction in this Index that needs explanation is the letter L. which appears frequently in the 7th column. This means the Standard List of Words and Sentences which is appended to each group of languages throughout the Survey.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Ābang	136	38,000	...	III	ii	68, 81, 134 (L.)	A dialect of Gāro (134), spoken in Assam (Garo Hills) and Bengal (Mymensingh).
Abhayguṇya	...	...	...	III	ii	332	Another name for Sangpan (175).
Abor	123	170	13,317	III	i	568, 584, 628 (L.)	A Tibeto-Burmese language, North Assam group, spoken in East Assam outside settled British Territory. The Census figures include speakers of Miri (124).
Ahā Lōk-kī Bōlī or Rāṭhī	728	2,000	...	IX	ii	90, 98	A form of the Sirōhī sub-dialect (726) of the Mārwārī (713) dialect of Rājasthānī (712).
Achang or Chang	...	...	...	III	iii	332	The Chinese name for Maingtha (260).
Āchik Kusik	...	...	...	III	ii	68	Another name for Gāro (134).
Āchik, or Gārō standard dialect.	135	54,100	...	III	ii	68, 73, 133 (L.)	A dialect of Gāro, spoken in Assam (Garo Hills and vicinity).
Adiya	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Malayālam (393), used in Coorg.
Adikusi	...		...	VII	...	331	A form of Halbī (490).
Adōlī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of 'Hiudi' reported in the Baroda Census Report for 1891.
Adrusan	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Bombay Census Report for 1891 as a form of Paṣhtō (337).
Aḍvichanchī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Bombay Census Report for 1921 as a corrupt Kanarese (298) spoken by members of a wandering tribe in Dharwar. *Cf.* Harugupikāri.
Afghānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Paṣhtō (337).
Afghanistan-Balochistan sub-group.	...	4,610,311	1,931,375	X	...	3	A sub-group of the Eastern group of the Eranian branch of the Aryan sub-family of the Indo-European family of languages. The Survey figures for this sub-group include speakers of languages who live outside British India, in countries not subject to the operations of the Census.
Afridī	345	...	...	X	...	46	A sub-dialect of the North-Eastern dialect (338) of Paṣhtō (337).
Agonce	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Urdū (585) reported in the Bombay Census Report for 1891.
Agrī	462	22,826		VII	...	61, 63, 95	A sub-dialect of the Konkan standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455). It is spoken by the Agarīs of Kolaba.
Agariā	23	1,616	324	IV	...	135	A dialect of Khewārī (14), a Munḍā language, spoken in Chota Nagpur.
Agarwālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Mārwāṛī (713).
Aghānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A corruption of 'Afghānī,' *i.e.* Paṣhtō (337). Used in Madras.
Aghar	...	...	...	VI	...	152	A form of the Jūgar (565) sub-dialect of Baghēl (559). Spoken in Banda, U. P.
Agōriā	...	...	...	IV	...	135	Another spelling of Agariā (23).
Aha	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Loloi language spoken beyond the Burma frontier in Western China.
Ahamyā	...	...	...	V	i	393	Another name for Assamese (552).
Ahirshu	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Ahīrāṇī.
Ahīrāṇī	...	...	...	IX	iii	293	Another name for Khāndēśī (707).
Ahīrī	...	...	...	IX	i	53 (Gr.), 249, 258, 263, 305 (L.).	Another name for the standard sub-dialect of Mālvī (761).
Ahirī or Āyarī	679	30,500	...	IX	iii	5, 63	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Cutch. *Cf.* Vol. VIII, Part i, p. 188.
Ahirwāṛī	...	...	...	IX	ii	49	Another name for Ahīrwāṛī (759).
Ahīrwāṛī or Hīrwāṛī	759	448,245	...	IX	ii	3, 43, 49, 283	A sub-dialect of North-Eastern (758), Rājasthānī (712). Spoken in the South-East Punjab.
Āhom	81	...	...	II	...	61, 67, 81, 214 (L.).	A Tai (Siamese-Chinese) language formerly spoken in Assam. Now extinct.
Ahirāṇī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Ahīrāṇī, another name for Khāndēśī (707).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1931.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Aibur	...	...		...	...	...	A language, probably Kuki-Chin, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 3,400 people in the Chin Hills. It is certainly not the same as the Abor (123) spoken in Assam.
Aimol	237	750	387	III	iii	3, 181, 214, 293 (L.).	A Kuki-Chin language spoken in Manipur. The Survey figures are merely a rough estimate.
Aiton	50	200	...	II	...	65, 193	A dialect of Shān (43) spoken in Assam. Also called 'Shān Dāān.' 'Shān' is Assamese for 'Shān,' and 'Dōān' is Assamese for 'foreign tongue.'
Ajuri of Hazara	778	25,619	...	IX	iv	10, 941, 949, 965 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Gujari dialect (776) of Rājasthāni (712). Spoken in Hazara and Swat. The Survey figures include the speakers of Gujuri of Hazara (777).
Ajmer sub-dialect	718	208,700	...	IX	ii	74	A sub-dialect of the Mārwāri dialect (713) of Rājasthāni (712). It is spoken in Ajmere.
Ajmeri	749	111,500	...	IX	ii	31, 200	A sub-dialect of Central Eastern (740) Rājasthāni (712). It is spoken in Ajmere.
Aka or Hruso	122	20	71	III	i	568, 622 (L.)	A language of the North Assam group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Mainly spoken outside British Territory beyond the Assam Frontier.
Aka (Akha) or Kaw	276	...	34,205	III	iii	353	This language does not fall within the scope of this Survey. In the Burma Linguistic Survey it is reported to be spoken by 33,685 people in the Southern Shan States. In the Census of 1921 it is classed as belonging to the Lolo-Mo'so group. See remarks under that group. The name is spelt 'Akha' in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma, Part I, Vol. I, p. 602.
Akö	277a	...	51	III	iii	383	This language does not fall within the scope of the Survey. In the Burma Linguistic Survey it is reported to be spoken in the Kengtung Southern Shan State. In the Census of 1921 it is classed as belonging to the Lolo-Mo'so group. See remarks under that group.
Alha	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Hal'bi (490).
A-mök	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Mōn-Khmēr dialect spoken in the Kengtung Southern Shan State (Burma).
Amri	192	725	...	III	ii	380	A dialect of Mikir (189) spoken in Assam.
An	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Anu (256).
Anāl	247	750	3,065	III	ii.	3, 181, 272, 295 (L.).	An Old Kuki language spoken in Manipur. The Survey figures are admittedly a rough estimate.
Anālā	...	...	...	...	...	...	e.g. Anāw'lā (653).
Anāsya or Pahāḍi	680	43,500	...	IX	iii	5, 47	Spoken in Rewa Kantha. A form of Bhili (677).
Anāw'lā or Bhāthilā	653	...	...	IX	ii	386	A dialect of Gujarāti (652) spoken by Anālā of Balsar in Surat.
Andamanese	353	...	580	...	...	...	An unclassed language. Spoken in the Andaman. Not dealt with in this Survey.
Andhra	...	...	...	IV	...	576	Another name for Telugu (319).
Andhra Group	...	19,783,991	23,601,492	IV	...	284	One of the groups of the Dravidian family of languages.
Andro	279	...	...	III	iii	43, 45 (L.)	One of the Lūi (278) languages, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, but the exact grouping of which is unknown. It is closely related to Sengmai (279) and Kadu (281).
Angami	154	35,410	43,050	III	ii	193, 203, 204, 246 (L.).	A language of the Western sub-group of the Naga group of languages. In Vol. III, Part ii, p. 265, it is compared with Ao. Spoken in the Naga Hills, Assam.
Angka	...	...	...	III	i	578	Another name for Aka (122).
Ang-kū	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Mōn-Khmēr dialect spoken in the Kengtung Southern Shan State.
Ang-so	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Ingha (265), *q.v.*
Angwānku or Tablong	175	5,000	...	III	ii	193, 329, 331, 342 (L.).	An Eastern Naga language spoken in the Naga Hills, Assam, and beyond the frontier. The Survey figures include speakers of Tamlu (174).
Annamese	...	...	...	...	...	...	This language was formerly classed as Mōn-Khmēr. It is a mixed form of speech, and is now classed as Tai.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Antarbédi or Antardédi	...	...	...	IX	i	69, 70	Another name for Braj Bhákhá (502).
Antar Pathá	...	...	...	VI	..	149	A variety of Gabórá (564).
Anu	268	...	712	III	iii	229	A Southern Chin language, which does not fall within the scope of this Survey. In the Linguistic Survey of Burma, it is said to be spoken by 634 people in Northern Arakan.
Anung	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Nung (277a), *q.v.*
Anya Tayok	...	...	...	...	..	...	A name used in Burma for Yünnanese.
Ao or Haigerrta	166	15,600	30,142	III	ii	193, 285, 289, 293 (L.).	A Central Naga language spoken in the Naga Hills, Assam.
Aphlong	...	...	...	..	...	...	A sub-dialect of Pwo Karen (32), reported in the Linguistic Survey of Burma as spoken in the Thatone District. This language did not fall within the scope of this Survey.
Aprdlí	...	...	...	X	..	48	Another, and more correct, spelling of the name Afridi (345), *q.v.*
Arakanese or Maghí	266	44,651	304,549	III	iii	379	This language belongs to the Burma group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Being mainly spoken in Burma, it did not fall within the scope of this Survey. In the Burma Linguistic Survey it is reported as spoken by 462,443 people, principally in Akyab, Sandoway, and Bassein.
Arangú		...	...	...			Another spelling of Eragú, *q.v.* So reported from the Chhattagarh Feudatory States.
Ara Tulu	...	...	...	...	..		A form of Tulu (302).
Arava or Aravu		..	..	IV	...	[redacted]	Another name for Tamil (285).
Arbání	..	...	...	..	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the Bombay Census Report for 1891. Not since identified.
Árö	...	..	...	...	...	-	The same as Áryé, a name sometimes given to Marátháí (455, in Southern India.
Arlong	..	..	...	III	ii	360	Another name for Mikir (189).
Armiyá	..	...	..	VIII	ii	2, 133	Another name for Khówár or Chitrálí (320).
Armyiá	..	.	..	.		...	Ditto.
Arshev	...	...	...	...	...	.	A form of Pashto (337) reported in the Bombay Census Report for 1891, but not since traced.
Arung	...	...	...	III	ii	411, 433 (L.)	Another name for Empéo (183).
Arvi	...	...	..	...	..	...	The same as Arava, *q.v.*
ryan Sub-family	...	231,874,403	232,252,817	..	..	...	A sub-family of the Indo-European Family of languages.
Áryé or Árö	...	...	...	.	...		'Aryan,' a name sometimes given to Marátháí (455) in Southern India.
A-sak	...	...	...	...	.	...	Another name for Kada (261).
Asámí	..	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used outside Assam for Assamese (552).
Ashkund	352	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 29, 68	A Káfir language spoken in Káfiristán, belonging to the Dardic or Piśácha Branch of the Aryan languages. It is spoken outside British Territory, and nothing is known about it. The name is better spelt Ashkú, see Addenda Majora, p. 142, where more information is given about the language.
A-shö or Ashö-ro	..	...	...	III	iii	331	Another name for Khyang or Shö (256).
Asi Lepai	...	...	..	III	iii	382	Another name for Sú (26.), *q.v.* *Cf.* Atsi.
Askötiyá or Askötiyá	801	10,964	...	IX	iv	119, 244	A sub-dialect of the Kumaunú (785) dialect of Central Pahárí (784). Spoken in Almora.
Assam-Burmese Branch	...	1,543,655	11,438,268		..	...	A branch of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages. It is spoken in Assam and Burma, and is dealt with in Parts ii and iii of Vol. III of the Survey. As most of the speakers are in Burma, this Survey did not take cognizance of them, and this accounts for the difference between the Survey figures and those of the Census.
Assamese	552	1,447,552	1,727,323	V	i	2, 393	A member of the Eastern Group of the Outer Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages.
Assamese, Standard	553	858,959	...	V	i	394, 398, 437 (L.)	The standard dialect of Assamese (552).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Assamese, Western Dialect	554	543,500	...	V	i	394, 414, 437 (L.).	
Asiringiā (1)			...	III	ii	285, 320, 322	A name sometimes wrongly given to Ao (166).
Asiringiā (2)	180	...	...	III	ii	198, 329	A language of the Eastern Nāgā sub-group, spoken beyond the frontier of North-East Assam.
Astōrī	393	...	...	VIII	ii	3, 150, 186	A dialect of the Dardic language Shinā (391) spoken in the Astor Valley of Kashmīr.
Asurī	42	15,025	3,099	IV	...	21, 28, 145	A dialect of Kherwāri (14), a Mundā language. It is spoken in Ranchi and Jashpur (Chota Nagpur). The Survey figures are excessive.
Asuring	...	...	...	III	ii	329	Another spelling of the name Asiringiā (180), q.v.
Ātong	...	...	...	III	ii	48	Another name for the Ātong dialect (137) of Gārō (134), q.v.
Ātong, Ātūng, or Kuchā	137	15,000	...	III	ii	68, 85, 135 (L.)	A dialect of Gārō (134), spoken in the Garo Hills and Mymensingh.
Atsi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Sei, q.v. The word is also spelt Asi.
Attonk Dialect	...	...	...	VIII	i	541, 542	A form of North-Western Lahndā (432).
Audhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Awadhī (558).
Audhrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	An old name for Oriyā (502), used by the Orissa Grammarian Mārkandeya.
Audrī	...	...	...		...	...	Another name for Oriyā (502).
Aurang	...	...	...	IV	...	406	Another name for Kurukh (305).
Austric Family	...	3,052,946	4,529,351	...	...	...	The name of the great family of languages, of which the Austro-Nesian and the Austro-Asiatic are the two sub-families. To the former belong Salōn (1) and Malay (2), and to the latter belong the Môn-Khmēr language including the Môn-Khmēr (3), Pasung-Wa (4-7a), Khāsi (8-12), and Nicobar (13) groups, and also the Mundā languages (14-30). These are the only languages of this family referred to in the Survey or in the Census, but there are, of course, many others.
Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family.	...	3,052,946	4,523,790	...	...	...	See the preceding.
Austro-Nesian Sub-Family.	...	...	5,561	...	...	...	See Austric Family.
Autkali	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Oriyā (502).
Avesta, Language of	...	...	...	X	...	1, 9, 333	An ancient Iranian language. Sometimes called Zend.
Awa	...	...	...	...	...		A dialect of Khami (257), a Southern Chin language. It is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 216 people in Akyab.
Awadhī, Kōsalī, or Baswārī.	558	16,143,548	...	VI	...	1, 8, 30, 250 (L.)	A dialect of Eastern Hindī (557), the only language of the Madiate Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is spoken in Aodh, except Faizabad east of Tanda, Fatehpur, Allahabad, North Mirzapur, and Jaunpur. Also used by middle-class Musalmāns over the eastern part of the United Provinces and over West Bihar, as far east, inclusive, as Muzaffarpur. For a corrected specimen of the Awadhī of Lucknow, see Addendum Majora, pp. 231 ff. For the Awadhī of Rae Bareli, see *ib.*, pp. 234 ff.
Awānkārī	443	123,901	...	VIII	i	242, 432, 442, 458, 522 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Western form of North-Eastern (436) Lahndā (415), spoken in Kohat (North West Frontier Province), and Jhelam (Panjab).
Awāpkī	...	...	...	VIII	i	242, 449, 458	Another name for Awānkārī (443).
Awi	138	20,000	...	III	ii	68	A dialect of Gārō (134).
Ayeing	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Khami (257), a Southern Chin language. It is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 1,000 people in Akyab.
Ayurī	...	...	...	IX	iii	63	Another name for the Ahīrī (679) dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Cutch. *Cf.* Vol. VIII, Part i, p. 182.
Bachadi	...	...	...	...	...		A name sometimes given to Malvi (760), q.v.
Badaga (1)	...	...	...	IV	...	401	A name sometimes used in the Tamil country for Telugu (312).
Badaga (2)	293	30,656	...	IV	...	268, 401	A dialect of Kannarese (296), spoken in the Nilgiris.
Badages	...	...	...	IV	...	377	An old Portuguese name for Telugu (312).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Badak	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy dialect mentioned in the 1891 Central Provinces Census Report. Not since identified. Perhaps only another spelling of Badaga, *i.e.* Telugu (319).
Badakshī	396	...	...	X	...	3, 527	A dialect of Persian (331) spoken in Badakhshan. Also much used in Kabul.
Bādāmā	...	...	...	IV	.	107	Name of a sub-caste speaking Kōdā (19).
Badhānī	809	14,108	...	IX	iv	289, 324	A sub-dialect of the Garhwālī dialect (804) of Central Pahārī (734). Spoken in Garhwal.
Bad-kat	...	...	.	III	i	86	A corruption of 'Bod skad' or 'the language of Tibet.' This name is sometimes used instead of 'Nyankat,' for the Bhōṭiā of Upper Kanawar (64).
Bāgarī	...	...	...	..	..	.	The same as Wāgrī (706), *q.v.*
Bāghali or Baghlānī	...	...	...	IX	iv	585	A form of Haṇḍūrī (823) spoken in the Panjab States of Baghal and its vicinity.
Baghēlī	829	22,195	.	IX	iv	374, 495, 521 (L.).	A dialect of Western Pahārī (814) spoken in Baghat (Simla Hills) and neighbourhood.
Baghēlī (1), Baghēlkhandī, or Rīwāī.	559	4,612,756	...	VI	..	1, 18, 122	A dialect of Eastern Hindi (557), the only language of the Mediate Branch of the Indo Aryan languages. It is spoken in Baghelkhand and in the south-east of the U. P.
Baghēlī (2)	560	3,593,126	...	VI	...	18, 122, 260 (L.)	The standard sub-dialect of the Baghēlī dialect (559) of Eastern Hindi (557). Spoken in Baghelkhand.
Baghēlī (3)	623	35,000	...	IX	i	550	A sub-dialect of the Bundēlī dialect (610) of Western Hindi. It is a mixed form of speech found in Chhindwara (C. P.).
Baghēlkhandī	.	..	...	VI		18	Another name for Baghēlī (559).
Bāghī	...	.	...	IX	iv	Addenda to p. 613.	A dialect of Kōchī (833).
Baghlānī	..	..		..	...	..	Another name for Bāghali, *q.v.*
Bāgla	.	.	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bengali (529).
Bāglānī			..	IX	iii	143	Another name for Nāhārī (695).
Bagrāwal	...	...		VI	.	158	A form of the Jūrar sub-dialect (565) of Baghēlī (559). Spoken in Banda (U. P.).
Bāgrī	739	327,359	.	IX	ii	16, 130, 147	A sub-dialect of the Mārwārī dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712). Spoken in Bikaner (Rajputana) and S.-E. Panjab.
Bāgrī of Faridkot	644	56,060	...	IX	i	734, 740	A form of the standard (612) dialect of Panjābī. Spoken in South Firozpur (Panjab) and neighbourhood.
Bāgrī or Wāgdī	..	.	.	..	..	..	A name given in Gwalior to the Gipsy language of Bāgrīs, Mēghās or Beoris, and Bēdiās. It is distinct from the Wāgrī (706), though the name of the dialect is probably taken from it.
Bahal	..	...	...	IX	iv	715	A form of Sukētī (840).
Bahawalpur mixed sub-dialect.	369	145,790		X	..	328, 414	A form of the Eastern Dialect (365) of Balōchī (331). Spoken in the Bahawalpur State (Panjab). The Survey figures include also the speakers of Balōchī in Las Bela and Sind.
Bahāwalpurī	..	..	...	VIII	i	329	Another name for the Multānī dialect (423) of Lahndā (415) spoken in the Bahawalpur State (Panjab).
Bāhō	544	47,495	...	V	i	19, 163, 194	A sub-dialect of the Rājbangśī dialect (542) of Bengali (529). Spoken in the Darjiling Tarai (Bengal).
Bāhing	20	...	...	III	i	327	A dialect of Khambā (87), one of the Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman Languages. Spoken in the upper valleys of Nepal.
Bahnar	...	...	...	II	...	1	A Mōn-Khmēr language spoken in Further India, on the left bank of the Mekong.
Bahrungala	..	...	...	VIII	i	Addenda to p. 506.	The name of a village south of the Pir Panjāl Pass, in which is spoken a dialect of Chibhālī (440).
Bahrūpiā	775	2,872	...	IX	iii	252, 310	A dialect of Banjārī (771). Spoken in the Panjab.
Bahurī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Bombay Census Report for 1911 as a Gipsy language spoken by 54 people in Bijapur.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Baugāni	577	7,108	...	VI	...	26, 174, 231, 235	A form of the Chhattisgarhi dialect (572) of Eastern Hindi (557), spoken by Baigas in Bilaspur (C. P.) and the vicinity.
Baisiyā	...	...	...	XI	...	121, 124	A form of Nepāli (367).
Baiswāri	...	..	..	VI	..	9, 58, 260 (L.)	Another name for Awadhi (558). For a specimen of the Baiswāri of Rae Bareli, see Addenda Majora, pp. 242ff.
Bajanu sub-dialect	343	..	...	X	..	39	A form of the North-Eastern dialect (339) of Pashto (337).
Bakhāli	...	...	...	IX	iv	Addenda to p. 746.	A form of Mandēsāri Pahāri (539).
Balabandhu	...	...	...	...	...	...	A South Indian name for Marāthi (455), derived from the name of the written character.
Balah	...	..		...	...	..	A form of Taungthu (86), which, according to the Burma Linguistic Survey, is spoken by 124 people in the Southern Shan State of Mawkmai.
Balai	...	.	...	...	...	..	A form of Sindhi (446), which, according to the 1891 Bombay Census Report, is spoken in Poona.
Bālāli	91	...	.	III	i	342 (Vocabulary), 350.	A dialect of Khambū (57); which is a language of the Eastern Group of the Proto-nasalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burmese Branch of languages. Spoken in the Upper Valleys of Nepal.
Baldi	...	..	..	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Banjāri (771), q.v.
Balanchar	...	...	...	...	..	...	Ditto.
Baljar	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ditto.
Balōchi	361	704,586	465,408	X	.	3, 4, 9, 329 (Dialects). 336 (Grammar)	A language of the Afghanistan-Baluchistan sub-group of the Eastern Iranian Languages. The Survey figures include an estimate of the number of speakers in Persian territory, spoken in Baluchistan (British and Persian), and also in Sind and the Panjab.
Balpuri	...	...	...	...	...	..	A name mentioned in the 1891 Hyderabad Census Report as indicating a form of "Hindi."
Balti	..	...	...	...	..	...	See Bhōtiā of Baltistan.
Balōchi	...	...	...	X	...	327	Incorrect for Balōchi (361).
Baluchistan	..	...	...	...	..	...	See North Baluchistan.
Bama	..	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Burmese (705). This is the name by which Burmese colloquially refer to themselves. *Cf.* Mramma.
Bamu-Kayin	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Burmese name for Sgaw Karen (34), *q.v.*
Bamochi	...	...	...	...	...	..	Reported in the 1921 Baroda Census Report as perhaps a mistake for Barchi, *q.v.*
Banai	...	...	...	III	ii	96	Another name for the Dragayā dialect of Kōch (145). *q.v.*
Bāndi	...	...	...	V	i	214	Name of a tribe speaking Hajong Bengali (547). Probably the same name as the preceding.
Banāphari (1)	566	5,000		VI		19, 156	A sub-dialect of the Baghēli dialect (559) of Eastern Hindi (557). Spoken in Hamirpur (U. P.).
Banāphari (2)	616	335,400	...	IX	i	67, 479, 481, 572 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Bundēli dialect (610) of Western Hindi (581). Spoken in Bundelkhand, Bagnelkhand, and Hamirpur.
Banārsi	...	...	...	V	ii	254	A form of Western Bhojpuri (526) spoken in Benares.
Banandhi	...	...	...	V VI	ii ...	260 146	A form of Awadhi (558) spoken in West Jaunpur (U. P.).
Banēra	...	...	...	III	ii	332	Another name for Banpara (175).
Bangn-bhāshā	...	...	...	V	i	11	Another name for Bangali (522).
Bangalā or Bāngli			...	V	i	11	Ditto. See Addenda Majora, p. 221.
Bangāli	...	...	...	V	i	11	Ditto. Ditto.
Bāngarū (1)	582	2,165,784	...	IX	i ii	1, 2, 66, 263, 253, 571 (L.). 147	A dialect of Western Hindi (581). Spoken in the south-east of the Panjab.
Bāngarū (2)	589	975,535	...	IX	i	66	The standard dialect of the preceding.
Bangash sub-dialect	247	...	...	X	...	55	A form of the North-Eastern dialect (338) of Pashto (337). Spoken in Kohat (N.-W. Frontier Province).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Bāṅglā	...	...	...	V	i	11	Another name for Bengali (529). See Baṅgalā.
Bāṅgri	...	...	...	III	i	585	Another name for Dafla (125).
Bangāthī	...	...	...	IX	i	285	The local name for the Karanji (604) spoken in parts of Hardoi (U. P.).
Banjārā	...	...	...	XI	...	121	A form of Naṭṭi (867).
Banjārī or Labhānī	771	153,590	...	IX XI	iii ...	255 2, 5	A dialect of Rājasthāni (712). Spoken, under various names, all over India, by a wandering tribe. The difference between the Survey figures and the Census is due to differences of classification.
Banjārī not of Panjab or Gujarat.	778	131,855	...	IX	iii	250, 276 (C. P.), 281 (Berar), 272 (Bombay), 285 (U. P.), 317 (L.).	A form of Banjārī (771). Cf. Labhānī of Panjab and Gujarat.
Banjōgī	227	860	8	III	iii	3, 107, 144, 161 (L.).	A language of the Central Chin sub-group of the Kuki-Chin languages. Spoken in Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal).
Bānkōṭī	468	1,797	...	VII	.	61, 64, 128	A sub-dialect of the Konkan standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455). It is a variety of Saṅgamēśvarī (467) used by Musalmāns (Vol. VII, p. 128).
Bāṅlā	...	...	...	V	i	11	Another name for Bengali (529). See Baṅgalā.
Bannu sub-dialect	349	...	...	X	..	69	A form of the South-Western dialect (348) of Paṣhtō (337). Spoken by the educated in Bannu District.
Bannūchī sub-dialect	351			X			A form of the South-Western dialect (348) of Paṣhtō (337). Spoken by the uneducated of Bannu District. It is the true local dialect.
Bānovaddi	...	...	...	...	.	.	A form of Oriyā (532) mixed with Telugu (319) used by people of the Chachadi (Poreja) caste, in the Madras Presidency.
Banya	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Zayein (41), q.v.
Banparā	175	1,600	...	III	ii	193, 339, 332, 243 (L.).	An Eastern Nāgā Tibeto-Burman language spoken beyond the frontier of North-East Assam. The Survey figures also include speakers of Mutonia (176) and Mohongiā (177).
Banparī	...	.	...	VI	...	155	Another name for Banāphuri (556).
Bānswāḍī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Mālvī (750), q.v.
Banāra	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Gāri, q.v.
Banyang, Banyin, or Banyok.	...		...	...		...	A form of Zayein (41), q.v., spoken in the Southern Shan States of Loi Long.
Bāori	634	43,000	.	IX	iii	5, 174, 176, 236 (L.).	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken by a wandering tribe in the Panjab, Rajputana, and the U. P
				XI	...	2	
Bāṛā, Bodo, or Plains Kāchāri.	127	272,341	271,619	III	ii	2, 4, 5, 182, (L.), 195, (Comparative Vocabulary).	A language of the Bārā group of the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Spoken in West Assam.
Bāṛā or Bodo Group	.	618,659	715,696	III	i ii	2, 11 2	A group of the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese languages.
Bāṛā, Standard dialect	128	178,320	...	III	ii	5, 182 (L.)	The standard dialect of No. 127.
Barāri	825	7,894	...	IX	iv	456, 543, 599	A sub-dialect of the Kiūṭhali dialect (831) of Western Pahāṛī (814). Spoken in Jubbal State and neighbourhood in the Simla Hills.
Bārdēskarī	...	...	...	VII	..	163, 186	A name given to the Kōṅkaṇī dialect (464) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Belgaum.
Bārdi Bōli	424	276,000	...	VIII	i	239, 297, 299	A sub-dialect of the standard dialect (416) of Lahndā (415). Spoken in Gujrat (Panjab).
Barēl	682	1,000	...	IX	iii	5, 69	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Chhota Udaipur State.
Bargastā or Bargistā	...	...	...	X	...	122	Another name for Ormuṛī (360).
Barme	...	...	129	...	...	...	A dialect of Baghēlī (658) reported in the 1921 Central India Census Report as spoken in Ajaigarh and Rewa.
Barōchkī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Balōchī (361).
Barūpī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bahrūpiā (775)

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Bashahri	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for the Kōchī (323) q. v. of Bashahr.
Bashgali	379	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 10 (L.), 29, 32, 113 (L.), 133 (Compared with Khowār).	A language of the Kāfir group of the Dardic languages. It is spoken beyond the N.-W. frontier in Kafiristan. See Kati.
Bashgharik	...	...	...	VIII	ii	507	Another name for Gārwī (403).
Bastari	...	...	...	VII	...	281	Another name for Halbī (490).
Batar	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be the same as Bar, q.v., but I can find no authority for the name.
Baungkalong	...	...	...	...	...	...	A sub-dialect of Pwo Karen (35), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Thaton District.
Baungshō	...	...	...	III	iii	55, 115	A Burmese name for Haka (220). Also used by the Burmese for all Chins who tie the hair in a knot on the front part of the head. It is a nickname of the people, and, really, has no reference to language.
Bavchi	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of a Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Bowa, Kantha. According to the 1921 Baroda Census Report closely related to Māwchī (494).
Bawariās, language of	...	...	...	IX	iii	176	*Lg.* Bāorī (681).
Baytakanumara	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Telugu (319).
Bāzārī	794	2,000	...	IX	iv	218	A sub-dialect of the Kumaunī dialect (785) of Central Pahāri (764). Spoken in Naini Tal (U. P.). Also commonly used to indicate any bāzār jargon.
Behojiyā	...	...	...	III	i	613	A form of Chulikātā Mishmi (126). See Mishmi.
Bedari	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Vadjarī (325).
Bēgamātī Urdū	...	...	...	IX	i	128	The form of Urdū (585) used by respectable Musalmān ladies of Lucknow City.
Beth	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Mengaree (379a), q. v.
Bēldārī	855	5,140	...	XI	...	2, 5, 22.	A Gipsy language (854), spoken by a wandering tribe in Rajputana (Jaisalmer), Berar, and Bombay (Thana, Satara, Kolhapur, etc.).
Bellara or Berlara	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Tuju (302) used in South Canara (Madras). Affiliation doubtful.
Bengali (1)	...	...	...	V	ii	146, 162	A name given in Hazaribagh (Bihar and Orissa) to Eastern Magahī (518).
Bengali (2)	529	41,933,384	49,294,029	V	i	2, 11	A language of the Eastern group of the Outer sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. Spoken in Bengal. For additional information, see *Addenda Majora*, pp. 221 ff.
Bengali, Central or Standard.	530	3,443,296	...	V	i	19, 37, 352 (L.)	The standard form of Bengali (529), spoken in Central Bengal.
Bengali, Eastern	545	16,010,651		V	i	19, 201, 354 & 355 (L.).	Spoken in Eastern Bengal and South-West Assam.
Bengali, Eastern Standard.	546	15,999,430	...	V	i	203, 354 (L.)	The standard form of the preceding, spoken in the country round Dacca.
Bengali, Northern	536	6,108,558	...	V	i	19, 119	Spoken in North Bengal.
Bengali, Northern Standard.	539	5,428,236	...	V	i	120, 353 (L.)	Spoken in most parts of Northern Bengal, except East Purnia.
Bengali, South-Eastern	549	2,310,784	...	V	i	19, 291, 291	Spoken in South-East Bengal.
Bengali, South Eastern Standard.	550	2,290,784	...	V	i	291, 356 (L.)	Spoken in South-East Bengal, except in parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Bengali South-Western	537	346,502	...	V	i	19, 103	Spoken in South-Western Bengal.
Bengali, Western	531	3,967,641	...	V	i	19, 69, 363 (L.)	Spoken in West Bengal.
Bengali, Western Standard.	532	3,868,346	...	V	i	70, 352 (L.)	Spoken in West Bengal.
Bēnjārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Banjārī (771).
Bēnōd	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Kanarese (298), used in Sholapur (Bombay).
Bēnōdī	324	1,250	...	IV	...	577, 605	A dialect of Telugu (319) spoken in Belgaum (Bombay).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume	Part	Page	Remarks.
Berar dialect	476	7,677,432	...	VII	..	1, 45, 61, 217	The dialect of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Berar. The Survey figures also include the speakers of the cognate dialects spoken in the C. P. and the Nizam's Dominions.
Berārī	..	...	...	VII	...	217	Another name for the Varhāḍī sub-dialect (477) of the Berar dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455). In the C. P this name is also a synonym for Baṅjārī (771).
Berga Oṛāō	...	...	...	IV	.	407, 436	A form of Kurukh (305) spoken in Gangpur State.
Beriyā	...	...	...	XI	.	121, 132	A form of Naṭī (867).
Berlay or Berlera	...	..	...	...	..	.	Other forms of the name Beḍāra, *q.v.*
Bēṭō	231	630	...	III	iii	3, 181, 191	A dialect of Hrāngkhol (229), an Old Kuki language. It is spoken in North Cachar (Assam), and is sometimes called Beteli.
Beteli	...	...	...	...	.		See the preceding.
Betra	.	...	...	...	...	..	A corruption of the name Bhatrī (505), *q.v.*
Bettakuruba	.		.	..			Another name for Kuruma (299) used in Coorg.
Bevul, Mālvī of	..		...	IX	ii	238, 291	Another name for Dhōlēwārī (766).
Bglat Karen		..	..	...	..	...	See Bwē.
Bhāṅwarī of Bazapur	795	200	..	IX	iv	108, 110	A sub-dialect of the Kumaunī dialect (783) of Central Pahāṛī (784). It is spoken in the Rampur State (U. P.).
Bhadauri or Tōwargarhi	619	1,313,000	.	IX	i	87, 479, 531, 573 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Bundēlī dialect (510) of Western Hindī (531). It is spoken in Agra, Etawah, and Jalaun (U. P.), and in Gwalior State.
Bhadrawāh Group	846	25,517	...	IX	iv	374, 861	A group of dialects of Western Pahāṛī spoken in Bhadrawah (Kashmir and Jammu). The group includes Bhadrawāhī (847), Bhaḍṛatī (848), and Pāḍarī (849).
Bhadrawāhī	847	20,977	.	IX	iv	861, 888 (Grammar), 916 (L.).	See the preceding. The Survey figures include also the speakers of Bhaṭṭeṛī (848).
Bhahāṭī	.	..		.	..	..	A form of Chambēlī (842) mentioned in a note on p. 268 of the Panjab Census Report for 1891. Not since identified.
Bhaṛēsī	848	20,977	.	IX	iv	861, 888 (Grammar).	One of the dialects of the Bhadrawāh Group (846). See above. The Survey figures include also the speakers of Bhadrawāhī (847).
Bhanrī	..		...	.	..	...	A name sometimes given to Mālvī (769), *q. v.*
Bhāmṭī	856	14	.	XI	...	2, 17	A Gipsy language spoken by vagrant Bhāmṭās in the C. P.
Bhand	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the Hyderabad Census Report for 1891.
Bhāṇḍārī	464	8,838	..	VII	...	61, 68, 106	A sub-dialect of the Konkan Standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455). It is spoken by Bhaṇḍārīs, or palm-juice drawers, of Kolaba (Bombay).
Bhangālī	...	...	...	..	.	.	The language of the Bhangālīs a well-known trading caste in Cutch. Probably the same as ordinary Kachchhī (461).
Bharatpurī	...	...	...	...	..	..	A name given to the Braj Bhāṣhā (592) spoken in Bharatpur.
Bhariā	330	330	.	IV	..	637, 640	A semi-Dravidian hybrid form of speech, spoken by Bhariā Gōṇḍs in Narsinghpur and Chhindwara (C. P.).
Bharmaurī	..	..	..	IX	iv	769, 792	Another name for Gāḍī (843), *q.v.*
Bharuchī	...		...	...	...	...	The form of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Broach (Bombay).
Bharundī	..	...	..	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Nimāḍī (770), *q. v.*
Bhaṭṭēṛī	851	14,000	..	IX	i	637*.	A sub-dialect of the Dōgrā dialect (847) of Paṇjābī (852), spoken in Chamba State (Panjab)
Bhāṭṭēṛī	..	...	...	IX	ii	388	Another name for Ansārī (858).
Bhāṭiā	454	6,000	...	VIII	i	11, 184, 212	A sub-dialect of the Kachchhī dialect (451) of Sindhī (445), spoken by Bhāṭiās of Cutch and Kathiawar (Bombay).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Bhatkal	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as the Nawāīt sub-dialect, which is the same as the Dādi sub-dialect (497) of the Kōnkaṇī dialect (494) of Marāṭhī (455). Nawāīts are called Bhatkallis in the Madras Presidency. This is the name used in Coorg.
Bhatnērī	...	...	...	IX	i	734, 742, 794	An old name for Bhaṭṭiānī (642).
Bhatrī	505	17,387	...	V VII	ii ...	370, 434, 441 (L.) 340	A dialect of Oriyā (502). It is a corrupt form of speech spoken in Bastar.
Bhatri	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be the name of a Gipsy language spoken in Sialkot (Panjab). Not identified.
Bhaṭṭiānī	642	116,000	...	IX	i	607, 610, 734	A sub-dialect of the standard dialect (638) of Panjābī (632), spoken in Bikaner (Rajputana) and Ferozepore (Panjab).
Bhaṭṭū or Bhāṭū	...	...	...	XI	...	49	Another name for the Sāsī tribe (671). It is the name used by the tribe itself.
Bhatū	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name by which the Kōhālīs (862) call th selves.
Bhāvnagarī	...	...	...	IX	ii	425	Another name for Gōhilwāḍī (670).
Bhilālī	...	...	...	IX	iii	51	Another name for the Bhīlī (677) of Ali Rajpur and Anjhera (Gwalior), both in Central India.
Bhilārī	...		...	...	...	...	Another name for Bhīlī (677).
Bhīlī	677	2,691,701	1,855,317	IX	i iii	xiii 1, 12 (Grammar), 236 (L.).	A language of the Central Group of the Inner Indo-Aryan Branch. It is spoken in Gujarat, Rajputana, Central India, Khandesh, and Berar. The difference between the Survey and the Census figures is due to variations in classification. The Survey figures are probably the more accurate.
Bhīlī or Bhīlōḍī	678	1,163,872	...	IX	iii	5, 12 (Grammar), 14, 236 (L.).	The principal dialect of Bhīlī (677). It is spoken in Gujarat, Rajputana, Central India, Khandesh, and Berar
Bhīlī of Ali Rajpur	677	...	...	IX	iii	51	Also called Bhilālī. Spoken in Ali Rajpur State, Central India.
" of Barwani	677	...	...	IX	iii	51	Also called Rāṭhwī Bhīlālī. Spoken in Barwani State, Central India.
" of Basim	311		...	IV IX	... iii	561, 566 174	A dialect of the Dravidian Kolāmī (301), spoken in Berar.
" of Berar	677	...	...	IX	iii	174	A form of Bhīlī (677). To be distinguished from Bhīlī of Basim (311), which is a Dravidian form of speech.
" of Chhota Udepur	677	...	...	IX	iii	84	Spoken in Chhota Udepur State (Bombay).
" of Dhar	677	...	...	IX	iii	42	Spoken in Dhar State, Central India.
" of Edar	677	...	...	IX	iii	14, 236 (L.)	Spoken in Edar State (Bombay).
" of Jhabua	677	...	...	IX	iii	49	Spoken in Jhabua State, Central India.
" of Khandesh	677	...	...	IX	iii	151	Spoken in Khandesh (Bombay).
" of Mahikantha	677	...	...	IX	iii	5, 11	Spoken in Mahikantha (Bombay).
" of Mewar	677	...	...	IX	iii	21	Spoken in Mewar State, Rajputana.
" of Nasik	677	...	...	IX	iii	145	Spoken in Nasik (Bombay)
" of Nimar	677	...	...	IX	iii	174	Spoken in Nimar (C. P.).
" of Panch Mahals	677	...	...	IX	iii	47	Spoken in Panch Mahals (Bombay).
" of Rajpipla	677	...	...	IX	iii	84	Spoken in Rajpipla State (Bombay).
" of Ratlam	677	...	...	IX	iii	45	Spoken in Ratlam State, Central India.
Bhīlnī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bhīlī (677).
Bhīlōḍī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for the Bhīlī dialect (678) of Bhīlī (677).
Bhīmḍī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1911 Bombay Census Report as a Gipsy language spoken by 4 people in Rewakantha.
Bhiramari	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Pashto (537). Not identified.
Bhogsā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Bhuksā, q.v.
Bhōi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Gōṇḍī (318) reported from Saugor (C. P.) but now probably extinct.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Bhoi Mikir	191	10,080	...	III	ii	380, 408, 422 (L.)	A dialect of Mikir (189). It is a mongrel mixture of that language with the languages of neighbouring tribes. Spoken in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Assam). 'Bhoi' is the Khasi term for any subject, non-Khasi, tribe.
Bhojpuri	519	20,412,603	...	V	ii	5, 40, 186	The most westerly dialect of Bihari (506). Spoken in Bihar and Orissa (Ranchi, Palamau, Shahabad, Saran, and Champaran) and, in the United Provinces, in East Mirzapur and, north of the Ganges, as far west as the western border of the District of Benares and a line running thence northwards through Tanda in Fyzabad.
" Northern Standard	521	6,165,151	...	V	ii	42, 224, 328 (L.)	Spoken in Saran (Bihar and Orissa) and in Gorakhpur and Basti (U. P.).
" Southern Standard	520	4,824,292	...	V	ii	42, 166, 327 (L.)	Spoken in Shahabad, Saran, and Palamau (Bihar and Orissa), and in Ballia and Ghazipur (U. P.).
" Western	523	3,939,500	...	V	ii	42, 43, 248, 328 (L.)	Spoken in Azamgarh, Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Benares, Ghazipur, and Mirzapur (U. P.).
Bhonda	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Madras Census Report as the language of a sub-division of the Porojis. Probably a broken form of Oriyā (502). *Cf* Parji.
Bhooky	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Bhōṭiā (57).
Bhōpāli	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Mālvī (760), *q.v.*
Bhotanta	...	...	...	III	i	14	An old name for Bhōṭiā of Tibet (58).
Bhōṭiā	57	205,503	281,835	III	i	14	The general name of the group of dialects of which Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan (58) is the most important. See the following entries.
" of Baltistan, or Balti.	59	130,673	148,366	III	i	32, 140 (L.)	Spoken in Baltistan (Kashmir). The figures also include those for Bhōṭiā of Purik (60).
" of Bhotan, or Lhoke.	69	5,079	10,526	III	i	129, 143 (L.)	Spoken in Darjiling, Sikkim, and Bhutan (Bengal).
" of Garhwal	66	4,300	...	III	i	109	Spoken in Garhwal (U. P.).
" of Khams	71	?	...	III	i	136	Spoken in Eastern Tibet, which was not subject to the operations of the Survey.
" of Ladakh, or Ladakhi.	61	29,806	33,302	III	i	51, 140 (L.)	Spoken in Ladakh.
" of Lahul, or Lāhuli.	62	1,579	...	III	i	69	Spoken in Lahul.
" of Nepal	...	...	...	III	i	118	Another name for Sharpa Bhōṭiā (67).
" of Purik	60	130,678	148,366	III	i	42, 140 (L.)	Spoken in Purik (Kashmir). The figures also include those for Bhōṭiā of Baltistan (59).
" of Sikkim or Dā-jong-kā.	68	20,000	10,046	III	i	119, 143 (L.)	Spoken in Sikkim and Darjiling (Bengal).
" of Spiti	65	3,543	...	III	i	83, 142 (L.)	Spoken in Spiti.
" of Tehri Garhwal, or Jad	65	106	...	III	i	91	Spoken in Tehri Garhwal State (U. P.).
" of Tibet, or Tibetan.	58	7,266	8,995	III	i iii	14, 72, 141 (L.) 3	Spoken in Tibet. In Vol. III, Part ii, p. 72, the colloquial form of the language is called the Central dialect of Tibet. In Part iii, p. 3, the language is compared with Burmese and Lushei. Tibetan belongs to the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman Sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages. According to the Linguistic Survey of Burma, speakers of Tibetan are also found in the Putao District.
" of Upper Kanawar, or Nyamkat.	64	1,544	...	III	i	86	Spoken in Upper Kanawar (Panjab).
Bhōṭiā Lowa	...	...	...	III	i	73	A name sometimes given to Bhōṭiā of Tibet, or Tibetan (58).
Bhōyari	767	11,600	...	IX	ii	53, 288, 293	A sub-dialect of the Mālvī dialect (760) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Chhindwara (C. P.).
Bhrāma	109	...	...	III	i	173, 180, 399, 405	A language of the Eastern sub-group of the Pro-nominalised Himalayan Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Spoken in West Nepal.
Bhuanī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Nimādi (774), *q. v.*
Bhukusā	...	...	...	IX	i	76, 319	A mongrel form of Braj Bhākhā (682) spoken in Naini Tal District (U. P.).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Bhulia	580	19,550	.	VI	...	24, 251, 245, 261 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Chhattisgarhi dialect (572) of Eastern Hindi (557). Spoken in Sonpur and Patna States. It is usually written in the Oriyā character, and is hence often, but wrongly, classed as a dialect of that language.
Bhumiāl	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Binjhwārī (578).
Bhumij	17	79,076	137,309	IV	...	21, 28, 94	A dialect of Kherwārī (14). Spoken in Singhbhum, Mordhanj, and the vicinity (Bihar and Orissa).
Bhunjiā	491	2,000	...	VII	...	2, 219, 330, 372	A sub-dialect of the Marāṭhī (455) of the C. P (476) spoken in Raipur (C. P.).
Bhutanese or Bhutānī	..	...	...	...	..	...	A name sometimes used for Bhōṭiā of Bhutan or Khoke (69).
Bhutnaer	...	...	...	IX	i	734	An old name for Bhaṭṭiānī (642).
Bhuyan	...	...	...	IV	..	86	A language reported from Sambalpur (Bihar and Orissa). It is probably a form of Munḍārī (16).
Bhuyoaki	...	...	..	..	..	..	A name sometimes given to Māiwī (760), q. v.
Bighota-ki Boli	...	...	...	IX	ii	44	Another name for Mewāti (754).
Big Shan	...	.	..	.		...	See Tai Lōng.
Bihari	506	37,180,782	7,331 (34,342,430)	V	i ii	2 1	A language of the Eastern Group of the Outer Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. Spoken in Bihar, Chota Nagpur, and east of Mirzapur, and north of the Ganges as far as the western border of Benares District, and thence up to a line running north through Tanda in Fyzabad) the U. P. Within this area, however, high-class Musalmans speak Urdū (525) and middle-class Musalmans speak Awadhī (558). The principal dialects of Bihārī are Maithilī (507), Magahī (518), and Bhojpurī (519). Regarding the Census figures, see No. 505.
Bihari Hindi	...	...	...	VI	..	118	A name applied to the form of Awadhī (558) spoken by Musalmans in Saran (Bihar and Orissa).
Bijāpuri	..	...	...	IV		281	A name used for the local form of Kanarese (296) spoken in Bijapur.
Bikāneri	737	543,770	...	IX	ii	4, 17, 120	A form of the Northern sub-dialect (736) of the Marwārī dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Bikaner.
Bilaspuri	...	...	...	IX	i	671, 677	Another name for Kahlūrī (637).
Bilichi	..	...	..	..	..	...	A dialect of Mogh̄ā or Meywā, q. v., spoken on the borders of Tavoyoo and Kareenee Districts (Burma)
Biloch	...	...	...	X	...	327	Incorrect for Balōchī (361).
Biloz	..	..	...	...	...	...	The Tamil form of the word 'Balōchī' (361).
Biltum of Yasin	...	...	...	VIII	ii	531, 559	Another name for the Wargalikwar dialect (552) of Burushaski (550). This is the name given by Leitner. It is spoken in Yasin.
Biluchi	...	...	..	X	...	327	Incorrect for Balōchī (361).
Binghlee	...	...	...	...	..	.	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Singhalese (499). ? a misprint for 'Singhlee,' i.e. Singhali.
Binjhia	..	..	..	IV	..	135	Another name for Baijiā (24).
Binjhwari or Binjhwāli	578	9,662	..	VI	...	25, 234, 241	A sub-dialect of the Chhattisgarhi dialect (572) of Eastern Hindi (557). It is a jargon spoken by Binjhwārs, Bhumiās and Bhunjiās, in the east of the C. P. The name is derived from 'Vindhya.'
Birahōi	...	...	...	IV	...	619	Another spelling of Brāhūi (328).
Birasti Tūr	...	...	...	...	.	..	The Oriyā (502) spoken by Birasta in the Morbhanj State.
Birhār (1)	...	...	...	IV	...	102	A name given to Khariā (37) in the Jashpur State.
Birhār (2)	13	1,234	258	IV	...	21, 28, 102, 241 (L.).	A dialect of Kherwārī (14), one of the Munḍā languages. It is spoken in Chota Nagpur. The name means 'Jungle-man.'
Birhut	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Oriyā (502) spoken by Birhuts in the Orissa Tributary States.
Birjiāsi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Brijbiāsi, q.v.
Birjiā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Brijiā (24).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1891.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Birōlī	...	...	...	IV	...	619	Another name for Bṛāhūī (328).
Birāhī	...	...	...	IV	...	619	Ditto.
Bishanpuriyā	...	...	...	V	i	419	Another name for Mayāng (555).
Bisēsu	619	17,429	...	IX	iv	456, 493, 531 (L.)	A sub-dialect of the Sirmaurī dialect (316) of Western Pahāṛī (314), spoken in Jubbal State, Simla Hills (Panjab).
Black Miao	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Hē Miao, q.v.
Black Rīang, Black Yīn	...	...	...	...	...	...	Other names for the Shan-Yang-Laen dialect of Yīn or Rīang, q.v.
Blaimaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Pwo Karen (35), q.v.
Bodo	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bārā (127).
Bodo Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Bārā or Bodo Group.
Bōhārī	...	...	...	IX	ii	436	Another name for Vhōrāuī (672).
Bokī	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be a form of Shandu spoken by 400 people in North Arakan. Shandu is said to be probably a variety of Yindu (253). Shandu is another name for Chin (Vol. III, Part iii, pp. 55, 126). Yindu belongs to the Southern Chin Group.
Bombay Dialect	...	...	...	VII		62, 93	Another name for the Parbhī sub-dialect (466) of Konkan Standard Marāṭhī (457).
Bombay Dialect	855		...	IX	ii	380	A dialect of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Bombay City.
Bōnaī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 C. P. Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455). Not since identified.
Bondili	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras term for the Hindōstānī (582) spoken by the Bondili caste. To be distinguished from Bondōlī (619).
Bontāwa	...	...	...	III	i	274	A dialect of Khambā (37). A 'Kirāntī' dialect spoken in the upper valleys of Nepal.
Bor	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Bārā (127). Probably merely a corruption of the word. Also called Baiar, a name not elsewhere identified.
Borduariā	...	...	...	III	ii	92, 334	Another name for Mohongiā (177).
Bori	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarātī. Probably a corruption of Bōhārī, *i.e.*, Vhōrāuī (672).
Bor-Mutbun	...	...	...	III	ii	333	A form of Mutonīā (176).
Brao	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Brū.
Bragitsā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Bargitsā (360).
Brāhmanī	...	...	...	VII	...	222	A name given in Akola (Berar) to the form of the Varhāḍī dialect (477) of Marāṭhī (455) used by the educated.
Brāhūī	328	165,500	184,368	IV	...	286, 619, 649 (L.)	The North-Western Dravidian language. It is spoken in Kalat and Chagai (Baluchistan).
Braj Bhākhā (or Bhāshā) or Antarbēdī	592	7,364,274	...	IX	i	1, 2, 69, 571 (L.)	A dialect of Western Hindī (581) spoken in Aligarh, Mattra, Agra, Farukhabad, and vicinity (U. P.), and in Gurgaon (Panjab).
" " Standard	593, 594	4,203,469	...	IX	i	69, 70, 80 (Grammar), 271, 571 (L.).	The standard form of the preceding. Spoken in the country round Agra and Mattra.
Braj Bhākhā, North-Western	597	1,967,021	...	IX	i	69, 70, 312	Spoken in Bulandshahr, Badaun, and the Naini Tal Tarai.
" Southern	598, 599	652,009	...	IX	i	69, 70, 332	Spoken in Gurgaon and Bharatpur.
Brē	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Brū.
Brek	41a	...	616	...	...	...	A dialect of Karen (31) spoken in Karenni. The language was not dealt with in this Survey. Also called Prē.
Brij	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Braj Bhākhā (592).
Brijbisī	...	...	...	XI	...	121, 141	A form of Naṭī (667).
Brijiā or Kōrāntī	24	3,000	325	IV	...	135	A dialect of Khervārī (14). Spoken in Palamau (Bihar and Orissa).
Brijkī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Braj Bhākhā (592).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1901.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Brinjari	...	...	...	IX	iii	255	Another name for Banjari (771)
Brinci	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1881 Bombay Census Report as a form of Balochi (861). Not since identified. Perhaps a corruption of 'Brāhūī' (328), which language is in Baluchistan.
Broach (Eastern) dialect	659	...	...	IX	i	369	A dialect of Gujarāti (652), spoken in Eastern Broach
Brōhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Brāhūī (328)
Brōhkī	...	...	...	IV	...	319	Ditto.
Broken dialects (Chhattisgarhi).	575	34,922	...	VI	...	222ff.	A number of corrupt forms of the Chhattisgarhi dialect (572) of Eastern Hindi (557). They are spoken in the east of the C. P. by aboriginal tribes. The group includes Sadri Korwa (576), Baigani (577), Binjhwari (578), Kalanga (579), and Bunia (580).
Broken dialects of Thana and the Konkan.	...	...	...	VII		130	These are broken forms of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Thana and the Konkan by aboriginal tribes. They include Kāthkari (471), Vārli (472), Vāḍval (473), Phudgi (474), and Sāuvēdi (475).
Broken dialects of the South (Baghēli).	567	95,830	...	VI	...	174	Corrupt forms of the Baghēli dialect (559) of Eastern Hindi (557). They include Marāri (568), Pāwari (569), and Kumbhāri (570), which are spoken by tribes in Baghelkhand and Bhandara (C. P.), and also Ojhi (571) spoken in Chhindwara by a Dravidian tribe.
Broken dialects of the South (Bundēli).	...		...	...	...	...	See Bundēli, Broken dialects of the South.
Broken dialects of the West (Baghēli)	501	824,800	...	VI	...	132	Mixtures of the Baghēli dialect (559) of Eastern Hindi (557), and the Bundēli (610) dialect of Western-Hindi (531). They are spoken in Fatehpur, Banda, and Hamirpur Districts (U. P.). They include Tirhāri (562), the so-called 'Bundēli' (563), Gahōrā (564), Jūrai (565), and the so-called 'Banāphari' (566).
Broken dialects of the East (Marāṭhī).	489	111,196	...	VII	...	530	Mixtures of Marāṭhī (455), Oriyā (503), and the Chhattisgarhi dialect (572) of Eastern Hindi (557), spoken in the country west of Orissa. They include Halbi (490), Bhunjiā (491), Nāhari (492), and Kamāri (493).
Brōkpā of Dah-Hanū	397	...	...	VIII	ii	3, 159, 208, 224 (L.)	A dialect of Shinā (201) spoken in two isolated villages in Baltistan, surrounded by speakers of a Tibeto-Burman language.
Budabondikē	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Mysore Census Report. Said to be a form of Marāṭhī (455) with a Dravidian element. Not since noted.
Budēli		...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1901 Bombay Census Report as a local form of 'Hindi.'
Budhi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Bhōṭiā of Ladakh, or Ladakhi (61).
Bugu	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Paku
Burmi	74	2,967	...	III	i	177, 428, 469, 533 (L.)	A Western Peconominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Burma. The Survey figures include those for Rangloi (75).
Bundēli or Bundēlkhandi	610	5,869,201	...	IX	i	1, 2, 66, 91 (Grammar), 414, 572 (L.)	A dialect of Western Hindi (581) spoken in the Central India Agency (Bundelkhand, Bhopal, and East Gwalior), and in the adjoining Districts of the U. P. and C. P
Bundēli, Broken dialects of the South	620	289,672	...	IX	i	547	Broken forms of Bundēli (610) spoken by various tribes of Berar and the C. P south of the River Narmada. They include Lōdhi (621), Chhindwara Bundēli (622), the Kōlhi dialects (629), the Kumbhāri dialects (630), and Nāgpuri Hindi (631).
Bundēli, Mixed dialects of the North-East.	615	356,600	...	IX	i	479	Forms of Bundēli mixed with Baghēli spoken in North-East Bundelkhand and the adjoining country. They include Banāphari (616), Kundri (617), and Nibhaṭṭā (618).
Bundēli, Standard	611	3,519,729	...	IX	i	91 (Grammar), 414.	Spoken in Bundelkhand and the neighbourhood.
'Bundēli'	624	98,500	...	IX	i	559	The name locally given to the broken Bundēli spoken in Chhindwara (C. P.).
'Bundēli'	563	236,200	...	VI	...	19, 142	The name given to a mixture of Baghēli (559) and Bundēli (610) spoken in Banda District (U. P.).
Bundelkhandi	...	...	...	IX	i	86, 414	Another name for Bundēli (610).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1911.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Baner Sub-dialect	340	...	...	X	...	28	A form of the North-Eastern dialect (338) of Pashtō (337).
Bardi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 C. P. Census Report as a form of Marāthī (455). Not since identified.
Bargapdī	292	285	...	IV XI	... ...	296, 342 1	A dialect of Tamil (385) spoken by a vagrant tribe in Nimar (C. P.), and Indore and Bhopal (Central India).
Burma Group	...	62,669	9,335,535	III	i iii	2 379	A group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Nearly all the languages of this group belong to Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey.
Burmese	245	...	8,493,256	III	iii	2 (compared with Tibetan and Lushāi), 379.	A language of the Burma Group of Tibeto-Burman languages. It is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken generally over nearly the whole of Burma by 7,820,542 people. Burma was not subject to the operations of the Linguistic Survey of India.
Burmese-Shan	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Shān-Burma, *q. v.*
Burushaskī or Khajuna	950, 851	...		VIII	ii	6, 551	An unclassed language spoken in Hunza Nagar and Yasin.
Butkul	...	...	...	...	...	...	An incorrect spelling of Bhatkal, *q.v.*
Bwe	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Lai (219) spoken in the Chin Hills. The number of speakers is not stated.
Bwè	32	...	10,827	...	...	...	A Karen dialect spoken in the Karenni and Loungoo Districts and Southern Shan States (Burma). Also called Brè, Bgwè, and Mauè.
Bwelkwa	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 5,500 people (including speakers of Ngorn and Topung) in the Chin Hills. Classed in the Census as Kuki-Chin.
Byāngsi	81	1,585	...	III	i	177, 428, 518, 535 (L.).	A Western Pronominalized Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Canarese	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Kanarese (296), *q.v.*
Carnatic	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ditto ditto.
Central Chin Sub-Group	...	107,604	141,668	III	iii	3, 8, 107	A sub-group of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
Central Group	...	81,665,821	137,249,403	IX	i	xiii	A group of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages.
Central Nāgā Sub-Group	...	38,000	43,654	III	ii	193, 265	A sub-group of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages.
Central Pahāṛī	784	1,107,604	3,353	IX	i iv	xiii 1, 101	A language of the Pahāṛī Group of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is spoken in Almora and Garhwal (U. P.).
Central Provinces Dialect	478	7,677,432	...	VII	...	1, 217	The dialect of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in the C. P. The Survey figures include those for the similar dialects of Berar and the Nizam's Dominions.
Central Tibetan	...	...	...	III	i	72	A general name given to the dialects of Tibetan spoken between Lahul and Khams. The Central Dialect of Tibetan is the colloquial form of standard Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan (58).
Chā	...	...	...	III	iii	3	Another spelling of Chaw. See Kyau (241).
Chachadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Oriyā (508) mixed with Telugu (312) spoken by members of the Chachadi caste (Madras Presidency).
Chairel	230	...	...	III	iii	42, 45 (L.)	A Lāi (276) language. A Tibeto-Burman language of which the exact grouping is at present doubtful. Spoken in Manipur (Assam-Burma Frontier). It differs considerably from the other Lāi languages.
Chākmā	551	20,000	...	V	i	19, 291, 321, 535 (L.).	A sub-dialect of South Eastern (549) Bengali (529). It is spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal).
Chakrimā	...	6,510	...	III	ii	205	One of the dialects of Angāmi Nāgā (154). It is spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam). It includes three sub-dialects,—Dzunā (156), Kohimā (157), and Nāli or Mimā (158).
Chakrumā	...	...	...	III	ii	205	A form of the Tengimā dialect (155) of Angāmi Nāgā (154), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Châlaya	...		...				The same as Malayâlam (293). A caste-name in Madras.
Chalgarî				X		112	Another name for Tarîng (359), *q.v.*
Chamarwâ	...	...	...	IX	I	67	A name given to the Bângarû (588) spoken by the rural Chamârs of Delhi.
Chambâ Group	841	109,286	...	IX	iv	374	A group of dialects of Western Pahârî (814) spoken in Chamba State (Panjab). It includes Chambâlî (842), Gaddî or Bhattiaorî (843), Churâhî (844), and Pangwâlî (845).
Chamba Lâhulî	73	1,367	...	III	i	177, 461, 538 (L.).	A Western Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Chamba State (Panjab).
Chambâlî	...	...	...			...	The same as Chambâlî (842).
Chambâlî	842	63,138	...	IX	iv	769, 772 (Grammar), 862 (L.).	A dialect of Western Pahârî (814). It is a member of the Chambâ Group (841), and is spoken in Chamba State (Panjab).
Châmling	...	...	...	III	i	358	Another name for the Rôdông dialect (99).
Châmpâ							A form of the Bhôtiâ of Ladakh (61), spoken in Ladakh by the nomad tribe called Champa.
Champhang (?)	...			...	...	...	Said to be a Kuki-Chin language spoken in Manipur (Assam-Burmese Frontier). I have failed to trace it.
Chamû	...	...	57	...		...	A Bhîl dialect reported in the 1921 Central India Census Report as spoken in Jhabua and Alirajpur.
Châmar		...		...		...	The same as Kamarsa (296). A Madras caste-name.
Chanâwan	...	...	...		...	...	Another name for Chinâwarî (421)
Chandârî		...	...	VII		331	A form of Halbî (490).
Chang	...	...	...	...		...	The same as Achang, the Chinese name for Maingthâ (260), *q.v.*
Châng or Mojung	179	...	...	III	ii	193, 329, 333, 344 (L.).	An Eastern Nâgâ language of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family. It is spoken beyond the Frontier of North-East Assam. A corrected List of Words will be found in Addenda Majora, pp. 211 ff.
Chângtô	...		...	...		...	A dialect of Bhôtiâ (57) spoken in the Eastern Himalaya.
Chângsen				III	iii	59	A form of Thâdo (207).
Charwal	683	1,200	...	IX XI	iii .	5, 61 2	A dialect of Bhîl (677) spoken by wandering Charwas in Panch Mahals and Thana (Bombay)
Charôtarî	651	...	...	IX	ii	384, 460 (L.)	A dialect of Gujarâtî (652) spoken round Mahikantha, Cambay, and Kutra (Bombay).
Chatgâiyâ	...	...	...	V	i	291	Another name for South-Eastern Bangâlî (549).
Chatrârî	...	...	...	...	...		Another spelling of the word Chitrâlî, *q.v.* Khowâr, (290)
Chau		...		...	...		Another spelling of Chaw, *q.v.*
Chaubhâsî	...		...		...		The same as Bau-Chaubhâsî (789), *q.v.*
Chaudângsî	80	1,485		III	i	117, 428, 503, 535 (L.).	A Western Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Chaudangs Patti of Almora (U. P.).
Chaugarkhiyâ	797	37,210	...	IX	iv	110, 227	A sub-dialect of the Kumaunî dialect (785) of the Central Pahârî language (784). It is spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Chauggyi Chin	2505	...	[redacted]	...	...		A Kuki-Chin language spoken in Akyab.
Chaungthâ	271	...	9,053	...	...		A language of the Burma Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages. It is spoken in Burma, which was not subject to the operations of the Linguistic Survey of India. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken by 64,581 people in Akyab and Northern Arakan. It is a variety of Arakanese (266).
Chauraya	103	...		III	i	342 (Vocabulary), 369.	A dialect of Khumbû (87), spoken in Nepal.
Chaurâsî-kî Bôlî	...		...	IV	...	488	A name used in Mandia (C. P.) for Gôndî (313).
Chaurâsî	745	182,183	...	IX	i	31,183	A sub-dialect of the Central Eastern dialect (740) of Râjasthânî (712). Spoken in Jaipur State.
Chaw	...	...	...	...	...		Another name for Kyan (241).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Chenchu or Chentsu	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Telugu (319). A fancy name. See Madras Census Report for 1891, p. 191.
Chēpāng	107	...	...	III	i	80, 393, 403	An Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the central hills of Nepal.
Chhachhī	346	...	...	X	...	51	A sub-dialect of the North-Eastern dialect (338) of Paṭhānī (337), spoken in Attock District (Panjab).
Chhakāṭiyā	792	28,800	...	IX	iv	218	A sub-dialect of the Kumaunī dialect (783) of the Central Pahāṛī language (784). It is spoken in Naini Tal (U. P.).
Chhattisgarhī, Larīā, or Khalṭāhī.	572	3,755,348	...	VI	...	1, 24	A dialect of Eastern Hindī (557) spoken in the east of the C. P. and the neighbourhood. For revised statements of the Chhattisgarhī of Raipur and of Bilaspur, see Addenda Majora, pp. 236 ff.
Chhattisgarhī, Larīā, or Khalṭāhī, Standard.	573	3,335,375	...	VI	...	26 (Grammar), 184, 261 (L.).	The standard form of the preceding. It is spoken in Chhattisgarh and the neighbourhood
Chhibhālī	...	...	...	VIII	i	505	Incorrect for Chibhālī.
Chhikā-chhikī	512	1,719,781	...	V	ii	13, 96, 326 (L.)	A sub-dialect of the Maithilī dialect (507) of Bihārī (506), spoken in South-East Monghyr and South Bhagalpur (Bihar and Orissa).
Chhindwara sub-dialects	622	145,500	...	IX	i	547, 550	A group of sub-dialects of the Bundēlī dialect (610) of Western Hindī (521), spoken in Chhindwara (C. P.). It includes 'Bagtēlī' (623), 'Bundēlī' (624), Powārī (625), Ghēlī (626), Raghōbansī (627), and Karārī (628).
Chhingtāng	96	...	...	III	i	342 (Vocabulary), 388.	A dialect of Khambā (57) spoken in the upper valleys of Nepal.
Chhōṭā Bengālī	838	150,000	...	IX	iv	715	A sub-dialect of the Maudī Group (836) of sub-dialects of Western Pahāṛī (814). It is spoken in the North of Mandi State (Panjab). The Survey figures include those for Maṇḍēālī (837).
Chibhālī	440	521,338	...	VIII	i	242, 432, 495, 505, 528 (L.).	A dialect of Lahndā (415), spoken in that part of the outer hill region of Kashmir which lies between the Chināb and the Jhelum rivers. The name is often wrongly spelt Chhibhālī, see Vol. VIII, Pt. i, p. 505.
Chibok	139	1,500	...	III	ii	88	A dialect of Gārō (134), spoken in the Garo Hills.
Chilasī	394	...	...	VIII	ii	9, 150, 224 (L.)	A dialect of Shinā (391), spoken in the Indus Valley from near Astor to Tangir and Sazin.
Chilis	410	...	...	VIII	ii	8, 407, 514, 531 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Torwālī dialect (409) of Kōhistānī (407), spoken in the Swat Kōhistān
Chin, Central	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Central Chin.
Chin Languages	...	...	...	III	iii	2, 55	
Chin, Northern	...	...	...	...		...	See Northern Chin.
Chin, Southern	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Southern Chin.
Chinawarī	421	73,479	...	VIII	i	239, 251, 290	A sub-dialect of the Standard dialect (416) of Lahndā (415). It is spoken in the Jhang District (Panjab) on the bank of the River Chināb. *Cf.* Chināwarī.
Chinbōk	252	...	...	III	iii	3, 329, 350 (L.)	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Burma, and is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 11,888 people in Pakōkku.
Chinbōn	254	...	633	III	iii	3, 329	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. In the Burma Linguistic Survey it is reported to be spoken by 6,934 people in Pakōkku.
Chinese-Shān	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Shān-Chinese.
Chingmēgnu or Tamin	174	5,000	...	III	ii	103, 329, 361, 342 (L.).	An Eastern Nāgā language of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Assam, in the North East Nāgā Hills and beyond the Dikka. The Survey figures also include the figures for the speakers of Angwānku (173).
Ching-pā	...	...	...	III	ii	499, 505	Another spelling of Chingpaw (204).
Chingpaw	204	...	150,886	...	...	.	A general name for the Kachin (203) spoken in Upper Burma. The Census figures include also the speakers of Singphō (205) and other Kachin dialects. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, the total number of speakers of all kinds of Kachin in Burma was 142,755.
Chināwarī	...	...	...	VIII	i	251, 329	A local name for a form of Multānī (427) spoken in Muzaffargarh (Panjab) on the banks of the River Chināb. *Cf.* Chinawarī.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Chinnà	250	...	...	III	iii	3	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in Pakókku. Also called Kawran, q.v.
Chiru	238	750	1,577	III	iii	3, 181, 236, 238 (L.).	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Manipur (Assam-Burmese Frontier). The Survey figures are only a rough estimate.
Chitkhuli	...	...	...	III	i	Addenda to p. 431	A dialect of Kanauri (77).
Chitóḍí	...	...	...	...	...	...	A mixture of Gujarāti (552) and Marāṭhī (455) reported in 1921 Bombay Census Report as spoken by Chitóḍ Banyás in Khāndésh. Probably a form of Khandéśí (707).
Chitpāvanī	408	69,000	...	VII	...	155, 210, 392 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Kónkaṇī dialect (494) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken by Chitpāwan Brāhmans of Ratnagiri (Bombay).
Chitrāli or Chatrārī	...	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 133	Another name for Khowār (390).
Chódhrí	634	121,258	...	IX	iii	6, 108, 112	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Surat and Navsari of Baroda (Bombay).
Chona	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Bhōṭiā of Tibet (58) spoken in Central Tibet.
Chongloi	...	...	...	III	iii	59	A form of Thado (207).
Chonsu	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Chonchu.
Chūriwālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Chūrāwalī, q.v.
Chote	245	...	264	III	iii	181, 262	Said to be an Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, but no certain information has been obtained regarding it. It is spoken in Manipur (Assam-Burmese Frontier).
Chūhrā	...	...	...	XI	...	3, 5	A Gipsy tribe. Its language is not described in the Survey, no particulars having been received.
Chubbātā	...	...	...	III	i	614, 623 (L.)	A form of Mishmi (126)
Chungli or Zungi	167	9,800	...	III	ii	265, 269, 281, 292 (L.).	A dialect of Ao Nāgā (166), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Churāhī	644	27,201	...	IX	iv	769, 817 (Grammar), 863 (L.).	One of the Chambā Group (644) of dialects of Western Pahāṛī (814), spoken in Chamba State (Panjab).
Chūrāwālī	...	...	...	IX	ii	18	A corrupt form of Bīkānērī (737) spoken in Farrukhabad (U. P.).
Chutiyā	152	304	4,113	III	ii	2, 4, 118, 137 (L.).	A language of the Bārā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur (Assam). The Survey estimate of the number of speakers is probably too small.
Chūtiyā	...	...	...	III	i	534	A form of Miri (124).
Chyong	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Khyang (256), q.v.
Collong	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Kónkaṇī (494). Compare Kollong, which in the same Report is stated to be a form of Malayālam (293).
Coorgi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kodagu (801).
Costa	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Kónkaṇī (494).
Cutch, Gujarāti of	...	...	...	IX	ii	434	
Cutchi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Kachchhī (451), q.v.
Da-Aing	...	...	...		...	...	A form of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Ruby Mines District.
Dalari	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 N.-W. P. Census Report as a form of Jaipuri (741). Not since identified.
Daḍhi, Daṛhi, or Dahi	...	...	...	IX	iv	19, 62 (L.)	A corrupt form of Khas-kurā, Eastern Pahāṛī, or Naipālī (751), spoken in the Nepal Tarai.
Da-Eng	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Ruby Mines District.
Dafla	135	390	959	III	i	563, 584, 622 (L.).	A language of the North Assam Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in North-East Assam, mainly outside settled British territory.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Dāh-Hanū	...	...	...	VIII	ii	3, 150, 208, 224 (L.).	See Brōkpā of Dāh-Hanū (397).
Dahī	...	...	...	IX	iv	19, 84 (L.)	See Dadhī.
Daingnet	[redacted]	...	4,915	...	...	...	A language of the Sak (Lāi) Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 4,463 people in Akyab. The name is there spelt Dagnet.
Dakhini	...	...	...	...		...	Literally, 'the language of the South.' Hence (1) applied to Dakhinī Hindūstānī (587); (2) applied to Oriyā (502) by the natives of Chota Nagpur; (3) under the form of Dakhnī or Dakhnauli applied to Jaipurī (726) by inhabitants of the South-Eastern Panjab; (4) applied to the Marāṭhī of the Deccan (456).
Dakhinī Hindūstānī or Musalmānī.	587	3,664,172	...	IX	i	1, 44, 45, 58, 59 (Grammar), 186 (of Bombay), 203 (of Madras), 570 (L.).	A sub-dialect of Hindūstānī (582) spoken in the Deccan.
Dakhinī Marāṭhī	...		...	VII	...	33	Another name for Standard, or Dēśī, Marāṭhī 455). It is called Dakhnī in the C. P. (Vol. VII, p. 248).
Dakhnī or Dakhnauli	...	...		...	...	...	See Dakhinī.
Dakin-si-rao	...		...	...	...	...	The Dinē-sā (131) name for Kuki generally. Used in North Cachar (Assam).
Dalāl		...	...	XI		2	A Gipsy tribe. Their language is not described in the Survey.
Dalāls of Delhi	...	...		XI		8	These have a special trade argot.
Dāldī	497	22,500		VII	...	165, 200	A sub-dialect of Kōnkaṇī (494). It is the dialect of the Nawāite of Janjira, Ratangiri, and Kanara (Bombay).
Daleng			...	...	...		A form of Mōn (3), q.v.
Dālu	140	500	...	III	ii	68	A dialect of Gārō (134) spoken in the Garo Hills (Assam).
				V	i	214	Also the name of a Gārō sept which speaks Haijong Bengali (547) in the country at the foot of the Garo Hills, in Mymensingh (Bengal) and Sylhet (Assam).
Damaqī	...	...	...	VII	...	61, 62, 93	Another name for the Parēṭhī sub-dialect (458) of Standard Marāṭhī (456), spoken round Daman (Bombay).
Dāmbūk	...	...	...	III	i	484	A form of Miri (124).
Dami	...	...		...		...	Reported in the 1891 Central Provinces Census Report as a form of Oriyā. Not since identified.
Dacaw	7		1,432				A language of the Pa-a-ong-Wa group of the Mōn-Khmēr Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages. Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 1,208 people in the Southern Shan States. It is not dealt with in the Linguistic Survey of India. It is closely related to Wa (5). The speakers call themselves Gaaw.
Dāṅgbhāng	308	80,368	...	IX	i	70, 329, 353, 365 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Braj Bhākhā dialect (592) of Western Hindī (581). It is spoken in Jaipur State.
Dāṅgārā	...	...	...	...	...		See Dāṅgī.
Dāṅgī (1)							Literally, the language of the Dāṅg,' or 'Broken Hill Country.' Hence applied (1) to a form (600) of Western Hindī (581), (2) to the language of the tribes inhabiting the Dāṅgs of Bombay (710), and (3) to the Mālvī spoken in the Dāṅgs of Gwalior and Kota. The last does not differ from ordinary Mālvī (760), is also called Dāṅgthāī, Dāṅgerā, or Dhāṅḍerī, and is spoken by 101,000 people (Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 258).
Dāṅgī (2) or Kākachhū-ki Boli.	600	504,438	...	IX	i	70, 71, 329, 332, 364 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Braj Bhākhā dialect (592) of Western Hindī (581). It is spoken in Jaipur State.
Dāṅgī (3)	710	31,700	...	IX	iii	206, 224	A dialect of Khāndēśī (707), spoken in the Dāṅgs of Bombay Presidency.
Dāṅgthāī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Dāṅgī (1).
Dā-njong-kā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bhōṭiā of Sikkim (88).
Dānguriyā	799	23,851	...	IX	iv	110, 234	A sub-dialect of the Kumaunī dialect (723) of Central Pahārī (734). Spoken in Almora (U. P.).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Dano	239	...	72,955	III	iii	381	A dialect of Burmese (265). It is spoken in Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey. In the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is reported to be spoken by 76,057 people in the Shan States and neighbouring Districts.
Dagsal	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 700 people in the Chin Hills.
Darāng	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Palaung (4), q.v. Spoken in the Kengtung Southern Shan State.
Dard Group	...	1,195,902	1,304,198	VIII	ii	1, 2, 3, 4, 138 (compared with Khōwār), 149.	A group of languages of the Dardic or Piśācha Branch of the Aryan Sub-Family of the Indo-European languages. Spoken in Kashmir and the country to the north and east.
Dardic or Piśācha Branch		1,195,902	1,304,319	VIII	ii	2	A branch of the Aryan Sub-family of the Indo-European languages. We have complete figures for only one language—Kāshmīrī—of this branch. Compared with Sindhī (Vol. VIII, Pt. i, p. 3), with Lahndā (*Ib.*, p. 234). Connected with Khōtānī (*Ib.*, p. 372). Spoken in Dardistan.
Daṛnī, Daḍhī, or Dukī	...	...	...	IX	iv	19, 82 (L.)	A corrupt form of Khas-kurā, Eastern Pahāṛī, or Naipālī (781), spoken in the Nepal Tarai.
Daringahaddi	...		...	...		...	Said to be a form of Kui (308). I have not identified it.
Daryī	...	...		...	...		Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Urdū (185) spoken in the Bombay Presidency. Apparently the language of tailors (*Darzī*), who are generally Musalmāns and therefore speak Urdū.
Darmiyā	79	1,761	7	III	i	177, 423, 490, 594 (L.).	A Western Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese Sub-Family. It is spoken in the Darma Patti of the Almora District (U. P.).
Daru	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be a form of Nung or Khanung (277*a*) spoken by 2,739 people in the Putao District.
Dāsarī	327	...		IV		577, 599	A dialect of Telugu (319), spoken in Belgaum (Bombay) by a wandering tribe of beggars, some of whom speak Telugu, and some Kumarese (296). The number of speakers is unknown. In the 1891 Bombay Census Report, Dāsarī is said to be a form of Kumarese.
Dasanlyā	808	17,022		IX	iv	230, 330	A sub-dialect of the Garhwālī dialect (804) of Central Pahāṛī (784). It is spoken in Garhwal (U. P.).
Dasgayā or Banai	145	1,100	...	III	ii	96	A dialect of Kōch (142), spoken in the Garo Hills (Assam).
Dawāusā	...						Another name for Angāmi (154).
Da-wē	...	...	...	...		...	Another name for Taveyan (270), q.v.
Daye	48		746				A Tai language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 704 people in the Southern Shan States.
Deccani							Incorrect spelling for Dakhiṇī, q.v.
Dēhāwalī	685	45,000	...	IX	iii	6, 158	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in the Satpuras of Khandesh (Bombay). *Cf.* Mēwās and Vasava.
Dēhgānī			...	VIII	ii	2, 89	Another name for Paghai (385).
Dēhwārī	332	7,579	6,168	X	...	452	A dialect of Persian (331) spoken in Baluchistan.
Deka Haizong	...	...		III	ii	265, 270	A name sometimes given to Ao (186).
Dēnwār or Dōnwār	...	...	...	IX	iv	19, 88 (*L.*)	A corrupt form of Khas-kurā, Eastern Pahāṛī, or Naipālī (781) spoken in the Nepal Tarai.
Dēorāwāṛī	720	86,000	...	IX	ii	17, 87, 105	A sub-dialect of the Mārwāṛī dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Marwar.
Deori or Deori Chutiyā	...	—	...	III	ii	113	Another name for Chutiyā (152), q.v.
Dera Ghazi Khan sub-dialect.	366	125,510	...	X	...	387	A form of the Eastern dialect (365) of Balōchī (361), spoken in Dera Ghazi Khan (Panjab). The figures also include those for speakers of the dialect in Jacobabad (Sind).
Dērāwal	...	...	...	VIII	i	249, 261, 333, 331, 382, 398.	A local name for the Lahndā (415) spoken in Dera Ghazi Khan (Panjab) and Dera Ismail Khan (North-West Frontier Province).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Dermuha	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Mongha or Mopwā, *q.v.* Spoken on the borders of Toungoo and Karenni Districts, Burma.
Dēsarī	...	...	...	IX	i	67	Another name for Harīānī or Dēswālī (391).
Desharuk	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455).
Dēśī	...	...	...	VII	...	32	A name given to the standard dialect (456) of Marāṭhī (455).
Dēswālī	...	...	...	IX	i	67	Another name for Harīānī (391), *q.v.*
Dēvanāgarī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of the well-known written character. Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as the name of a form of 'Hindi.'
Devanga. See Erraba							
Dhadhar	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of 'Hindi.'
Dhālō	...	...	...	IV	...	107	The name of a sub-caste speaking Kōḍā (19).
Dhamachī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1921 Panjab Census Report as a form of Lahndā (415). Probably the same as Dhanuchī, *q.v.*
Dhan'garī (1)	479	1,800	...	VII	...	218, 248, 270	A sub-dialect of the Marāṭhī (455) of the Central Provinces (476), spoken in Chhindwara (C. P.).
Dhan'garī (2)	463	1,750	...	VII	...	61, 63, 97	A sub-dialect of the Konkan Standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in Thana and Belgaum (Bombay).
Dhangārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Dāṅgī (1).
Dhangar	...	...	...	IV	...	108, 241 (L.)	A form of Kōḍā (19).
Dhan-garī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Dhan'garī, 1 & 2, *qq.v.*
Dhāngarī	...	...	...	IV	...	407, 430, 434, 435, 445.	Another name for Kurukh (305), *q.v.*
Dhankī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Bhil language reported in the 1921 Bombay Census Report as spoken by Dhānkars in Khandesh.
Dhannī	...	...	...	VIII	i	241, 449, 541, 542, 576 (L.).	A form of North-Western Lahndā (433) spoken in Jhelum.
Dhanwārī	...	...	...	IV	...	407, 430, 434	Another name for Kurukh (305), *q.v.*
Dhar	...	...	...	IX	iv	715	A form of Saketī (840)
Dharāl	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Bārā (127). It has not been identified.
Dhārdhī	517	32,739	...	IX	iv	456, 458 (Grammar), 530 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Sirmaurī dialect (816) of Western Pahāri (814), spoken in the Sirmaur State (Panjab) and neighbourhood.
Dhat'kī	735	72,789	...	IX	ii	16, 103, 122	A sub-dialect of the Mārwārī dialect (712) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken on the border between Rajputana and Sind, in the Jaisalmir State and in the Thar and Parkar District. It is practically the same as Dhākkī, *q.v.*
Dhākkī	...	...	...	VIII	i	142	Another name for the Tharēlī dialect (449) of Sindhī (445). See the preceding.
Dhēḍ Gujarī	...	...	...	IX	iii	203	Another name for Khāndēśī (707). *Dhēḍ* means any corrupt dialect.
Dhēḍhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The language of the Dhēḍh tribe of Chamārs in the Panjab. Mentioned in the 1891 Panjab Census Report. Not since identified.
Dhēḍī (? Dhōḍī)	...	...	...	VII	...	300	Another name for Nāhārī (485).
Dhekorī	...	...	...	V	i	414	Another name for Western Assamese (554).
Dhekra	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Bārā (127). I have not identified it. The name is probably only a corrupt form of the preceding, as the language is spoken in Western Assam.
Dhērī or Māhārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A corrupt form of Marāṭhī (455) used by Dhērs and Māhārs in Chanda, Chhindwara, and Bastar (C. P.).
Dhimāl	33	...	365	III	i	178, 274, 277	An Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burmese language spoken in Sikkim.
Dhōḍiā	686	30,000	...	IX	iii	6, 116, 124	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Surat and Thana (Bombay).
Dhōḍiā-Naikī	...	...	...	IX	iii	124	Another name for Dhōḍiā (686).
Dhōlēwārī	706	112,000	...	IX	ii	288, 291	A sub-dialect of the Mālvī dialect (760) of Rājasthānī (712).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Dhōlpurī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to the Braj Bhākhā (592) spoken in Dholpur (Rajputana).
Dhombary		...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Satara. The same as Dōmbārī, q. v.
Dhōḍā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Dhōḍiā (686)
Dhōrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in 1921 Bombay Census Report as a Bhil dialect spoken in Rewakantha. Perhaps the same as Dhōḍiā (686).
Dhundhārī	...	...	...	IX	ii	32, 200	Another name for Jaipurī (741).
Dhūṇḍī	480	87,777	...	VIII	i	242, 433, 495, 528 (L.).	A dialect of Lahndā (415) spoken in the Hazara District (Panjab). The figures also include those for the Pahāṛī Lahndā (438) spoken in the hills north of Rawalpindi.
Diḷāṛī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Paṛjī (318). The Diḍāṛī form a sub-division of the Porojas (Madras).
Digāru	...		...	III	i	616, 623 (L.)	A form of Mishmi (126).
Dikkū Kājī	...	...	...	V	ii	377	A Muṇḍā name for Nagpuriā (526).
Dimā-sā or Hills Kāchārī	181	19,681	11,040	III	ii	2, 4, 5, 50, 132 (L.)	A language of the Bārā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages. Spoken in North Cachar and Nowgong (Assam).
Dimā-sā, Standard Dialect	132	15,981	...	III	ii	50, 132 (L.)	The standard form of the preceding.
Diṅgal	...	...	...	IX	ii	19	The name for Mārwārī (713) when used as a literary dialect. *Cf.* Piṅgal.
Dirī	388	...	...	VIII	ii	2	A Dardic language spoken in the country round Dir in Dardistan.
Dōābī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The language spoken in a *Dōāb*. Hence, (1) Dōābī Pañjabī (see the next), and (2) the language of the upper Gangetic Doab, also known as Pachhārī (*q.v.*)
Dōābī Pañjābī	636	2,051,448	...	IX	i	471	A sub-dialect of Standard Pañjābī (633) spoken in the Jullundur Doab (Panjab).
Doāniyā	...	...	...	III	ii	490	Another name for Singpho (205). Properly, the language of one who has a foreign speech (*dōāni*).
Dōḍā Sirāji	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Sirājī of Dōḍā (404).
Dōḍī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Sirājī of Dōḍā (404), *q.v.*
Dōḍrā Kuārī	...	...	...	IX	iv	Addenda to p. 613	A dialect of Kōchī in (623).
Dōgrī or Dōgrī	647	1,229,227	418,678	IX	i	607, 610, 637, 643 (Grammar), 757, 807 (L.).	A dialect of Pañjābī spoken in Jammu State (Panjab) and neighbourhood.
Dōgrā, Standard	648	568,721	...	IX	i	61	The Standard sub-dialect of the Dōgrā dialect (647) of Pañjābī (632). Spoken in Jammu State and neighbourhood.
Dohawchu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in Khandesh.
Dōktsī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Bhōṭiā of Tibet (58) spoken in Central Tibet.
Dōm	857	13,500	...	XI	...	2, 4, 5, 143	A Gipsy language (854) Unclassed.
Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī	...	...	...	XI	...	71	Another name for Kōlhātī (862).
Doombo	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Oriyā (502) spoken by the Doombo Parishs of the Vizagapatam Hills (Madras).
Dommara	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Telugu (319). A Madras caste-name.
Dōmrā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language spoken by Dōms in Western Bihar and Eastern U. P. It is a slang form of Bhojpurī (519) *Cf.* Dōm (857).
Dōnwār or Dēnwār	...	...	...	IX	iv	19, 83 (L.)	A corrupt form of Khas-kurā or Naipālī (761) spoken in the Nepal Tarai.
Dora	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Kōṇḍadora,—a form of Kuṛi (508)
Do-sandhi	...	...	...	IX	iv	332	Another name for Mējh Kumaiyā (610)
Drās Dialect	336	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 156, 186, 214 (L.).	A dialect of Shiṇā (391), spoken in Drās (Kashmir).
Dravidā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Tamil (285).
Dravidā Group	...	30,240,350	37,365,534	IV	...	234	One of the two main groups of the Dravidian languages. *Cf.* Andhra Group.

APPENDIX III (Index of Language-Names)—

Add the following entry :—

Devanga, a dialect of Kanarese (296) spoken by the caste of the same name in the South Kanara District (Madras). The Devangas are a caste of weavers scattered over the Madras Presidency. Some of them speak Kanarese and others Telugu (319).

Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers.			Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey.			Remarks.
	Number in Classified List.	According to the Linguistic Survey	According to the Census of 1921.	Volume.	Part.	Page.	
Dravidian Family	...	53,073,261	54,128,052	IV	...	2 (compared with Munḍā), 277, 283 (general characteristics).	One of the great families of speech spoken in India, mainly in the south, but also in the centre, in Bihār and Orissa, and, far to the west, in Baluchistan.
Dubli	667	14,050	...	IX	iii	6	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken by Dubliās in Thāna and Jawhar (Bombay).
Dūgar-wāṛa	301	108,768	...	IX	i	70, 339, 363, 365 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Braj Bhākhā dialect (502) of Western Hindī (321), spoken in Jaipur State. It is also called Raikārī-kikārī.
Dukpa Bhōṭiā	...	...	...	III	i	139	A name sometimes used for Bhōṭiā of Bhutan or Lhoko (69).
Duleng	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Kachin (303) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 3,000 people in Putao District.
Dulien	...	...	...	III	iii	127	Another name for Lushēi (324).
Dūma	105	...	...	III	i	276, 343 (Vocabulary), 372.	A Khambā (87) dialect spoken in the upper valleys of Nepal.
Dungari	...	...	...	IX	iii	14	Another name for the Bhīlī of Bāṛa (676).
Dūngarwārā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Dūgar-wāṛa, *q.v.*
Dūngmāli	98	...	...	III	i	343 (Vocabulary), 362.	A Khambā (87) dialect spoken in the upper valleys of Nepal.
Dunjdoriā	...	...	...	III	ii	265, 270	A name sometimes given to Ao Nāgā (166).
Durro (?)	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a language of Western Nepal. Not identified.
Dyko	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Khasi name for Gārō (134).
Dzārpi	480	5,000	...	VII	...	218, 244, 278	A form of the Central Provinces dialect (470) of Marāṭhi (453) spoken in Ellichpur (Berar). It is also called Junāpī.
Dzo	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as the name of a dialect of Lushēi (324). *Cf.* Zo.
Dzumā	158	1,410	...	III	ii	204, 220, 246 (L.).	A dialect of Angāmi Nāgā (154) spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
E or I	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kwoishun, *q.v.*
Eastern Bengali	...	...	...	...	...		See Bengali, Eastern (545).
Eastern Balōchi	365	376,932	...	X	...	330, 336 (Grammar), 387, 434 (L.).	A dialect of Balōchi (361) spoken in Eastern Baluchistan and the adjoining parts of British India.
Eastern Group (1)	...	4,610,311	1,931,675	X	...	2	A group of languages of the Dravidian Branch of the Aryan Sub-Family. It includes Pashtō (337), Ormuri (360), Balōchi (361), and the Chalchan languages (370—378). The Survey figures include speakers who live outside the limits of British India, in countries not subject to the operations of the Census.
Eastern Group (2)	...	89,589,036	61,171,923	V	i	1	A group of the Outer Sub Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. It includes Oriya (509), Bihārī (506), Bengali (539), and Assamese (553).
Eastern Hindī	557	24,511,647	1,339,526 (2,467,382)	VI IX	... i	1 47 (meaning of name).	The only language of the Mediate Group of Indo-Aryan languages. It is spoken mainly in Oudh and the Districts to the south in the U. P., in Baghelkhand, and in the east of the C. P. The Census figures are estimates. Regarding the Census figures, see No. 557.
Eastern Nāgā	...	10,000	...	III	ii	193, 329	A sub-group of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It includes a number of small languages spoken in East Assam, and, mostly, outside settled British territory.
Eastern Pahāṛī	...	...	279,715	IX	iv	1, 17	Another name for Khas-kurā or Naipālī (781).
Eastern Pashai	356	...	...	VIII	ii	89, 118 (L.)	A dialect of Pashai (385), spoken in Laghman.
Eastern Pronominalized languages		66,685	65,108	III	i	278	A sub-group of the Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages. It includes Khambā (87) and a number of other languages spoken in Nepal.
Ēmbs	...	...		II	ii	411	Another name for Ēmpēo (133).
Ēmpēo or Kachchā Nāgā	183	10,280	9,959	III	ii	193, 279, 411, 432 (L.).	A language of the Nāgā-Bodo sub-group of the Nāgā group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in North Cachar (Assam).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1911.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Eu or Iu	...	...	...	...	...	...	A language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to belong to the Môn-Khmer Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages, and to be spoken by 1,860 people in Kêngtêng (Southern Shan States)
Iranian Branch	...	4,617,890	1,987,943	X	...	1	A Branch of the Aryan Sub-Family of the Indo-European Family. So far as this Survey is concerned it includes two Groups,—an Eastern and a Western. The only example of the latter dealt with in the Survey is Persian (331). For the former, see Eastern Group (I).
Erilgiru	...	...	...	...	...	...	An old name for Irula (289)
Erigā or Sīugli	...	...	...	IV	...	149, 163	A form of Koswā (25).
Fatam Chia	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Sunakia (216), *q.v.*
Fannai	225	...	...	III	iii	129	A dialect of Lushêi (224) spoken in the South Lushai Hills. The number of speakers is unknown
Fārsī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Properly 'Persian' (331), but commonly used for Urdū (585) as full of Persian words, and even, in contradistinction to the current colloquial, for Literary Hindi (586).
				XI	...	60	It is also used by the Sīkhs for their secret argot (371). *Cf.* Fārsī and Qagāi.
Firangī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of Gōmāntakī or Goanese, *i.e.* the Kōnkanī (491) of Goa, as spoken by natives of Portuguese origin.
Fursavi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a term used in Khandesh for Urdū (585). *Cf.* Fārsī.
Gachikolo	...	...	...	VII	...	231	A form of Halbī (498)
Gadabā	30	35,838	33,065	IV	...	21, 229, 243 (L.)	A Muṇḍā language spoken in the North-East Hills of the Madras Presidency
Gādī or Bhaumaucī	843	14,946	...	IX	iv	769, 792, 863 (L.)	One of the Chambā dialects (841) of Western Pahārī (814). It is spoken in Chamba State and in Kangra (Panjab).
Gahārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as the name of a dialect of Hindī (586) in the 1891 C. P. Census Report. Not since identified.
Gahirā	564	243,400	...	VI	...	19, 149	A Sub-Dialect of the Baghēlī (569) dialect of Eastern Hindī (557) spoken in Baroda (U. P.).
Gārī	...	...	...	III	i	469	A name given to Bonāu (74) along the lower Bhoga River.
Gaku	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Gheko Karen (32), *q.v.*
Galō	...	...	...	VIII	ii	514	Another name for Chālīs (410).
Gāmadiā	656 664	...	... ...	IX IX	ii ii	381 410	A name for the rural dialects generally of Gujarātī (652). Also called Grāmya. Only in Ahmadabad (Bombay) is it used to specify a particular rural dialect (664). *Cf.* Gāmwārī.
Gāmatī or Gāmtī	688	43,715	...	IX	iii	6, 108, 119	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Surat (Bombay) and Nawsari of Baroda. According to Dr Enoch Bedwa, in the Bombay Census Report for 1921, appendix B, p. xii, 'Gāmtī' means simply 'the Village Language,' and is the same as Māwchī (694), which is the real name.
Ganan	283	...	1,022	...	...	...	Reported as a Sak (Lūī) language spoken in Katha and Upper Chindwin, supposed to be a dialect of Kadu (281).
Ganaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Danaw.
Gānde	...	...	...	...		...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a dialect of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Násik. Not since identified. In the 1921 Bombay Census Report it is suggested that the word may mean the gibberish spoken by some insane. *Cf.* Gujarātī *gāndō*, mad.
Gangai (?)	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Bārā (127). Not identified.
Gangāpārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used south of the Ganges for the Awadhī (558) spoken on the other side of the river.
Gangāpāriyā	...	...	...	IX	iv	289, 343, 355 (L.)	Another name for Tehrī (613)
Gangōlī	798	27,734	...	IX	iv	110, 230	A sub-dialect of the Kumaunī dialect (785) of Central Pahārī (784). Spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Gaphimchōr	...	...	...	XI	...	17	Another name for Bhamṭā. *Cf.* Bhamṭī (650).
Gāolī	[redacted]	16,993	...	IX	i	550, 554	A form of the Bundēlī dialect (610) of Western Hindī (581). Spoken in Chhindwara (C. P.).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Gāŏwsī	...	...	...	...	...	...	'Village Dialect' (*cf.* Gāmadiā and Gĕw-wārī), and applicable to any rural dialect. It is commonly used as the local name for Eastern Malchilī (510). The Nagpuriā (536) form of Bhojpurī (510) has been specially so named, and a grammar of it has been written under that title.
Garhwal Bhōṭiā	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Bhōṭiā of Garhwal (68)
Garhwālī	894	670,524	...	IX	iv	1, 168, 279, 281 (Grammar), 355 (L.).	A dialect of Central Pahārī (784), spoken in Garhwal and the neighbouring Districts.
Gārī or Banūn	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Lāhulī (or Bhōṭiā of Lahul) (62) reported to be spoken in Lahul. Not recorded in this Survey.
Gārō or Māndē Kusik	124	139,763	216,117	III	ii	2, 4, 68, 183 (L.), 184 (do.).	A language of the Bārā group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in the Garo Hills (Assam) and neighbouring Districts. For the standard dialect, see Ṭōbiā (150).
Gārōḍī or Gāruḍī	858	...	...	[redacted]	...	2, 5, 6, 32	A Gipsy language spoken in the Bombay Presidency and in the C. P.
Gārwi or Bashgharik	408	...	...	VIII	ii	3, 507, 530 (L.)	A dialect of the Dardic Kōhistānī, spoken in the Swat Kohistan.
Gaṭṭu	325	2,021	...	IV		472, 476, 523, 541.	A dialect of Gōṇḍī (913), spoken by Gattus or Hill Kōīs in Chanda (C. P.), Vizagapatam, and Godavari (Madras).
Gauḍiā or Gauḍē	...	...	...	...	.	...	Properly the language of North Bengal, but reported in the 1891 Madras Census Report as a name for Oriyā (502).
Gaungto	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Zayein (41) spoken in the Southern Shan [redacted]
Gawrā	...	...	...	VIII	ii	514, 531 (L.)	A Kohistānī language akin to Torwālī (409). Also spelt Gowro. Spoken in the Indus Kohistan.
Gāvit	...	...	...	IX	iii	95	Another name for Māwchī (694). See Gāmaṭṭī.
Gavlī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in 1921 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in Nasik. Perhaps a form of Khāndēśī (707)
Gawar-bati or Narsāti	384	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 69, 80, 118 (L.).	A Dardic language spoken in the Chitral Country, at the confluence of the Bashgal and Chitral Rivers.
Gĕw-wārī	...	...	...	IX	i	281	'Village Dialect' (*cf.* Gamadiā and Gāŏwārī). Used as a name for the Braj Bhakhā (592) spoken in the east of the Agra District (U. P.).
Gel a or Gebo Karen	33	...	11,160		...	...	A form of Karen (31) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 7,132 people in the Toungoo District. Gebo is the name used by the speakers themselves. The Burmese call them Karenbyu or 'White Karen.'
Gelekī-Duor	...	...	...	III	ii	381	A name sometimes used for Angwānku (173).
Gentoo	...	...	...	IV	...	576	An old name for Telugu (319). It is a corruption of the Portuguese *gentio*, gentile, heathen. Portuguese writers employ it to designate Hindūs, as contrasted with Muzalmāns (*Mouro, Moor*).
Ghalchah Sub-Group	...	...	...	X	...	8, 9	A sub-group of the Eastern Group of the Iranian languages. It includes Wakhī (870), Shighnī (871), Ishkāshmī (873) and Munjānī (877), all spoken in the Pāmīrs and neighboring country. No enumeration was possible of the speakers of any language of this sub-group. For the connexion between the Ghalchah and the Dardic languages, see Vol. VIII, Pt. ii, pp. 4ff.
Ghāṭī-khāl-chī Varhāḍī	...	...	...	VII	...	235	A form of the Varhāḍī dialect (477) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in the north of Buldana (Berar).
Ghāṭī-var-chī Varhāḍī	...	...	...	VII	...	235	A form of the Varhāḍī dialect (477) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in the south of Buldana (Berar).
Ghāṭī	469	3,000	...	VII	...	61, 84, 119	A variety of the Konkan Standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455). It is spoken in the Western Ghats between Kolaba and the Jhar State. It is probably (p. 84) identical with Māḍī (470).
Ghēbī	444	20,368	...	VIII	i	248, 432, 449, 488, 522 (L.).	A form of the North-Eastern dialect (436) of Lahndā (413), spoken in the Western Salt Range (Panjab).
Gheko Karen	39	...	2,579	...	...	...	A form of Karen (31) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 2,976 people in the Yamethin and Toungoo Districts.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Ghoṭi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Central Provinces Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455). Not since identified.
Ghilzai sub-dialect	344	...	...	X	...	43	A form of the North-Eastern dialect (338) of Paṣhtō (337) spoken in Afghanistan between Kandahar and Jalalabad.
Ghiṭṭāṛī	...	...	...	IX XI	ii ...	395, 453, 461 (L.). 2	Another name for Tāmuḍī (676).
Ghogārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report. Not since identified.
Gilgiti	392	...	...	VIII	ii	3, 150, 151, 224 (L.).	A dialect of Shiṇā (391) spoken in the Gilgit Valley (Kashmir).
Gipsy languages	354	101,671	15,018	XI	...	1, 4, 5	A number of unclassed languages spoken by wandering or criminal tribes in various parts of India. They are discussed in Vol. XI of the Survey, on p. 2 of which will be found named a number of Gipsy tribes whose languages are not described. The name 'Gipsy' has nothing to do with the Egyptians of Europe. Of the figures here given, those of the Survey are the more accurate.
Girāsiā	639	20,700	...	IX IX	ii iii	70 6, 26	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Marwar and Surohi.
Girīpārī	818	24,264	...	IX	iv	56, 477 (Grammar), 531 (L.).	A form of the Sirmaurī dialect (816) of Western Pahāṛī (814), spoken in Nahan and Jubbal States (Panjab).
Giryānam	...	...	...	...	...	...	A by-name for Kaṭṭuṇāṭī (674) used in Madras.
Gnamoi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Angāmi (154).
Goanese or Gōmāntakī	...	...	...	VII	...	168	Another name for the Kōṅkaṇī dialect (494) of Marāṭhī (455).
Gōḍwānī or Muṇḍlāhā	...	...	...	VI	...	159, 261 (L.)	A corrupt form of Baghēlī (559) spoken in Mandla (C.P.).
Gōḍwāṛī	735	147,000	...	IX	ii	17, 37, 38	A form of the Mārwāṛī dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Marwar and Kishangarh States
Gōhilwādī	670	631,600	...	IX	ii	435	A form of the Kāṭhiyāwāḍī dialect (666) of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Kāṭhiāwar (Bombay). It is also called Bhāvnagarī.
Gojarī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Gujarī (776) used in the Panjab.
Gōlarī (1)	319	25	...	IV	...	677, 694	A dialect of Telugu (319) spoken by nomadic Gōlars in Chanda (C. P.).
Gōlarī (2) or Hōliyā	300	3,614	...	IV XI	... ...	368, 385 1	A dialect of Kanarese (296) spoken by nomadic Gōlars and Hōliyās in the C. P., except in Chanda, where we find Gōlarī (1).
Golla	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Telugu (319) reported in the 1911 and 1921 Bombay Census Reports as spoken by men of the Golla caste in Bijapur and Dharwar.
Gōmāntakī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Goanese, *q.v.*
Gōṇḍānī or Gōṇḍī (1)	...	...	...	VI	...	122, 261 (L.)	A name given to the Baghēlī (559) spoken by Gōṇḍs in Rewa State and Mandla (C. P.). The same term is often used to indicate some other Aryan language as spoken by Gōṇḍs. Thus, it is used as a synonym for Chhattisgaṛhī (572) and for Ōṛiyā (502) in each case, as spoken by Gōṇḍs.
Gōṇḍī (2)	313	1,312,190	1,616,911	IV	...	286, 472, 647 (L.)	One of the Intermediate Groups of Dravidian languages.
" Standard Dialect	314	1,147,180	...	IV	...	286, 472	Spoken in the C. P., Berar, Hyderabad, and the adjoining parts of Central India and Madras.
Gōṇḍlā	...	...	—	III	i	467	Another name for Rangōlī (75), *q.v.*
Gōṇḍwāṇī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Gōṇḍānī, *q.v.*
Gōpāl	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of a Gipsy tribe reported from Berar. Not identified.
Gōrakhpurī	523	1,897,500	...	V V	ii ii	43, 224, 226 300	A form of the Bhojpurī dialect (519) of Bihārī (506) spoken in Gorakhpur (U. P.). The name is also sometimes used to indicate Madhēsī (527).
Gōrāwāṛī	717	15,000	...	IX	ii	17, 71, 74	A form of the Mārwāṛī dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Kishangarh State and Ajmer.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Gorkhālī or Gōrkhālī	...	...	...	IX	iv	18	Another name for Khas kurā, Eastern Pahāṛī, or Naipālī (781). The name is also wrongly given to the Awadhī (558) spoken by Thārūs of Kherī (U. P.).
Gōrkhlyā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Gorkhālī, *q.v.*
Gotte	...	...	...	IV	...	472	Another spelling of Gaṭṭu, *q.v.*
Gōundan	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Tamil (285). It is really a Madras caste-name.
Gōvārī	481	2,650	...	VII	...	213, 279	A form of the Central Provinces dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455). It is a corrupt jargon spoken by cowherds (Gōvārs) in Chhindwara, Chanda, and Bhandara (C. P.).
Gowro	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Gauṛō.
Grāmya	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Gāmaḍiā (656), *q.v.*
Grandha	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Tamil (285). Properly the name of a written character.
Gugli	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Baroda Census Report as a form of Kachchhī (431). It is the language of the Gugli Brāhmaṇs.
Gujarō	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Gujarātī (652). It is the local name used in Cutch to distinguish Gujarātī from Kachchhī (651). In Khandesh it is the language of Gujar Kunbis and Gujar Vāṇis, and is probably a form of Khāndeśī (707).
Gujarātī	652	10,646,227	9,541,902	IX IX	i ii	xiii 334ff.	A language of the Central Group of Indo-Aryan languages. Regarding the Gujarātī spoken in Cutch, see Vol. VIII, Pt. i, p. 158.
" Standard Dialect	658	...	...	IX	ii	365, 460 (L.)	Spoken in Gujarat.
" of Musalmāns	...	...	...	IX	ii	326, 436	
" of Parsis	...	...	...	IX	ii	326	See Pārsī Gujarātī (660).
Gujarātī of Thar and Parkar.	...	...	...	IX	ii	326	
" Ancient	...	...	...	IX	ii	353	
Gujarī	776	207,673	...	IX	iv	10, 935	A dialect of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in the Panjab Plains, and in the hills of the North-West.
" of the Plains	780	19,352	...	IX	iv	1, 10, 959	Spoken in the sub-montane plains of the Panjab.
Gujarī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Gujarātī (652).
Gujarī of Hazara	777	25,619	...	IX	iv	1, 16, 930, 941, 964 (L.).	A form of Gujarī (776) spoken in Hazara (N.-W. Frontier Province), Swat, and the neighbourhood. The Survey figures also include those for Ajitī of Hazara (778).
" of Kashmir	779	253,692	...	IX	iv	1, 953, 965 (L.)	A form of Gujarī (776) spoken in Kashmir.
Gōka	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Gheko Karen (99), *q.v.*
Gulgulā	859	853	...	XI	...	2, 5, 6, 175	A Gipsy language (854) spoken by a vagrant tribe found in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur.
Gumsurī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Oriyā (502) spoken in Ganjam (Madras). It is hardly a dialect. Save in a few minor points of grammar and pronunciation it is the same as Standard Oriyā. Any peculiarities are due to the influence of Telugu (319). It may be taken as typical of all the Oriyā of Ganjam and Vizagapatam (Madras).
Gunaga	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Tinbaw (38), *q.v.*
Gurbī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1911 Bombay Census Report as a Gipsy language spoken in Rewakantha. Not identified.
Gurēzī	395	...	...	VIII	ii	3, 150, 174	A dialect of Shiṇā (391) spoken in the Gurais Valley (Kashmir).
Guri-Bāwā	...	...	...	IV	...	107	The name of a sub-caste speaking Kōḍā (19).
Gurjara	...	...	...	IX	iv	8	The name of a people that invaded India in ancient times, whose present language is related to Rājasthānī (712) and other forms of Indo-Aryan speech.
Gurmukhī	...	...	...	IX	i	624	A name often wrongly given to Pañjābī (632). It is really the name of a written character commonly used for writing that language.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers: According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers: According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey: Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Gurung	111	...	5,211	III	i	177, 180, 182, 354 (L.).	A non-pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language. It is mostly spoken in Upper Nepal.
Gurvi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes given for Nimādi (770), q.v.
Gyāmi	...	...	...			...	A dialect of Chinese, spoken on the Chinese side of the frontier between Tibet and Western China.
Gyārūng	...		...	...	...	...	A form of Bhōtiā of Tibet or Tibetan (58) spoken in Eastern Tibet.
Ha-Ang	...	...	...		...	...	A form of Falsung (4) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Ruby Mines District.
Habōri	680	950	...	IX XI	iii	6, 174, 185 2, 5, 6	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Aligarh (U. P.).
Hādi	...		...	V	i	214	The name of a tribe speaking Hajong Bengali (547).
Hādōdi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Hārauti (750).
Hadarābādi	...					...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Urdū (585).
Hajong	547	5,000		V	i	19, 201, 214, 354 (L.).	A form of the Eastern dialect (544) of Bengali (520) spoken in Sylhet (Assam) and Mymensingh (Bengal). Incorrectly called Hajang or Hajong.
Hajang, Hajong	...	...		V	i	214	See the preceding.
Haka or Baungshè	220	14,250	2,458	III	iii	115, 160 (L.)	A dialect of Lai (219) spoken in the Chin Hills. Also reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 2,452 persons in Falakkin and Upper Chindwin. In the All-India Census it is called Kwelshin.
Halbī	490	104,971	...	VII		2, 219, 330, 362 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Central Provinces dialect (476) of Marāthī (455) spoken in Bastar, Chhattisgarh (C. P.) and the neighbourhood.
Hālādi	669	770,000	...	IX	ii	425	A form of the Kāthiyāwāḍī dialect (666) of Gujarātī (652). It is also called Hālārī.
Hālāri	...	...		...	...	...	See the preceding.
Hallām	232	26,846	3,121	III	iii	3, 181, 192, 202 (L.)	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in Sylhet (Assam) and Hill Tippera (Bengal).
Hallām, Standard Dialect	233	26,533	...	III	iii	3, 192	The Survey figures also include those for Khelma (234).
Handuri	[illegible]	50,311	...	IX	iv	540, 586, 628 (L.)	A form of the Kiūthali dialect (821) of Western Pahārī (814). Spoken in the Simla Hills (Panjab).
'Hangkoop'	...	...	...	III	iii	59	Said to be a form of Thādo (207).
'Hongsoon'	...	...		III	iii	59	Said to be a form of Thādo (207).
Hār	...	...	...	IV	...	30	Another name for Santāli (15).
Haraj	...			...		...	An unknown language reported from Ahmedabad in the 1891 Bombay Census Report.
Harapahikāri	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in 1911 Bombay Census Report as a form of Kanarese (296) spoken in Bijapur and Dharwar. Apparently the same as Adyichanchi, q.v.
Hārauti	750	991,101	...	IX	ii	3, 4, 31, 203	A sub-dialect of the Central Eastern dialect (740) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Bundi and Kota States (Rajputana).
Hārauti, Standard	751	943,101	...	IX	ii	203	
Havi	...	...		...	...	...	The same as Kanarese (296). The name of a Madras caste, said to speak a corrupt Kanarese.
Harīāvi or Dēswāli	591	557,958	...	IX	i	69, 252, 354	A form of the Bāgarī dialect (588) of Western Hindī (581), spoken in the South-East Panjab.
Harigayā	[illegible]	1,100	...	III	ii	96	A dialect of Kōch (142) spoken in the Garo Hills (Assam).
Harod	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of 'Hindi.' ? Incorrect for Hārauti (750).
Hārrē	...	...	...	IV	...	20	Another name for Santāli (15).
Harthi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarāti (652).
Hashwe Karen	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Karen (31) spoken by 600 people in Toungoo District.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List	Number of Speakers: According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers: According to the Census of 1931.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey: Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Hatigorria				III	ii	198, 271	Another name for Ao Nagā (166), *q.v.*
Haulingo or Hualingo	216	...	5,150	III	iii	108	Said to be the same as the Kwoshim form of Shankla (216).
Haviku	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Kanarese (296). The name of a sub-division of Brāhmans in Madras Presidency who speak a corrupt Kanarese.
Hāyu	...	...	...	III	i	276, 332	Another name for Vāyu (196). Spoken in Central Nepal.
Hazara Hindkī		...	...	VIII	i	565	A form of North-Western Lahndā (433). Spoken in Hazara (N.-W. Frontier Province).
Hemi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be a Nagā language spoken by 4,900 people in the Upper Chindwin District.
Hé Miao or 'Black Miao'	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Miao (43) dialect spoken in Western China. The speakers call themselves 'Phā.' *Cf.* Pé Miao.
High Hindī	...	...	...	IX	i	46, 163	The prose literary form of Hindī (596).
Hills Kāchārī	...	...	...	III	ii	56	Another name for Dimā-sā (191).
Himalayan Group	...	194,234	208,378	III	i	2	A group of Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the lower Himalaya from Darjiling to Lahul. In the list of languages it is divided into the Pronominalized Himalayan Group (75-110) and the Non-Pronominalized Himalayan Group (111-192).
Hindī	596	...	...	IX	i	44, 46, 47 (meaning of name), 163.	A form of the Hindōstānī dialect (593) of Western Hindī (581) Widely spoken throughout Northern India.
				IX	i	339, 558	Also, a name given to Kanaujī (604) in the Farukhabad District (U. P.).
				VIII	i	240	Also, a local name for Multānī (426).
				VIII	i	240, 388	Also, a local name for the Lahndā (416) spoken in Dera Ghazi Khan (425).
Hindī or Khentai	...	...	...	V	ii	146	A name given in Manipur (Bengal) to Eastern Magahī (519).
'Hindī' of Nagpur	...	...	...	IX	i	547	See Nāgpurī 'Hindī' (531).
Hindkī or Jatkī	423	963,970	...	VIII	i	392, 413 (L.)	A form of the Multānī dialect (426) of Lahndā (415) spoken in Dera Ghazi Khan District (Panjab) The name Hindkī is also used to indicate other forms of Lahndā Thus
				VIII	i	232	It is used for Lahndā generally
				VIII	i	240	It is a local name for Multānī (426).
				VIII	i	240, 332	It is used not only for the Lahndā of Dera Ghazi Khan, but also for that of Dera Ismail Khan (N.-W Frontier Province).
				VIII	i	242	It is used for the Awānkārī sub-dialect (443) of North-Eastern Lahndā (436).
				VIII	i	450, 458	It is used in Kohat for the same.
				VIII	i	241, 565	It is used as a general term for North-Western Lahndā (433).
Hindkō	433	891,435	...	VIII	i	389, 241, 491 (compared with North-Eastern Dialect), 541, 544, 576 (L.)	A general name for the North-Western Dialect of Lahndā (415 spoken in Peshawar, Hazara (N.-W. Frontier Province), and the neighbourhood. The name Hindkō is also used to indicate other forms of the same language. Thus:
Hindkō, Standard	434	827,040					
				VIII	i	232	It is used for Lahndā generally.
				VIII	i	242	It is used for the Awānkārī sub-dialect (443) of North-Eastern Lahndā (436).
				VIII	i	450, 458	It is used in Kohat for the same.
				VIII	i	241, 381, 382, 404.	It is used for the Thalī Lahndā (432) spoken in Mianwali (Panjab) and Bannu (N.-W. Frontier Province)
Hindoostanee	...	...	...	...	...	...	An old name for Hindōstānī (589).
Hindōstānī	583	10,633,169	...	IX	i	1, 47 (meaning of name), 171 (in Eastern India), 174 (in Gujarat), 570 (L.).	A dialect of Western Hindī (581), having its home in Northern India, but also very widely used as a *lingua franca*.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Hindōstānī, Literary Sub-Dialect.	534	7,696,264	...	IX	i	1, 42, 57 (Grammar), 95.	
Hindōstānī, Vernacular Sub-Dialect.	535	5,252,735	...	IX	i	1, 42, 63, 213, 670 (L.).	Spoken in Western Rohilkhand and the Upper Gangetic Doab (U. P.) and in Ambala (Panjab)
Hindurī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Handūrī (823), *q.v.*
Hindustanica	...	...	...	IX	i	7, 8, 9, 43	An old Latin name for Hindōstānī (532). *Cf* Indostanica, Moorica, and Mogalsch. Spelt Hindostanica by Abel (Vol. IX, Pt. i, pp. 11, 43).
Hinkyen	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken by 554 people in the Hsipaw Northern Shan State.
Hion	...	...	...	III	iii	331	Another name for Khyang or Shō (356).
Hirōi-Lamgāng	248	750	744	III	iii	3, 181, 281, 295 (L.).	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Manipur State (Assam). The Survey figures are merely a rough estimate.
Hirwāṭī	...	...	...	IX	ii	49	Another name for Ahirwāṭī (759).
Hiu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Hion, *q.v.*
Hkāmtī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Khāmtī.
Hkamuck	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Khamuk.
Hkūn	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Kūn.
Hkunlong	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Khunlong.
Hkunnung	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Khunung, the alternative name of Nung (Burma Linguistic Survey).
Hlanzoo	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of the Laiyo dialect of Lai (219) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Chin Hills. Number of speakers not stated.
Hmār	242	2,000	8,599	III	iii	2, 127-3, 191, 256	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. The Survey figures are merely a rough estimate. In the Survey, the principal spelling of the name of this language is Mār, with Hmār as a variant. The latter spelling is that which is correct.
Hmong or Hmōng	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Miao (43), *q.v.* Spoken in the Möng Pan and Kengtung Shan States (Burma).
Hniyen	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Yiadu (253), *q.v.*
Hō (1)	...	...	...	IV	...	406, 410, 426	A name sometimes wrongly given to Kurukh (305).
Hō (2) or Kōl	20	333,126	447,862	IV	...	21, 38, 116	A dialect of Kherwārī (14), spoken in Singbhum and Manbhum (Bihar and Orissa).
Hoch-Indostanisch	...		...	IX	i	11	An old German name for Western and Eastern Hindī (531, 557) and Bihārī (506).
Hohsa Shāu	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Hora Shāu.
Ho Hta	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Ho Tha.
Hojai	133	2,760	...	III	ii	4, 56, 62, 138 (L.).	A dialect of Dimā-sā (131) spoken in Nowgong (Assam).
Holava	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Oriyā (502). A Madras caste-name.
Hōliyā	...	...	...	IV	...	385	Another name for Gōlārī (300), *q.v.*
Homeing	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 379 people in Möng Long Northern Shan State.
Homong	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 2,955 people in the Northern Shan States.
Hop'a	277c	...	...	...	...	...	A Lolo-Mo'o language spoken in Putao (Burma) outside the Census area.
Hor	...	...	...	...	...	...	An old spelling of Hās, *i.e.* Santālī (15).
Horo-lā Jhagar	...	...	...	IV	...	79	A form of Mundārī (16) spoken by Kurukhs in Ranchi (Bihar and Orissa).
Hor Tseng	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan (58) spoken in Central Tibet.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Numbers of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Numbers of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Hora-Muthua	...	...	...	III	ii	335	A form of Mutonli (176), *q.v.*
Hosa Shāu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Maingtha (260), *q.v.*
Hoshiarpur Pahāṛī	635	107,321	...	IX	i	671, 677	A form of the Standard dialect (633) of Pahjābī (632) spoken in the Hill Country of Hoshiarpur (Panjab). The Survey figures include those for Kahlūrī (637).
Ho Tha	...	...	...		...		A form of Zayein (41), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken in the Southern Shan States. In the Report it is spelt Ho Hta.
Howhul	...	...	...	III	ii	109	Another name for Zahao (318).
Hpin		...	...	...		...	Another spelling of Phin. See Pyin.
Hpö	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Phón (272a), *q.v.*
Hpön	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Burmese Government spelling of Phón (272a) *q.v.*
Hpyo	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Phón (272c), *q.v.*
Hrangchal	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Lushei name for Hrāngkhol (239).
Hrāngkhol, Rāngkhōl, or Hrangchal.	239	8,450	671	III	iii	3, 10 (Comparative Vocabulary) 181, 252 (L.)	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in North Cachar and Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Assam) and the Hill Tippera State (Bengal). Hrāngkhol (not Rāngkhōl, as in the Survey) is the correct name of this language. The Lushéis call it Hrangchal.
Hrāngkhol, Rāngkhōl, or Hrangchal, Standard.	230	7,820	...	III	iii	3, 181	Spoken in North Cachar and Hill Tippera. See the preceding. The other dialect of this language is Beté (231), *q.v.*
Hrusso	...	...	...	III	i	573	Another name for Aka (132)
Hsaw-ko Karen	...	...	...	...		...	See S'aw-ko Karen.
Hsem, Hsen		...	...		...	...	See S'en.
Hsen Hsum	...	...	...	...	...	...	See S'en S'um.
Hsentung	...	...			...	...	See S'entung.
Hsinlam	...	...	...	...	...	...	See S'inlam.
Hsinlung	...	...	...	...	...	...	See S'inlung.
Htai	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Thai.
Hta-Mo	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Tha Mo.
Htanga	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Thanga.
Htaote	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Thaote.
Hualngo	216	...	3,150	III	iii	108, 127	Said to be the same as the Kweshin form of Shunkia (216).
Hulan	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 280 people in the Möng Long Northern Shan State
Humai	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 1,758 people n the Northern Shan States.
Huṇḍwāṛī	...	...	...	...	...		The local pronunciation of Sōṇḍwāṛī (762), *q.v.*
Hunaiyā	...	...		III	i	72	A name sometimes given to Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan (58).
Hunein	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of the Pale dialect of Palaung (4) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 1,668 people in the Möng Long Northern Shan State
Hwelungo	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 5,000 people in the Chin Hills. ? The same as Hualngo, *q.v.*
Hweno	...	...	...	III	iii	107	A form of Shunkia (216). In the Survey it is spelt Wheuoh, but Hweno is more correct. Hweno may be but a mispronunciation of Hualngo. The speakers are described as a settlement of Hualngos, who in turn are Lushéis.
I	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of 'E'. See Kwelshin.
I-kaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Shān name for Aka (276), *q.v.* *Cf.* Kaw.
Iu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bu, *q.v.*

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Indo-Aryan Branch	...	226,060,811	229,560,555	I	...	...	One of the three Branches of the Aryan Sub-Family of Indo-European languages. The other Branches are the Iranian and the Dardic or Piśāchā, *qq.v.* The Indo-Aryan Branch includes (besides Sanskrit, a dead language) three Sub-Branches,—an Outer, a Mediate, and an Inner, *qq.v.*
Indo-European Family	...	231,874,402	232,852,817	I	...	...	A Family of languages, of which only the Aryan Sub-Family is spoken in India. See the preceding.
Indo-Nesian Branch			5,561	...	...	...	A Branch of the Austro-Nesian Sub-Family of the Austric Family of languages. The only languages of this Branch spoken in India are Salōn (1) and Malay (2), neither of which is dealt with in the Survey.
Indostan	...	...	...	IX	i	4, 48	The earliest English name for Hindōstānī (582)
Indostana	...	...	...	IX	i	10	Old Portuguese name for Hindōstānī (582)
Indostanica	...	...	...	IX	i	6, 9	An old Latin name for Hindōstānī (582). *Cf.* Hindustanica, Moorica, and Mogulsch.
Indostanisch	...	...	...	IX	i	11	An old German name for Hindōstānī (582).
Injutig	...		...	III	ii	135	Another name for Rongmā or Unzā (362).
Inner Sirāji	...		...	...	...	...	See Sirāji, Inner (884)
Inner Sub-Branch	...	83,770,622	129,166,845	IX	i	1	One of the three Sub-Branches of the Indo-Aryan Branch of the Aryan languages. It includes two Groups, the Central and the Pahāṛī. In Vol. IX, Pt. i. p. 1 of the Survey, these two are put together into one Group called 'The Central.' The Central Group includes Western Hindi (631), Panjābī (632), Gujarātī (653), Bhīlī (677), Khāndēśī (707), and Rajasthānī (712). The Pahāṛī Group includes Eastern Pahāṛī, Khas-kurā or Naipālī (781), Central Pahāṛī (794), and Western Pahāṛī (814)
Intermediate Group	...	2,180,858	3,056,498	IV	...	234ff	A Group of Dravidian languages, intermediate between the Dravida languages and the Andhra language. It includes Kurukh (305), Malhar (306), Malto (307), Kui (308), Kolami (309), and Gōṇḍi (313)
Inṭha	263	...	55,007	...	...	...	A dialect of Burmese (265). It is not dealt with in the Survey. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken by 60,861 people in the Southern Shan States and the neighbourhood. It is closely connected with Taroyan (270).
Inzāmī	164	...	...	III	ii	411	A dialect of Ēmpēo (163), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Irānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Persian (331).
Irula	289	1,614	...	IV	...	299, 332	A dialect of Tamil (295) spoken in the Nilgiri Hills (Madras) and vicinity.
Iśchāmu-ē	...	...	...	III	ii	206	Another name for Thakurnī (171).
Ishang	...	...	...	III	i	189	Another name for Murmi (113), *q.v.*
Ishkāshmī	373	...	...	X	...	455, 480ff., 505	A language of the Ghalchah Sub-Group of the Eastern Group of Iranian languages. Spoken in the Pāmirs
Ishkāshmī, Standard	374	...	...	X	...	480ff., 505, 532 (L.).	
Jabalpuri	...	...	41	...	...	...	A dialect of Bagbēlī (559) reported in the 1921 Central India Census Report, as spoken in Rewa.
Jacobabad Sub-Dialect	266	125,510	...	X	...	401, 435 (L.)	A form of the Eastern dialect (385) of Balōchī (901), spoken in the Upper Sind Frontier District. The Survey figures include also the figures for the Balōchī spoken in Dera Ghazi Khan.
Jaḍ (1)	...	...	...	III	i	15, 16, 91	Another name for the Bhōṭiā of Tehri Garhwal (65)
Jaḍ (2)	...	...	...	III	i	66	A name sometimes used instead of Nyamkat for the Bhōṭiā of Upper Kanawar (64).
Jādara	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kaikarese (299) A Madras caste-name.
Jāḍēji	...	...	...	VIII	i	183	Another name for Kachchhī (451), current in Kathiawar. Often incorrectly written Jārajī.
Jadgāli, Jagdhali, or Jagdāli.	...	...	...	VIII	i	158, 240, 338, 361.	A name used in Baluchistan both for Lahndā (416) and for Sindhī (445).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Jādābāṭī	596	140,000	...	IX	i	70, 298	A form of the Braj Bhākhā Dialect (592) of Western Hindi (581) spoken in Bharatpur and Karauli States, and in N.-W. Gwalior.
Jaḍrī	431	14,581	...	VIII	i	240, 372	A corrupt form of Lahndā (415) spoken in Baluchistan, east of Dera Ghazi Khan District (Panjab). The Survey figures include those for Khetrānī (430).
Jagannāthī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Oriyā (502) reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report.
Jagdālī, Jagdalī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Judgālī.
Jahow	...	...	...	III	iii	127	A wrong spelling of Zahao (218).
Jain	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for a form of Gujarātī (652) reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report.
Jaintiāpurī	...	...	...	V	i	324	Another name for Sylhettā (548)
Jaipurī	741	1,687,899	...	IX	ii	2, 4, 31, 164, 204 (L.).	A form of the Central Eastern Dialect (740) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Jaipur State (Rajputana)
Jaipurī, Standard	742	700,231	...	IX	ii	31, 164, 204 (L.)	
Jaipurīā Nāgī	...	...	...	III	ii	335	Another name for Namsangiā (178).
Jakhong	...	...	...	III	ii	331, 342 (L.)	A name sometimes used for Angwānku (178).
Jamadār	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Urdū (586).
Jamatīā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Tipurā (151).
Jamathī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as a name used in Coorg for Hindōstānī (532).
Jammālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to the Dōgrā (547) of Jammu
Jānur	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kanarese (396). A Madras caste-name.
Jāṇḍ	...	...	...	IX	i	610, 696, 703	Another name for Pachhādī, Rāṭhī, or Nailī (640). Spoken in Jind State (Panjab)
Jangalī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A word meaning 'of or belonging to the wilds,' and hence applied to several forms of speech used by wild or more or less uncivilized people. Thus:—
							Used in Bombay for any Bhīl language (677-706).
				IX	i	619, 709	Another name for the Mālwī or Jatki form (641) of Pahjābī (632)
				IV	...	30	A name sometimes given to Santālī (15) in Murshidabad (Bengal). Cf. the next, and Janggalī.
Jāngalī or Jāṅgli	420	30,657	...	VIII	i	239, 280, 295	A form of the Standard dialect (416) of Lahndā (415) spoken in the Jangal Bār (Panjab).
Jangdī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Urdū (586) used in Khandesh.
Janggalī	83	200	89	III	i	177, 429, 530, 535 (L.).	A language of the Western Sub-Group of the Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Almora (U. P.). Cf. Jangalī.
Jangalīān	210	...	...	III	iii	59, 61	A dialect of Thādo (207) spoken in North Cachar (Assam). The number of speakers is unknown.
Janseō	...	...	...	III	iii	59	Another spelling of Jangalīān (210).
Japanese	...	...	...	...	...	...	An agglutinative non-Indian language, referred to in the comparative tables.
Jārajī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Jādajī.
Jaṭatarādī Bōlī	425	147,000	...	VIII	i	239, 299	A form of the Standard dialect (416) of Lahndā (415) spoken in Gujrat District (Panjab).
Jaṭṭī	...	...	...	VIII	i	238, 289, 280	Literally, the language of Jaṭṭa. Hence used as another name for Lahndā (415), generally
				VIII	i	240	Also a local name for the Multānī dialect (428) of the same
				VIII	i	240, 338, 382, 393	Also another name for the Hindkī (428) form of the same spoken in Dera Ghazi Khan (Panjab) and in Dera Ismail Khan (N.-W. Frontier Province).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1931.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Jaṭkī—*contd.*	...	...	...	VIII	i	361	Also another name for Sirāīkī Hindkī (439).
				VIII	i	241, 361	Also another name for the Thalī dialect (432) of Lahndā.
				VIII	i	280, 361	Also a general name for the Lahndā spoken in Jhang and Lyallpur Districts (Panjab) (418).
				IX	i	610, 709	Also another name for the Mālwāī or Jāngalī sub-dialect (641) of Paṅjābī (632).
				VIII	i	149	Under the form 'Jaṭkī Lahndā' it indicates the Lahndā spoken in Baluchistan (415).
				VIII	i	149	Under the form 'Jaṭkī Sindhī' it indicates the Lārī dialect (449) of Sindhī (445)
Jāṭū (or Jāṭī)	590	732,296	...	IX	i	67, 253, 260	A form of the Bingarū dialect (588) of Western Hindī (581). Spoken in Delhī and Rohtak Districts (Panjab). Sometimes called Jāṭī.
Jaunpurī	...	...	...	V	ii	560	A name given to the Bhojpurī dialect (519) of Bihārī (506) spoken in Eastern Jaunpur (U. P.) in contradistinction to the Banarsī form of Awadhī (558) spoken in the west of the District.
Jaunsārī	815	47,487	...	IX	iv	374, 393, 413 (Jaunsārī-English Vocab.), 434 (English-Jaunsārī Vocab.), 580 (L.).	A dialect of Western Pahāṛī (814) spoken in Jaunsar-Bawar (U. P.).
Jāmā	...	...	...	III	ii	411	The name as Yāmā (186), *q.v.*
Jāmē	...	...	...	III	ii	411	A name used in North Cachar (Assam) for Ēmpēo (183).
Jānukuruba	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name used in Coorg for Kurumba (299)
Jhāṛpī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Ḍgārpī (480) *q.v.*
Jhālāwāḍī	667	427,000	...	IX	ii	445, 461 (L.)	A form of the Kāṭhiyāwāḍī dialect (653) of Gujarātī (552), spoken in Kathiawar.
Jhārī	...	...	...	VII	...	262	Another name for the Varhāḍī dialect (477) of Marāṭhī (455), as spoken in North-Western Chanda (C. P.). The word means 'Jungle language.'
Jharīā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 C. P. Census Report as a form of Oriyā 509). Not since identified.
Jhāṛ-nāhī Bōlī	...	...	...	IX	ii	33	Another name for Jaipurī (741)
Jharwā	656	9,000	...	V	i	394	A mongrel dialect of Assamese (552) spoken at the foot of the Garo Hills.
Jhetlā	...	...	...	IV	...	197	The name of a tribe speaking Kōḍā (19).
Jhōrlā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as the form of Parjī (318) spoken by the Jhōriās of Madras. They are a sub-division of the Porejas.
Jīmdār	...	...	...	III	i	378	Another name for Ēāī (88), *q.v.*
Jobokā	...	...	...	III	ii	352	Another name for Bauparā (175), *q.v.*
Jōdhpurī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Mārwāṛī (718), *q.v.*
Jōgī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras caste-name, used as a synonym for Telugu (319).
Jogirā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras caste-name, used as a synonym for Tuḷu (302)
Jōhārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect reported as spoken by a few people in Chanda (C. P.). It is probably a broken form of Rājasthānī (712).
Jōhārī	892	7,419	...	IX	iv	110, 248	A form of the Kumaunī dialect (795) of Central Pahāṛī (784), spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Jolahā Bōlī	...	...	...	VI	...	118	A name given to the Awadhī (558) spoken by Musalmāns in Muzaffarpur (Bihar and Orissa).
				V	ii	14, 118	Also used to indicate the form of the Maithilī dialect (507) of Bihārī (506) spoken by Musalmāns in Darbhanga (Bihar and Orissa).
Juāng	28	15,897	10,531	IV	...	31, 209, 243 (L.)	A Munḍā language spoken in the Orissa Tributary States.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Jullundur Dōābī	633	2,258,760	...	IX	I	519, 671	A form of the Standard dialect (633) of Panjābī (632) spoken in the Jullundur Doab.
Jūrar	565	114,500	...	VI	...	19, 152	A form of the Baghēli dialect (559) of Eastern Hindī (557) spoken in Banda (U. P.).
Kabul or Kapurī	197	11,078	15,847	III	II	193, 379, 414, 433 (L.).	A language of the Nāgā-Bodo Sub-Group of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in Manipur State and East Cachar (Assam).
Kābulī or Kābli				...	...	...	Another name for Paṣhtō (337).
Ka-chak	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Yindu (358), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 2,225 people in Pakōkku.
Kachārī or Kāchārī (1)	...	...	...	III	II	1	A name used to indicate generally the Bārā or Bodo languages (127, etc.).
Kachārī (2)	...	...	...	V	I	202, 222	Another name for the form of Sylhettī Bengali (548) spoken in Cachar (Assam).
Kāchārī, Hills	...	...	...	III	II	56	Another name for Dimā-sā (131).
Kāchārī, Plains	...	...	...	III	II	8	Another name for Bārā or Bodo (127).
Kachchā Nāgā	...	...	...	III	II	198, 411	Another name for Empēo (189), *q.v.*
Kachchhī	451	491,214	...	VIII	I	9, 10, 168, 215 (L.)	A dialect of Sindhī (445) spoken in Catch (Bombay).
Kachchhi, Standard	453	484,714	...	VIII	I	163, 215 (L.)	
Kāchhā-jī Bolī	369	5,000	...	X	...	331, 413*n*., 435 (L.).	A form of Balēchī (361) spoken in the Kāchhō, or the country in the west of Karachi District (Sind)
Kāchhrī	433	17,972	...	VIII	I	239, 260, 294	A form of the Standard dialect (416) of Lahndā (415) spoken in the Kāchhī, or alluvial country, between the Jhelum river and the Jhang *Tbal* (Punjab)
Kachin	203	1,920	151,196	III III	II III	510, 516 10 (Comparative Vocabulary).	A language of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. The few speakers recorded in the Survey belong to the Lakhimpur and Sibsagar Districts of Assam. Nearly all the speakers of the language belong to Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, Kachin is spoken in that Province by 142,784 people in the Northern Hill Districts, and in the Northern Shan States. Compare Singpho for further references.
Kachin-Burma Hybrids	...	...	...	III	III	381	These, according to the Census of 1911, are Sri Lepai (261), Lashi (362), Maru (263), and Maingtha (269). They are all spoken in Burma, and are not dealt with in this Survey. Pending the completion of the Burma Linguistic Survey, I provisionally class them under the Burma Group as has been done in the Census of 1921. They have been suggested, with considerable probability, to be remnants left by the Burmese on their migration from the North into Burma, or as the languages of tribes of the same origin as the Burmese who left Tibet soon after them. Phōn or Phun (272a) also apparently belongs to this group. All these are dealt with in the Burma Linguistic Survey. For particulars, see each language. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, the number of speakers differs greatly from that given in the Census, being Sri Lepai, 11,338; Maingtha, 2,791; Lashi, 23,358; Maru, 35,531; and Phōn, 650; total 74,168.
Kachin Group	...	1,920	151,196	III III	I II	2, 11 409	A Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. The Burma Linguistic Survey gives a total of 225,350 speakers in Burma for this Group.
Kachnakhrā	...	...	...	IV	...	407	Another name for Kurukh (305).
Ka-dhak	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Yindu (358) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 252 people in Ṭhōkkha.
Kadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Hyderabad Census Report. Not included in this Survey, which did not extend to that State.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1911.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Kadiana	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (652)
Kadpati	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a name for Gujarātī (652) used in Khandesh.
Kadu or A-sak	231	...	18,394	III	iii	281	A language classed in the Census as belonging to the Sak (Lū) Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is closely connected with the Lū (275) languages, Andro (2, 3) and Sengmai (279), and with Sak (284). It is spoken in Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken by 35,300 people in Myākyin, Katha, and Upper Chindwin.
Kāfir Group	...	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 39, 133 (compared with Khōwār).	One of the three Groups into which the Dardic or Piśācha languages are divided, the other two being Khōwār and the Dard Group. The languages (379-389) of this Group are spoken in Kafiristan and the neighbouring tracts of the Chitral country. The number of speakers is unknown.
Kāghānī	...	...	...	VIII	i	Addenda to p. 505.	The form of Chibhālī (440) spoken in Kagan.
Kāgunā	70		...	III	i	100, 142 (L.)	A dialect of Bhōtiā (57) spoken in East Nepal and Darjiling (Bengal).
Ka-hang	...	...	...	...	...		Another name for Kachin (203), q. v.
Kahorī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The language of the Kahars, a small caste of the North Deccan. They are immigrants, and it is a form of Bundēlī (619). See 1921 Bombay Census Report, App. B, p. iii.
Kahirkī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language spoken in Sindh. Reported in 1921 Bombay Census Report as more allied to Baluchī than to Sindhī.
Kahlūrī or Bilāspurī	487	207,321	...	IX	i	671, 677	A form of the Standard dialect (633) of Panjābī (632) spoken in Bilaspur and Mandi States and Hoshiarpur District (Panjab). The Survey figures include those for Hoshiarpur Pahāṛī (638)
Kai	...	...			...	...	Reported to be another name for Taungthu (36).
Kaigilī		...	...			...	Reported as another name for Bhōṭiā of Lahul (62).
Kaikāḍī	201	8,289	...	IV XI	... ...	260, 303, 646 (L.) 1	A dialect of Tamil (365), spoken mostly in Southern India, by a vagrant tribe.
Kāī kāī-kī Bōlī	...	...	...	IX	ii	33	Another name for Jaipurī (741).
Kairālī	...		...	VIII	i	242, 495, 523 (L.)	A form of North-Eastern Lahndā (436), *q.v.* Dhōdī (439).
Kaithī	...	...		VIII	i	207	The same as Kāyasthī (453).
				V	ii	11	Also the name of a written character used in Bihar and the U. P.
Kā-kachhū-kī Bōlī		...	...	IX	i	70, 71, 329, 333, 364 (L.).	Another name for Dōgrī (600)
Kākarī	676	[redacted]	...	IX	ii	235, 449	A dialect of Gujarātī (652) spoken by Kākars scattered over the Bombay Deccan.
Kākrī	355	...	...	X	...	112	A form of the South-Western dialect (348) of Pashtō (337) spoken in Baluchistan.
Kakōṛī	774	40	...	IX	iii	259, 293	A form of the Banjārī dialect (771) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Jhansi (U. P.).
Kakhyan				III	ii	430	Another spelling of Kachin (203).
Kālahandī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to the Oriyā (503) spoken in the Kalahandi State. It is ordinary Oriyā, not a separate dialect.
Kalaṅgā	579	600	...	VI	...	25, 351	A form of the Chhattīsgarhī dialect (572) of Eastern Hindi (557), spoken in Patna State (Bihar and Orissa).
Kalēshā or Kalēshā-mōn	[redacted]	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 10 (L.), 69, 70, 112 (L.), 133 (compared with Khōwār).	A language of the Kalēshā-Pashai Sub-Group of the Dardic or Piśācha languages. It is spoken in the Chitral country in the Dōrā between the Chitral and Rashgal Rivers. The number of speakers is unknown.
Kalēshā-Pashai	...	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 69	A Sub-Group of the Kāfir Group of the Dardic or Piśācha languages. It includes Kalēshā (383), Gawar-bati (384), Pashai (385), Dir (386), and Tirāhi (389). The number of speakers is unknown.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Kaisui	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Zayein (41) spoken in the Southern Shan States.
Kalāt	334	...	...	X	...	452	A form of the Dēhwārī dialect (332) of Persian (331) spoken in Baluchistan.
Kālēk	...	...	...	IV	...	70	Another name for the Kārmālī form of Santālī (15).
Kālmāl	602	81,216	...	IX	i	70, 339, 362, 364 (L.).	A form of the Braj Bhākhā dialect (592) of Western Hindi (581), spoken in Jaipur State.
Kalingī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Telugu (319).
Kālīparaj	...	...	...	...	...	...	A general name for the Bhīl languages spoken in Gujarat.
Kalur		...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Dharwar.
Kaman		...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Arakanese (266) spoken by 1,212 people in Akyab. It has since been discovered to be the name, not of a dialect but of degraded caste, descended from prisoners of war.
Kamārī or Kēwārī	498	3,743	...	VII	...	2, 219, 330, 386	A form of the Central Provinces dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Raipur (C. P.).
Kamār Thār	...	...	...	...	...	...	The form of Oriyā (502) spoken by Kamārs in Morbhanj State.
Kāmāṭhī	326	12,200	...	IV	...	577, 596	A dialect of Telugu (319) spoken by Kāmāṭhīs, or bricklayers, in Bombay Town and Poona.
Kanhow	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Kenhow.
Kanui	...	...		III	15	347	Another name for Khami (257).
Kāmī	119		649	III	i	178	A Non-Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Western Nepal. Its classification is doubtful.
Kāmēi	...	...		...	...	...	See Khāmti.
Kānadi	...		...		...	...	Another name for Kanarese (296).
Kanam or Laharang	...	...	...				A form of Kanauri (77) said to be spoken in the inner Himalaya of the Panjab. It is not recorded in this Survey. † Cf. Lohōrōng (93).
Kanarese	296	9,710,832	10,374,204	IV	...	386, 362, 647 (L.)	A language of the Dravida Group of the Dravidian languages spoken in the western half of the Deccan.
Kanarese, Standard	297	9,566,163	...	IV	...	386, 362	
Kanāshī	76	980	589	III	i	177, 428, 442, 532 (L.).	A language of the Western Pronominalized Himalayan Group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is an isolated language spoken in Kulu (Panjab).
Kanauji	604	4,481,500		IX	i	1, 3, 82, 383	A dialect of Western Hindi (581) spoken in the U. P. in Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Farrukhabad, and the vicinity
Kanauji, Standard	605	3,201,500	...	IX	i	82, 85 (Grammar), 572 (L.).	
Kanauji of East Mardoi	609	150,000	...	IX	i	82, 305, 411	
Kanauji, Mixed Sub-Dialects.	606	1,380,000	...	IX	i	82, 401	
Kanauji of Cawnpore	607	1,090,000	...	IX	i	82, 401	
Kanauri	77	13,099	23,098	III	i	177, 427, 430, 553 (L.).	A language of the Western Pronominalized Himalayan Group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Kunawar (Panjab).
Kanāwrī		...	...	...	...		Another spelling of Kanauri (77).
Kandahar Sub-Dialect	354	...	...	X	...	105, 118 (L.)	A form of the South-Western dialect (348) of Paṣhtō (337), spoken in the country round Kandahar.
Kandhi		...		IV	...	457	Another name for Kui (308).
Kangdālī	649	10,000		IX	i	387ff., 775	A form of the Dōgrā dialect (647) of Panjābī (632) spoken in Gurdaspur (Panjab).
Kang	205a	...	...	III	ii	[redacted]	The Tai name for Kachin (303)
Kangālī		...		...	...	...	The Oriyā (502) spoken by Kangālīs in the Orissa Tributary States.
Kāngrā Sub-Dialect	650	636,500	...	IX	i	387ff., 776, 807 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Dōgrā dialect (647) of Panjābī (632), spoken in the Kangra District (Panjab) and the neighbourhood.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Kanhow or Kamhow	...		8,564	III	iii	72	A dialect of Sokté (312). The Kanhows are a branch of the Sokté tribe.
Kañjarī	360	7,065	...	XI	...	2, 3, 6, 96	A Gipsy language spoken by vagrants in Northern India.
Kankēri	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for the Chhattisgarhi (572) spoken in Kanker State (C. P.).
Kankroji	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1921 Baroda Census Report as a name used for Gujarāti (652).
Kanēring Skadil, or Kanōren-na Skadil.	...	...		III	i	436	The indigenous name for Kanauri (77)
Kao	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Kaw, q.v.
Kāorā	...	...	...	IV		107	Another spelling of Kōdā (19).
Kaori Lepai	...			III	ii	501, 508, 510	A form of Kachin (203) *Cf.* Lepai, Sizi Lepai (361).
Kāpēsēri	...	...	...	IV	...	594	A form of Telugu (319).
Kapt	...	...	...	III	iii	115	A form of Lai (219)
Kapwī	...	...	...	III	ii	103, 416	Another name for Kabui (197), q.v.
Karāndī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Kanarese (296). Probably a corruption of the word 'Karvāḍī', *i.e.*, Kanarese. See 1921. Bombay Census Report, App. E. p. iv
Karautīli	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a Gipsy language of Kanara. Not since identified
Karen	31	...	1,114,026	...	...	...	A family of numerous languages or dialects, the correct affiliation of which has not yet been finally determined. It is spoken in Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey. In the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is reported as spoken by 706,368 people.
Karenbyu or White Karen	33	...	11,160		...	...	A dialect of Karen (31). See above. In the Burma Linguistic Survey it is reported as spoken by 17,088 people in Lower Burma, Karenni, and the Shan States. The speakers call themselves 'Geba.'
Kareunet	...	...	12,833	...	...	...	A Palaung-Wa language, the same as Yanglam (9). Not related to Karen. In the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is reported as spoken by 2,632 people in the Northern Shan States.
Karenni	40		34,488	...	...	...	'Red Karen.' A dialect of Karen (31), *q.v.* In the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is reported as spoken by 34,798 people in Karenni and the neighbouring Districts. This is the Burmese name. The people themselves use 'Kaya.'
Kargānd	...	...	...	IV	...	343	Another name for Burgandi (392).
Karhādī	466	3,000	...	VII	...	51, 63, 115	A form of the Konkan Standard dialect (457) of Marāthi (455), spoken in Savantwadi (Bombay).
Karin	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Kanarese (296). *Cf.* Karāndī.
Kārmālī	...	...	11,802	IV	...	27, 29, 32, 70	A form of Santālī (15)
Karnu	245	...	...	III	iii	181, 362	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in the Manipur State (Assam)
Kashāti Urdū	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Qashāti Urdū, *q.v.*
Kāshmīri	339	1,195,902	1,268,854	VIII	ii	2, 3, 183 (compared with Khōwār), 149, 233, 241 (linguistic classification).	A language of the Dard Group of the Dardic or Piśācha languages. Spoken in Kashmir.
Kāshmīri, Standard Dialect.	400	1,019,964	...	VIII	ii	11 (L.), 224, 254 (Grammar), 488 (L.)	
Kashtawārī	401	7,494	...	VIII	ii	233, 234, 242, 488 (L.)	A dialect of Kāshmīri (399) spoken in Kashtawār (Kishtwar)
Kasrānī	338	...	...	X	...	331, 405ff.	A form of the Eastern Dialect (365) of Balōchī (361) spoken in Dera Ismail Khan (N.-W. Frontier Province). The word is also spelt Qasrānī and Qaisrānī. The latter word is said to mean 'Imperial.'
Kasuva	290	316		IV	...	299, 333	A dialect of Tamil (385), spoken by Kasuvas in the Nilgiris (Madras). The word is also spelt Kasubs.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Kaswār	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Kaswār.
Kātalkan	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of a Badras tribe speaking a corrupt form of Malayālam (298).
Kaṭārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken by Kaṭāris of the Deccan.
Kāṭhaiṛā	744	127,957		IX	ii	81, 178	A form of the Central Eastern dialect (740) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Jaipur State.
Kaṭhē	...	...	...	III	iii	29	Another name for Melthoi (306).
Kaṭhēr Mewāti	753	198,200	...	IX	ii	44	A form of the North-Eastern dialect (753) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Alwar State.
Kaṭhāciyā	...	...	...	IX	i	316	A form of North-Western Braj Bhākhā (697) spoken in Badaon (U. P.).
Kāṭhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Broach (Bombay).
Kāṭhiyāwādī	656	2,396,000	...	IX	ii	435, 461 (L.)	A dialect of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Kathiawar.
Kāṭhōḍī	...	...	...	VII	...	2, 65, 180	Another name for Kātkarī (471). Spoken by Kāṭhōḍis, a forest tribe of Kolaba and Khandesh (Bombay)
Kāṭhōḷī	...	...	...	IX	iii	157	A dialect of Gujarātī (652) reported from Khandesh without particulars. Possibly the same as Kāṭhōḍī (see above), which, however, is a dialect of Marāṭhī (455).
Kathrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another way of writing Khatrī, q.v.
Kuṭā	...	...	...	...	...	...	An alternative name for Baibgali (379). See Addenda Majora p. 247
Katlā or Katlyāt	488	18,700	...	VII	...	2 (Katlyā), 219, 319.	A form of the Central Provinces Dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in Chhindwara and Narsinghpur (C. P.).
Katlyāt (1)	...	...	...	VII	...	319	See the preceding.
Kaṭiyā (2)	788	18,000	...	IX	ii	53, 288	A form of the Mālvī Dialect (760) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Chhindwara (C. P.)
Kātkarī or Kāṭhōḍī	471	76,700	...	VII	...	65, 180	A form of the Konkan Standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken by Kātkaris of Thana (Bombay) and the vicinity.
				IX	iii	108	
				VII	...	180	Also called Kātvaḍī.
Katlang	...	...	...	III	iii	59	A form of Jangalēn (219).
Kaburr	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Pamang (4) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 5,959 people in the Tawpoang Northern Shan State. It is also called Onyerr and Namsan.
Kātvaḍī	...	...	...	VII	...	180	Another name for the Kātkarī or Kāṭhōḍī (471) form of Marāṭhī (455). See Kātkarī.
Katwān	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a Bhīl language spoken in Khandesh (Bombay).
Kankadau	2595	...	9	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 837 people in Akyab.
Kanugbo	2384	...	57	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 850 people in Northern Arakan.
Kanugin	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 200 people in Northern Arakan. Probably the same as Anu (355).
Kaw	...	...	...	III	iii	358	Another name for Aka (274).
Kawalkarī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Hindōstānī (682) spoken by Hindōstānī Kumbārs in Chanda (C. P.).
Kāwārī[1]	...	...	...	VII	...	384	Another name for Kamārī (493)
Kawng-Sawng	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Zayein (41), q.v.
Kawrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Kachin (293), q.v.
Kāya	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Karenni (30), q.v. This is the name used by the people themselves.
Kāyalī	...	...	...	IX	iii	157	A form of Bhīlī (677) spoken in the Satpuras by about 25,000 people. It is also found in West Khandesh.
Kāyeshī (1)	...	...	...	VII	...	63, 92	Another name for the Parbhī form (458) of the Konkan Standard Dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Kāyasthī (2)	453	500	...	VIII	i	11, 183, 207	A form of the Kachchhī Dialect (451) of Sindhī (445), spoken in Cutch (Bombay).
Kayāṭī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Khandesh.
Kayetthāu	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 400 people in Northern Arakan.
Kazi	...	...	...	III	i	72	A name sometimes given to Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan (58)
Kebrak	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Bāṛā (127). Not identified.
Kēchī	...	...	...	X	...	385	A form of Makrānī Balōchī (368).
'Keepgua'	...	...	...	III	iii	59	A form of Thādo (207)
Kehenā	167	6,400	...	III	ii	205, 220, 246 (L.).	A dialect of Angāmī Nāgā (154) spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Kekawngān	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Yinbaw (38) spoken in the Southern Shan States.
Keonthali	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Kiṭṭhali, q.v
Kōrā Bengali	...	...	...	V	i	20	The corrupt Bengali (529) spoken by Bengali settlers in Orissa.
Kora-Uraon	...	...	...	IV	...	79	A form of Muṇḍārī (16)
Kōvatī	...	...	...	VII	...	248	A mixture of Baghēlī (359) and Nāgpurī Marāṭhī (473) spoken by a few people in Nagpur (C. P.).
Kozhāmā	185	1,620	5,238	III	ii	193, 203, 241, 247 (L.).	A language of the Western Nāgā group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in the Naga Hills.
Khādī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1911 Bombay Census Report as a Gipsy language spoken in Surat and Rewakantha. Not identified.
Khādīrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bāgṛurī (536). The language of the Khādir, see Vol IX, Pt. i, p. 66
Khai-mi	...	...	...	III	iii	347	Another spelling of Khami (247)
Khairā	...	...	...	IV	...	107	Another spelling of Kōḍā (19)
Khairārī	723	233,364	...	IX	ii	78, 85	A form of the Mārwārī Dialect (712) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken by Mīnās in the south-west of Jaipur State and the neighbouring parts of the Bundi and Mewar States.
Khajuna	...	...	...	VIII	ii	551	Another name for Burushaski (330). This is the name used by the races neighbouring on Hunza Nagar.
Kha-kaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Aka (376), q. v. *Cf.* Kaw.
Khaked	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Dakhinī Hindōstānī (527) used in Kanara.
Khaku	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kachin (203), q.v.
Khala	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be probably a Wa (5) form of speech, spoken (with Khalam) by 4,000 people in the Kēngtāng Southern Shan State.
Khalam	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be probably a Wa (5) form of speech, spoken (with Khala, by 4,000 people in the Kēngtāng Southern Shan State. In the Census of 1921 it is classed under Wa.
Khāling	104	...	...	III	i	343 (Vocab.), 370	A dialect of Khambū (57), spoken in the upper valleys of Nepal.
Khalōṭī	...	...	...	VI	—	24	Another name for Chhattīsgarhī (572).
Khaṭṭāhī	...	...	...	VI	...	24, 206	Another name for Chhattīsgarhī (572), as spoken in a part of Balaghat (C. P.).
Khauan	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Mishmi (126), spoken in Putao (Burma).
Khambū (1)	87	41,490	3,066	III	i	173, 276, 316	A language of the Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan Group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is mainly spoken in Nepal. The Survey figures include those for Rai or Jindū (88).
Khambū (2)	89	...	...	III	i	276, 316, 349	There are numerous Khambū dialects, all spoken in Nepal. The numbers of their several speakers are therefore unknown.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Khami, Khwê-myi, or Kumi.	237	14,626	27,346	III	iii	3, 10 (Comparative Vocab.), 347, 361 (L.).	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages. It is spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal) and in Arakan (Burma). According to the Burma Linguistic Survey it is spoken by 19,587 people in Akyab and Northern Arakan.
Khamu Dialect	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Bhōṭiā of Khamu.
Khāmtī	52	4,005	9,366	II	...	63, 141	A Tai language spoken in Assam (mostly in Lakhimpur) and beyond the eastern frontier of that Province. In the Census of 1921, the word is spelt 'Kāmti.'
Khāmtī, Standard	53	2,939	...	II	...	141, 214 (L.)	
Khamu, Khamuk, or Khmu.	7a	...	203	...	...	...	A Môn-Khmêr language spoken, according to the Burma Linguistic Survey, by about 30 settlers in Saiseea and Amherst. The classification as Môn-Khmêr is that of that Survey, where the name is spelt Khamuk. *Cf* Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 1. *Cf* Möng Lwe.
Khāndēśī	707	1,253,066	213,272	VII IX	... iii	3, 43 1, 268, 208 (Grammar), 237 (L.).	A language allied, on the one side, to Bhīlī (677), and, on the other, to Marāṭhī (455). It is spoken in Khandesh (Bombay) and the neighbourhood. The Survey figures are the more correct.
Khāndēśī, Standard	708	817,726	...	IX	iii	208, 237 (L.)	
Khangoi	201	500	...	III	ii	463, 472, 481 (L.).	A dialect of Tāngkhul (198) spoken in Manipur State (Assam). The Survey figures are doubtful.
Khanung	277a	...	64	...	...	...	Another name for Nung (277a), *q.v.*
Khārwā	673	...	...	IX	i	437, 461 (L.)	A dialect of Gujarātī (653), spoken by Musalmān Khārwas in Kathiāwar (Bombay).
Kharī	...	...	...	III	ii	265, 271	A name sometimes given to Āo (106)
Kharīā (1)	...	...	...	IV	...	406, 410, 417, 436	A name sometimes wrongly given to Kurukh.
Kharīā (2)	27	73,172	137,476	IV	...	21, 190, 243 (L.)	A Muṇḍā language spoken in Bankura (Bengal) and the south of Chota Nagpur (Bihar and Orissa)
Kharīā-thār	534	2,298	...	V	i	19, 69, 90	A form of the Western Dialect (531) of Bengali (520) spoken by Kharias in Manbhum (Bihar and Orissa).
Kharī Bōlī	...	...	...	IX	i	201	A name given to Braj Bhākhā (599) in the east of the Agra District (U. P.). Also a common name for Hindōstānī (582).
Khārwā or Khārwī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Khārwā, *q.v.*
Kharwārī	...	...	...	V	ii	186	A form of Southern Standard Bhojpuri (530) spoken in Shahabad.
Kharwaran or Khērwarian.	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Kherwarian.
Khāsa	...	...	...	IX	iv	2	The Khasa language and people.
Khāsī	8	177,203	204,103	II	...	4, 38 (L.)	A somewhat independent language forming a Group by itself of the Môn-Khmer Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages. It is spoken in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Assam).
Khāsī, Standard	9	113,190	...	II	...	6	The Standard Dialect of Khāsī.
Khas-kurā, Eastern Pahāṛī, or Naipālī.	731 732	143,731	279,715	IX IX	i iv	xiii 1, 17, 18, 21 (Grammar), 62 (L.).	A language of the Pahāṛī Group of the Inner Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in Nepal, and by Gōrkhā troops in India.
Khaspurjiyā	786	75,980	...	IX	iv	109, 190 (Grammar), 354 (L.).	A sub-dialect of the Kumaunī dialect (785) of Central Pahāṛī (734), spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Khassi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for 'Khāsī,' *q.v.*
Khaṭak Sub-Dialect	350	...		X	...	65, 66	A form of the South-Western Dialect (346) of Pashtō (337), spoken by Khaṭaks in Peshawar, Kohāṭ, and Attock (N.-W. Frontier Province), and Mianwali (Punjab).
Khaṭōlā	614	891,200	...	IX	i	87, 467	A form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (581), spoken in Bundelkhand.
Khaṭvī	...	...	...	IX	ii	447	Another name for Paṭṇūlī (674).
Khaṭṭā	...	...	...	V	ii	146, 147	A form of Eastern Magahī (518).
Khaṭṭahī	...	...	...	V	ii	146, 147	Ditto.
Khaṭṭrīs of Attock, Dialect of.	...	...	...	VIII	i	449	Probably a form of North-Eastern Lahndā (436).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Khayrū	...	...	...	IV	...	107	Another name for Kōjā (19).
Khe	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Shān word for Chinese.
Khe-bu	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Khe-s'a.
Khelma	234	...	...	III	iii	192	A dialect of Hallām (232) spoken in North Cachar (Assam). The Survey figures include also those for the Standard Dialect of Hallām.
Khe-iong	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name used in the Shan States for Yūnanese.
Khendrōl	...	...	...	IV	...	407	Another name for Kurukh (308).
Khe-pok	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Hīno.
Khērā Kapā	...	...	...	IV	...	30	A name sometimes used for Santālī (19).
Kherwārī	14	2,337,323	3,503,215	IV	...	21, 27, 28	A Munḍā language spoken in Chōta Nagpur (Bihar and Orissa) and the neighbouring country. It includes Santālī (19), Mundārī (16), Hō (30), and several other dialects.
Kherwarian or Kharwarian.	...	...	...	IV	...	8	A name used by some for the Munḍā languages.
Khe-s'a	...	...	...	...		...	Another name for Maingthā (260).
Khētrānī or Khēṭrānī	430	14,581	...	VIII	i	240, 372	A corrupt form of Lahndā (415), spoken in Thal-Chotiali (Baluchistan). The Survey figures include also those for Jāfrī (421).
Khlāngam	...	...	...	III	iii	39	A form of Thādo (207).
Khmu	...	...	...	II	...	1	Another name for Khamuk, *q.v.*
Khōjī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of 'Hindī' spoken in the Panch Mahals and Khandesh.
Khoibū	...	...	...	III	ii	472	A form of Maring (262)
Khoirāo	186	15,000	1,508	III	ii	193, 370, 424, 488 (L.).	A Nāgā-Bodo language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Manipur State (Assam). The Survey figures were admittedly a very rough estimate.
Khoja	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Kachchhī (451).
Khond	...	...	...	IV	...	457	Incorrect for Kandh, another name for Kui (308).
Khongos	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Khongoi, *q.v.*
Khongsāi	206	20,000	...	III	iii	69, 88 (L.)	A dialect of Thādo (207), spoken in Manipur State (Assam). It is also a Mēitheī (206) name for Thādo generally. The name is also spelt Khongjai.
Khottāi or Hindī	...	...	...	V	ii	31, 170	A corrupt form of Eastern Magahī (516), spoken in Malda (Bengal).
Khottā Bāṅgālā	...	...	...	V	i	69, 86	A name given to the impure forms of Western Bengali (531) and especially to Sarākī (533).
Khowār, Chitrālī, or Arniyā.	300	...	121	VIII	ii	2, 11 (L.), 132, 144 (L.).	A language of the Dardic or Piśācha Branch of the Aryan languages. It is spoken in Chitral and in a part of Yasin. It forms a group by itself. The Census figures are accidental.
Khuguān or Khugai	...	...	...	X	...	455, 486	Another name for Shughnī (371).
Khuiung-Muthen	...	...	...	III	ii	333	A form of Mateuli (176).
Khu-mi	...	...	...	III	iii	247	Another spelling of Khamī (257).
Khūn	47	...	33,210	...	...	...	A Tai language, not spoken in those parts of India that were subject to the operations of this Survey. Under the name of Khūn it is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 42,378 people in the Shan States, nearly all of whom were in the Southern Shan State of Kengtung.
Khunlong	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Taungthu (85), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey, where it is spelt Khunlong, as spoken in the Southern Shan States.
Khunung	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Nung (277c), *q.v.*
Khwā-myī	...	...	...	III	iii	247	Another name for Khamī (257), *q.v.* It means 'dog's tail,' and is a Burmese nickname.
Khwamba	...	...	...	III	i	316	A dialectic form of the name Khambā (87).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Khyang, Chyang, or Shō	254	100 (35,599)	107	III	iii	3, 10 (Comparative Vocab.), 331, 360-1 (L.).	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal) and the Arakan Yoma (Burma). The figures in parenthesis are those of the Burma Census of 1891. See note to No. 256 in Appendix 1.
Khyau	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Kyau, q.v.
Khyaungtha	...	...	...	III	iii	279	Another spelling of Chaungtha, q.v.
Khyeng	...	...	...	III	iii	331	Another spelling of Khyang, q.v.
Khyin	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Chin, q.v.
Kiso	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name used in the Southern Shan States for Annamese, q.v.
Kili-Dūbārī Jīb	412	...	...	VIII	ii	528	A form of the Maiyā dialect (411) of Kōhistānī (407) spoken in the Indus Kohistan.
Kinār-Ki Bōlī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name used in Jalaun (U. P.) for the form of Bundēli (610) spoken on the banks of the Jamna towards the north-east of the District. The name has the same meaning,—"the language of the river-bank," as Tirhārī (*cf.* 563).
Kiou-tze	...	...	...	...	...	...	Two Chinese name for Nang (277*a*), *q.v.*
Kir	...	...	...	IX	ii	18	A form of the Mārwārī Dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Narsingpur (C. P.).
Kirad	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1901 Bombay Census Report as a form of Urdū (585) spoken in Poona (Bombay).
Kirānī	325	...	...	X	...	452	A form of the Dēhwārī Dialect (332) of Pushtō (331), spoken in Baluchistan.
Kirāntī	...	...	233	III	i	274	A name sometimes applied to the Pronominalized Himalayan Group of Tibeto-Himalayan languages, *q.v.*
Kirārī	628	4,750	...	IX	i	550, 554, 597	A form of the Bundēli Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (531), spoken by Kirārīs in the Chhindwara district (C. P.).
Kirista'r	460	25,500	...	VII	...	61, 62, 83	A form of the Konkan Standard Dialect (457) of Marāthī (455) used by Native Christians in Thana (Bombay).
Kirnī	827	2,938	...	IX	iv	374, 549, 610	A form of the Kōlthalī dialect (821) of Western Pahārī (814), spoken in the Simla Hills (Panjab)
Kirsānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Rājasthānī (712) reported from Indore State. Not since identified.
Kisān	...	...	...	IV	.	107	"The language of cultivators." Hence, another name for Kōdā (19).
				IV	...	407, 410, 427, 428, 430, 433, 434, 436, 440, 442.	Also, another name for Kurukh (805).
Kishanganjiā	...	...	...	V	i	139	Another name for Siriponā (541).
Kishangarhī	746	116,700	...	IX	ii	31, 188	A form of the Central Eastern Dialect (740) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Kishangarh State (Rajputana) and the vicinity.
Kishtwārī	...	...	...	VIII	ii	242	Incorrect for Kashtawārī (401), *q.v.*
Kōlthalī	821	188,763	...	IX	iv	549, 550	A dialect of Western Pahārī (814) spoken in the Simla Hills.
Kōlthalī, Eastern	...	...	...	IX	iv	598	A form of Simla Sirājī (824).
Kōlthalī, Standard	822	43,577	...	IX	iv	559 (Vocab. and Gramm.), 628 (L.).	Spoken in the country round Simla.
Kōlshan	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Lai (319) spoken in the Chin Hills. The number of speakers is not stated. It may be merely the name of a village.
Klang-klang	...	...	...	III	iii	115	Another name for Tlanglang (321).
Klongkhai	...	...	...	III	iii	126	The Arakan name for Lakher (123).
Kloulong	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Taungthu (36) spoken in Thaton District (Burma).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Koh	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Shāṇ (49) spoken by a few people in Assam. Not dealt with in this Survey.
Kōch (1)	188	10,200	16,165	III	ii	68, 93, 135 (L.)	A language of the Bārā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in the Garo Hills and Goalpara (Assam) and Dacca (Bengal).
Kōch (2)	540	85,000	...	V	i	19, 119, 135	A form of the Northern Dialect (598) of Bengali (629), spoken in Malda (Bengal). It is a curious fact that its grammar strongly resembles that of Oriyā (502).
Kōchā	328	51,883	...	IX	iv	549, 613	A form of the Kōṭgāhī Dialect (521) of Western Pahārī (314), spoken in Bushahr State, Simla Hills (Panjab)
Kōḍā (1)	...	...	...	IV	...	84	A name used in Birbhum (Bengal) for Muṇḍārī (16).
Kōḍā (2)	...	...	...	IV	...	406, 410, 427	A name sometimes wrongly given to Kurukh (305).
Kōḍā (3)	19	8,949	19,890	IV	...	21, 23, 107	A dialect of Kherwārī (14), spoken in Western Bengal, South Chota Nagpur, and North Orissa. The name is also spelt Kōrā.
Kodagu or Coorgi	301	37,218	39,995	IV	...	266	A Dravidian language spoken in Coorg.
Kōḍā-kū	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Kōrā-kū.
Kōḍārī	...	...	...	IV		107	A name used in Sargoja State for Kōḍā (19), *q.v.*
Kōhāṭī	...	...	...	VIII	i	243, 433, 450, 458, 522 (L.)	A name given to the form of North-Eastern Lahndā (436) spoken in Kohat (N.-W. Frontier Province).
Kōhistānī	407	...	6,362	VIII	ii	2, 8, 11 (L.), 140, 507	A language of the Dard Group of the Dardic or Piśācha languages, spoken in the Swat and Indus Kohistans.
Kōlḷī	...	...	...	...	...	398	A corrupt Marāṭhī (455). It is a caste-dialect of Chanda (C. P.) and is identical with Kunbāū (484), *q.v.*
Kōli	316	51,127	...	IV	...	473, 476, 538, 541, 545, 546.	A dialect of Gōṇḍī (313), spoken in Chanda and Bastar (C. P.), and Vizagapatam and Godavari (Madras).
Koilong	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Malayālam (293). Compare Coilong, which, in the same Report, is reported as a form of Kōṅkaṇī (404).
Koirong	...	...	...	III	iii	384	A corrupt form of the name 'Koibrang' (339), *q.v.*
Kol or Kōl	...	...	...	IV	...	7, 28	Connotation of the word as a language-name.
				IV	...	445	A name sometimes wrongly given to Kurukh (305).
				IV	...	70	A name sometimes used for the Kārmālī form of Santālī (15).
				IV	...	82	A name sometimes used for Muṇḍārī (16).
				IV	...	116	A name sometimes used for Hō (20).
Kōl	...	...	...	IV	...	7	Hodgson spoke of the great Kōl language, of which Santālī (15), Bhumij (17), Kurukh (305), and Muṇḍārī (16) were, according to him, dialects.
Kōlāmī	309	23,295	23,939	IV	...	286, 474, 561	A language of the Intermediate Group of the Dravidian family. It is spoken in Wardha, Amraoti, and Wun (Berar).
Kōlāmī, Standard	310	23,160	...	IV	...	561	
Kolarian	...	...	...	IV	...	8	A name formerly used to designate the Muṇḍā languages.
Kolavana	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Poona. Not since identified.
Kōlavī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Sholapur. Perhaps the same as Koravā (287).
Kōlhāṭī	362	2,367	...	XI	...	2, 5, 6, 71	A Gipsy language (314) spoken by vagrants in Chanda (C. P.), Berar, and the Bombay Deccan.
Kolhreng	339	750	860	III	iii	2, 181, 234, 384 (L.)	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. 'Kolhreng,'—not 'Kolrēn' or 'Kol-eng,' as given in the Survey,—is the correct spelling of the name of this language. The Survey figures are admittedly a rough estimate. The language is spoken in the Manipur State (Assam).
Kōlī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Variant spellings of Hō or Kōl (20) and of Kuluī (382).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Kōṅkī	459	189,136	...	VII	...	61, 62, 78, 392 (L.).	A form of the Konkan Standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in Bombay Town and Island, Thana, Kolaba, and Janjira (Bombay).
Kōlī-Pālus Sub-Dialect	413	...	...	VIII	ii	532	A form of the Maiyā dialect (411) of Kōhistānī (407), spoken in the Indus Kohistan.
Kolrēn	...	...	...	III	iii	234	Incorrect for Kolhreng (239), q.v.
Kolya	...	...		III	ii	424	Another name for Khoirāo (158).
Kōm	240	750	2,865	III	iii	3, 181, 244, 294 (L.).	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Manipur State (Assam). The Survey figures are admittedly a rough guess.
Kōmṭīṭu	321	5,337	...	IV	...	577, 594	A dialect of Telugu (319) spoken by Kōmṭīs and other tribes in the C. P.
Kon or Kun	...	...			...	...	An unclassed (probably Kuki-Chin) language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 260 people in North Arakan.
Konda, Kondadora, Kondakāpu, Kōṭa, or Dora	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Kui (308), reported in the 1891 Madras Census Report, p. 130.
Konga or Kongadi		...	...	...	...	...	The Kanarese name for any Dravidian language not locally understood (generally Tamil (285)).
Kongon	...	...	...	III	ii	381	A name sometimes used for Angwānka (173)
Konkan Standard	457	2,350,817	...	VII	...	61, 65 (Gr.)	A dialect of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in the north of the Konkan.
Kōṅkaṇī (1)	494	1,565,291	406,808	VII	.	1,163, 167 (Gr.), 188 (as spoken by Saraswat Brāhmans in Karwar), 248, 392 (L.).	A dialect of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in the south of the Konkan. It is also called Gōmaṇtakī or Goanese. The Survey figures include speakers of the dialect in Portuguese India.
Kōṅkaṇī, Standard	495	653,450	...	...	...		
Kōṅkaṇī (3)	601	223,613	...	IX	iii	6, 108, 130	A dialect of Bhīlī (577), spoken in Navsari of Baroda, Surat, Surgana, Nasik, and Khandesh (Bombay).
Kōṅkaṇī Musalmāns, Dialect of,	...	...	...	VII	...	92	A form of the Kōḍī Sub-Dialect (459) of the Konkan Standard Dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455).
Konni	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Kunni.
Konyak	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name used in the 1921 Assam Census Report for the Nāgā languages spoken in the Konyak territory of the Naga Hills. It includes Tamlu (174) and Tableng (173).
Koopooee	...	...	...	III	ii	416	Another name for Kabu or Kapwī (137).
Korn	...	...	.	IV	..	318	Another name for Koravа (287)
Kōṛā	...	...	...	IV	...	107	Another spelling of Kōḍā (19)
Koracha	...	...	...	IV	..	318	Another name for Koravа (287)
Koraga	...	...	...	.	...	...	A secret Dravidian language of Madras. Probably a dialect of Tuḷu (302).
Kōṛā-kū	.	...	..	IV	...	147	Another name for Korwā (35) Also spelt Kōḍākū.
Koruma	..	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Koravа (287).
Kōṛā-mandi Thār	...	...	...	IV	...	107	Another name for Kōḍā (19).
Kōcāṭī	...	...	...	IV	...	135	Another name for the Erijiā form (34) of Asurī (23). A dialect of Kherwārī (24).
Kōcava	287	55,116	...	IV XI	.. ...	299, 318 1	A dialect of Tamil (285), spoken by Koravas, a vagrant tribe of Madras. The Survey figures include those for Yerukala (338) which is probably the same language.
Kōcchārī	...	...	...	IV	...	318	Another name for Koravа (287).
Korchī	...	...	...	IV	..	319	Ditto.
Kōcku	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Kūrkū (26), q.v.
Kōṛ-kū	...	...	...	IV	...	149	Another name for Korwā (35).
Kōcō Pārsī	...	...	...	IV	...	167	Another name for Kūrkū (26).
Kocṭha	...	...		V	ii	146, 147	A form of Eastern Magahī (518).
Kocvī	...	...	...	IV	...	318, 345 (L.)	Another name for Koravа (287).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Korwā	25	20,237	21,655	IV	..	21, 28, 147, 241 (L.).	A dialect of Khaṛwāṛī (14), spoken in Chota Nagpur (Bihar and Orissa), and South Mānbhūm (Bengal).
Kōrwā	...	...	...	IV	..	416	A name sometimes wrongly given to Kurukh (309).
Korwārī	...	...	...	IV	...	146	Another name for Korwā (25).
				VI	...	116	
Kōsalī	...	...	...	VI	...	9	Another name for Awadhī (558).
Kōshir[x]	...	...	...	VIII	ii	238	Another name for Kāshmīrī (399).
Kōshṭī (1)	483	2,900	...	VII	...	216, 244, 248, 291.	A form of the Berar Dialect (470) of Marāṭhī (455). It is spoken by the Kōshṭis, or weavers, of Berar.
Kōshṭī (2)	629	14,622	...	IX	i	88, 547, 550, 560, 564.	A form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (361), spoken by Kōshṭis in the C. P.
Kōta	304	1,201	1,192	IV	...	286	A Dravidian language, spoken in the Nīlgiri Hills (Madras).
Kōṭalī	602	40,000	...	IX	iii	6, 108, 168	A dialect of Bhīlī (377) spoken in the Satpuras of Khandesh (Bombay).
Kotang	...	...	...	III	iii	59	A form of Thādo (307).
Kōṭgarhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect spelling of Kōtgarhi, *q.v.*
Kōtgarhi	...	...	...	IX	iv	648	Another name for Sōdēkhī (530).
Kōṭīl, Kōṭlī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Kōṭalī (602), *q.v.*
Kōṭiyā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras caste-name, used as a synonym for Oriyā (502).
Kōṭkhāī	...	...	...	IX	iv	598	A form of Simla Sirajī (824).
Kōṭṭā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Konda, *q.v.*, *i.e.*, Kui (303), spoken in Vizagapatam (Madras) by Kōṭṭāvadlu, who are here a tribe of Kondadoras.
Kōṭvālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1921 Bombay Census Report as a Bhīl dialect spoken in the Eastern parts of the Surat District and Agency. Also called Vitīhotrā or Vitōlīā. Cf. Kōṭalī.
Kōyā	...	...	...	IV	..	541	Another name for Kōi (316).
Kshatrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name used for Hindōstānī (583) in Madras, where the so-called Kshatriyas speak that language.
Kuchbandhī	861	...	...	XI	...	2, 119	A Gipay language, spoken in Bahraich (U. P.).
Kuchu	...	...	...	III	ii	68	Another name for the Atong dialect (137) of Gārō (134).
Kudālī	496	90,000	...	VII	...	61, 163, 194	The form of Marāṭhī (455) used by all Hindūs, except Brāhmaṇs, of the country between Goa and Rajapur in Ratnagiri (Bombay). It is also called Mālvaṇī (VII, 194).
Kodī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Bāṛā (127). Not identified.
Kudiyā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kodagu (301).
Kudo	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kadu (281). Probably only a misspelling.
Kudubi	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Kōṅkaṇī (494). A Madras caste-name.
Kui, Kandhī, or Khondī	303	313,552	433,863	IV	...	268, 457, 548 (L.).	A Dravidian language of the Intermediate Group. Spoken in Orissa (Khondmals, Angul, Patna, and Kalahandi) and Madras (Ganjam and Vizagapatam). The Survey figures do not include the speakers in Madras, as the Survey did not extend to that Presidency.
Kuki-Chin Group	...	567,625	796,314	III III	i iii	2 1, 8, 15	A group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Many of the languages of this group are spoken only in Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey.
Kuki-languages	...	...	...	III	iii	2	
Kuki, New	...	...	...	III	iii	2	See New Kuki.
Kuki, Old	...	...	...	III	iii	2	See Old Kuki.
Kulī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1921 C. P. Census Report as a form of Oriyā (502). Not identified.
Kulsang	...	...	...	IV	...	242	Another name for Burgahī (232).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Kulu Group	832	84,631	126,793	IX	iv	374, 669	A Group of dialects of Western Pahāṛī (814), spoken in Kulu (Panjab). The Census figures include also the speakers of the Satlaj Group (829).
Kuluhī	...	...	...	IX	iv	669	Another name for Kuluī (833).
Kuluī	833	54,080	...	IX	iv	374, 669, 670 (Gr.), 705 (L.).	A language of the Kulu Group of dialects (832) of Western Pahāṛī (814). It is spoken in Kulu (Panjab).
Kulung	101	...	...	III	i	343 (Voc.), 366	A dialect of Khambū (87), spoken in the upper valleys of Nepal.
Kuluvara	...	...	...	IV	...	316	Another name for Koravā (287).
Kulvādi	...	...	...	VII	...	52	A corrupt form of Standard Marāṭhī (456), spoken by Kunbis in Dharwar (Bombay).
Kumaiyā	798	37,696	...	IX	iv	109, 294	A form of the Kumaunī dialect (785) of Central Pahāṛī (784), spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Kumaunī	785	436,735	...	IX	iv	1, 108, 112 (Gr.), 253 (Kumaunī-English Voc.), 267 (English-Kumaunī Voc.), 354 (L.).	A dialect of Central Pahāṛī (784) spoken in Almora and Naini Tal Districts (U. P.).
Kumbar	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Coorg name for Kanarese (296)
Kumbhār Sub-Dialects, or Kumbhārī (1).	620	4,920	...	IX	i	98, 547, 550, 554, 565.	A corrupt form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (631) spoken by Kumbhārs in Chhindwara (C. P.) and Buldana (Berar)
Kumbhārī (2)	483	4,500	...	VII IX	... i	318, 348, 295 565	A corrupt form of the Berar Dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken by Kumbhārs in Akola (Berar).
Kumbhārī (3)	670	30	...	VI	...	19, 174, 180	A corrupt form of the Baghēlī Dialect (569) of Eastern Hindī (557) spoken by Kumbhārs in Bhandara (C. P.)
Kumbārī	...	...	...	...	...	.	Another spelling of Kumbhārī, q.v.
Kumī	...	...	...	III	iii	347	Another name for Khamī (267).
Kun	...	...	...	III	iii	329	A language spoken in Arakan, if the word is a language-name, and not that of a tribe. It is referred to, but not described, in this Survey. It is mentioned in the Burma Linguistic Survey under the name of 'Kon,' q. v.
Kunbī	484	110,150	...	VII	...	318, 298	A form of the Central Provinces Dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455). It is a caste-dialect of the Kunbis of Chanda (C. P.), and is identical with Kōṅkī, q. v. It is simply a corrupt Marāṭhī.
Kunbī or Kuṇbī (1)	703	400,000	...	IX	iii	202, 221, 227 (L.).	A dialect of Khāndēśī (707), spoken by Kunbis of Khandesh (Bombay).
Kuṇbī (2)	461	968,000	...	VII	...	1, 61, 63, 84	A variety of the Konkan Standard Dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (456) spoken by Kunbis in the Bombay Presidency. It is merely the ordinary Konkan Standard with local variations.
				VII	...	222, 232, 235, 322.	In Berar (Akola and Buldana) this name is used for the Varhāḍī Dialect (477) of Marāṭhī when used by the uneducated.
Kuṇḍī (1)	...	...	...	VI	...	148	A form of the Jūṭmī Sub-Dialect (565) of Baghēlī (569) spoken in Banda (U. P.).
Kuṇḍī (2)	617	11,000	...	IX	i	87, 427, 479, 527	A form of Bundēlī (610) spoken in Hamirpur (U. P.).
Kunhawt	...	...	...	...	...	..	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken by 1,148 people in the Northern Shan States.
Kunjūtī	...	...	...	VIII	ii	551	A name for Burushaskī (650) which is used in Yarkand.
Kunlai	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4), q.v.
Kunlong	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Taungthu (36), q.v.
Kunsi or Kosai	...	...	...	...	...	.	Another name for Kaseabyu (93), q.v.
Kunsalan	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken by 10 people in the Möng Long Northern Shan States.
Kupsi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect spelling of Kabui or Kapsi (187), q.v.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Kuramwārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Kurumwārī. See Kurumba (299).
Kurerlā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Siripuriā (541). The name of a tribe that speaks the dialect.
Kūrkū	26	111,684	120,893	IV	...	21, 167, 242 (L.)	A Mundā language spoken in the Satpura and Mahadeo Hills (C. P. and Berar).
Kurmālī Thār	...	...	...	V	ii	146, 147, 227 (L.).	A form of Eastern Magahī (518) spoken by Kurmīs of Hazaribagh, Manbhum, and below the Chota Nagpur Plateau as far south as Morbhanj (Bihar and Orissa).
Kurmī Bhumij			...	IV		94	A form of Bhumij (17) spoken in the Chota Nagpur State of Sonai (Bihar and Orissa).
Kuro	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Kachchhī (451). Not identified.
Kurra	...	...		IV	...	318	Another name for Korava (287).
Kurukh or Oraõ	305	503,989	845,732	IV	...	296, 406, 647 (L.).	A Dravidian language of the Intermediate Group, spoken in Chota Nagpur (Bihar and Orissa) and to the south.
Kurumālī or Kurmālī		...		V	ii	31, 140, 146, 172.	A form of Eastern Magahī (518). See Kurmālī Thār. The name is pronounced Kurmālī in Morbhanj.
Kurumba or Kurumwārī	299	10,899	...	IV XI	... ...	383, 396 1	A dialect of Kanarese (296). It is spoken by the Kurumwārs, a wild pastoral tribe of Chanda (C. P.). Its proper home is the Nilgiris (Madras), to which the operations of the Survey did not extend.
Kusik	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Māndē Kusik.
Kusūnda	108		...	III	i	399, 403	An Eastern Proconsonalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in the Nepal Himalaya.
Kusuār	...	...	...	IX	iv	19, 88 (L.)	A corrupt form of Khas-kurā, Eastern Pahārī, or Naipālī (781) spoken in Nepal. Also spelt Kasaūr
Kuṭhārī	...	3,789	...	IX	iv	495	A name given to the Baghāṭī (820) spoken in Kuthar State (Punjab).
Kuṭhārī-Baghāṭī	...	1,069	...	IX	iv	495	A name given to the Baghāṭī (820) spoken in Bija State Punjab).
Kuṭni	...	...					The name of a Gipsy dialect reported from Mysore.
Kwahring Klang	...	...	...	...	...		A dialect of Lai (219) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Chin Hills. The number of speakers is there not stated.
Kwangli	229a	...	3,604	...	...	...	A dialect of Lai (219) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Chin Hills. The number of speakers is there not stated.
Kwanhui	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 6,039 people in the Northern Shan States.
Kwelahin, E, or Mi Err	...	...	2,458	...	...	...	A dialect of Lai (219) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 4,000 people in the Chin Hills and also reported in the All-India Census Report in place of Haka (220), *q.v.*
Kwe Myi	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Khami (257), *q.v.*
Kwesha	...	...	...	III	iii	107	A form of Shoulda (218). *Cf* Bualzinge.
Kwi or Lahu Shi	277	...	8,676	III	iii	382	A language of the Lolo-Mosso Group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Kwi is the Wa name of the language. In the Burma Linguistic Survey it is reported to be spoken by 2,500 people in the Southern Shan States.
Kwin-pang	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Tangsa.
Kwoireng or Liyāng	197	5,000	...	III	ii	193, 431, 463, 480 (L.).	A Nāgā-Kuki language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Manipur State (Assam). The Survey figures are admittedly a rough estimate.
Kyan or Chaw	241	—	351	III	iii	8, 181, 254	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken in North Arakan. The correct spelling of the name is probably 'Kyaw.'
Kyaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Kyan.
Kyō or Kyoutā	...	...	...	III	ii	265, 284	A name sometimes given to Lhōtā (169).
La or Lawa	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Wa (5), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Labāna or Lubānī	...	...	...	IX	iii	255	Another name for Banjārī or Labhānī (771).
Labhānki	...	...	...	IX	iii	255, 297	Another name for Banjārī or Labhānī (771), used in the Panjab.
Labbai	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras caste-name, used as a synonym for Tamil (255).
Labein	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Yabein, *q.v.*
Labhānī	...	...	...	IX	iii	255	Another name for Banjārī (771).
Labhānī, of Panjab and Gujarat.	772	23,733	...	IX	iii	259, 297 (Panjab), 303 (Bujarat), 317 (L.).	One of the dialects of Banjārī (771), *q.v.*
Laccadive	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Malayālam (393). It is the language of the Laccadives.
Lād	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Lāḍī (863).
Lāda	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras name for Banjārī or Labhānī (771).
Ladakhī	...	...	...	III	i	51	See Bhōṭiā of Ladakh.
Ladar (? Lādar)	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Bijapur and Kanara. The word may be merely the Kanarese plural of Lād.
Ladhāḍī	329	2,132	...	IV	...	473, 637	A Semi-Dravidian Hybrid spoken in Berar.
Lāḍī	863	500	...	XI	...	2, 5, 47	A Gipsy language reported from Berar. It is also called Lād.
Laghārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to the Balōchī (361) spoken by Laghārīs and northern tribes of the lower Dērājāt and adjacent hills.
Laghmānī	...	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 89	Another name for Pashai or Dēgānī (385).
Lahānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Khandesh and the Panch Mahals. Not since identified. ? a corruption of 'Labhānī,' *q.v.*
Laharang	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kanam, *q.v.* Possibly the same as Lōhōrōng (93).
Lahndā or Western Panjābī.	416	7,092,751	5,652,264	VIII	i	1, 233	A language of the North-Western Group of the Outer Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in the Western Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province. The Census figures are too low.
Lahndā, North-Eastern Dialects.	436	1,752,755	...	VIII	i	239, 242, 431 (Compared with N.-W. Dialect), 552 (L.).	
Lahndā, North-Western Dialects.	433	881,425	...	VIII	i	239, 241, 491 (Compared with N.-E. Dialects), 541.	
Lahndā, Standard Dialect	416, 417	1,507,827	...	VIII	i	233, 272, 412 (L.).	The purest form of the Standard is that of Shahpur (Panjab) (417), of which the number of speakers is 447,000.
Lahndā-Paṇjābī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Paṇjābī-Lahndā.
Lāhōrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to the Paṇjābī (682) of Lahore.
La Hpai	...	...	...	...	...	...	See La Phai.
Lahsa Shān	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Las's Shān.
La Hta	...	...	...	...	...	...	See La Tha.
Lahu	...	...	...	III	iii	383	A name of Ho-s's (274), *q.v.*, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 18,349 people in the Shan (chiefly the Southern Shan) States. This is the name used by the people themselves.
Lāhulī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Bhōṭiā of Lahul (63)
Lāhuli of Chamba	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Chamba Lāhulī.
Lahu Shi	...	...	...	III	iii	383	Another name for Kwi (277).
Lai	219	24,559	43,731	III	iii	2, 10 (Comparative Vocab.), 107, 115, 169 (L.).	A Central Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. In the Burma Linguistic Survey it is reported as spoken by 45,000 people in the Chin Hills. The Census figures are incomplete. The figures of the Linguistic Survey of India do not include speakers in Burma. They refer only to the speakers in the Lushai Hills (Bengal).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Laiyo or Laizau	222a	...	9,277	...	...	...	A dialect of Lai (219), spoken in the Chin Hills.
Lakan	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Karenni (40), q.v.
Lakher, Mara, or Tlongsai	223	1,100	6	III	iii	3, 107, 126	A dialect of Lai (219), spoken in the Lushai Hills (Assam). The tribe speaking it is called Lakher by the Lushais, and Zao by the Chins.
Lakū	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Bwē (32) spoken in the Southern Shan States.
Lalleing	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be a form of Shanda spoken by 720 people in North Arakan. Shanda is another name for Chin.
Lālung	130	40,160	10,383	III	ii	2, 4, 49, 132 (L.)	A language of the Bodo Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in the Assam Valley
Lama	...	...	...	III	i	72	Another name for Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan (59).
Lamāṇī	...	...	...	IX	iii	355, 372	Another name for Banjārī or Labhānī (771), used in Nasik and Belgaum (Bombay).
Lambāḍī	...	...	...	IX	iii	355	Another name for the same, used in Southern India.
Lambānī	...	...	...	IX	iii	355	Another name for the same.
Lāmbichhōng	94	...	...	III	i	342 (Vocab.), 355	A Khambū (27) dialect spoken in the upper valleys of Nepal.
Lamet	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Môn-Khmēr language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 231 people in the Kēngtung Southern Shan State. Cf. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 1, where the name is spelt Le-met.
Langkhat	205a	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Kachin (203) spoken in Putao.
Langkhe	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Banjōgī (822).
Langrong	236	6,266	...	III	iii	3, 181, 207, 292 (L.).	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Cachar (Assam) and Hill Tipperu State.
Langtamē	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Empēo (183) name for Kukis generally.
Langtung	209	5,500	...	III	iii	61	A dialect of Thādo (207), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Lānpūtī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Ahīrwātī (752) spoken in the Nabha State (Panjab).
Lantea	...	...	...	III	iii	384	A form of Yao (42).
Lao	44	...	2,851	...	...	...	A foreign member of the Tai Group of the Siamese-Chinese Sub-Family. It is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by about 3,000 people in Salween and Amherst.
La Phai	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Kachin (203), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey (where it is spelt La Hpai) as spoken by 180 people in the Northern Shan States. ? the same as Lepai. It is really a tribal name.
Lārī	450	40,000	...	VIII	i	9, 10, 169, 215 (L.).	A dialect of Sindhī (445) spoken in Lower Sind.
Lariā	...	...	...	VI	...	24	Another name for Chhattīsgarhī (573). This is the name used by the Oriyā-speaking population to the east. In Dhenkanal Orissa Tributary State, the name is used for the form of Oriyā (503) spoken by Lariās.
Larka Kol	...	...	...	IV	...	116	Another name for Hō (20).
Lasi Bela Sub-Dialect	389	145,790	...	X	...	330, 331	A form of the Eastern Dialect (355) of Balochī (361) spoken in Las Bela (Baluchistan). It is a mixed form of speech. The Survey figures include also those for Sind and Bahawalpur (Panjab).
Lasa Shān	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Maingthā (280).
Lashi	262	...	16,570	III III	ii iii	502 382	Classed in the Census of 1911 as a Kachin (203) hybrid. Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 23,362 people in Myitkyina and Northern Shan States. For the correct classification, see Kachin-Burma Hybrids.
Lāsī	449	42,812	...	VIII	i	9, 10, 158, 214 (L.).	A dialect of Sindhī (445), spoken in Las Bela (Baluchistan).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
La Tha	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Zayein (41), q.v. In Burma spelt La Hta.
Lathawng	...	...	...	III	ii	501	A Kachin (208) Tribe.
Lauckaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale Dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 178 people in Möng Loung Northern Shan State.
Lauklan	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the same as another form of the same Pale, spoken by 602 people in the same State.
Lauklang	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the same as another form of the same Pale, spoken by 466 people in the same State.
Laukion	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the same as another form of the same Pale, spoken by 719 people in the same State.
Laukmun	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the same as another form of the same Pale, spoken by 40 people in the same State.
Laungwaw	...	...	...	...	...		A dialect of Maru (263) spoken in Myitkyina (Burma).
Lavānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another form of the name Lobhāni, i.e. Banjārī (771).
Lawa	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Wa (5), q.v.
Law'ho	...	...	...	III	iii	382	A Chinese name for Kwi (277).
Lawi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Yinbaw (32), q.v.
Lawlaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Lolo, q.v.
Lawngwaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an alternative name for Maru (263), used in Myitkyina.
Lawt'u	2595	...	3,043	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language spoken in the Chin Hills.
Ledu	2595	...	2,011	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language spoken in Kyaukpyu and Akyab.
Leh Dialect	...	...	...	III	i	53	A form of Bhōṭiā of Ladakh (51)
Lem	7a	...	782	...	...	...	An unclassed language, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as probably a Wa (5) language, spoken by 3,170 people in the Kengtung Southern Shan State. In the 1921 Census Report it is classed as a Palaung-Wa language. *Cf.* Tak-lem.
Le-mei	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Larsor.
Lengreng	...	...	...	III	iii	207	Another name for Langrong (286).
Leotkuh-i-wār	...	...	...	X	...	518	Another name for Yōdghā (378).
Lepai	...	...	...	III	ii	500	A Kachin (208) tribe. *Cf.* La Phai.
Lepcha	...	...	...	III	i	283	Another name for Róng (118).
Lhāwi	...	...	...	XI	...	2, 80	Another name for Mylinwālā (366).
Lhoke	...	...	...	III	i	[illegible]	Another name for Bhōṭiā of Bhutan (69).
Lhōtā or Tsōntā	160	22,000	16,418	III	ii	193, 265, 284, 293 (L.)	A Central Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Lidang or Lippā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a dialect of Kanauri (77). Not mentioned in this Survey.
Lihsaw or Yawyin	...	...	...	III III	ii iii	502 382	Described as a Kachin (208) Hybrid. It is really the same as the Lis'aw or Lisu of the Burma Linguistic Survey. See Lisu.
Limbū	85	24,045	23,402	III	i	178, 275, 283	An Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in Darjiling, Sikkim, and Central Nepal.
Lippā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Lidang, q.v.
Lisu	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Lisu (275), q.v.
	275	...	13,152	III	iii	383	A language of the Lolo-Mo'so Group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. In the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is reported to be spoken by 12,026 people in Northern Burma Hill Districts and in the Shan States. Alternative names are Lis'aw and Yawyin.
Liyāng	...	...	...	III	ii	198, 431, 462	Another name for Kwolong (197), q.v.
Lōbhānā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Banjārī or Lobhāni (771).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Lōbyālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Lōbhyā (307), *q.v.*
Lodhāntī or Rāṭhōrī	618	145,500	...	IX	i	87, 422, 427, 428.	A form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (681), spoken in the Jalaun and Hamirpur Districts (U. P.)
Lōdhī	621	18,600	...	IX	i	88, 547, 548	A form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (681), spoken in Bhandara (C. P.)
Lōdhiyō kī Bōlī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Lodhāntī (618).
Lohānā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Sindhī (445) used in Madras. Properly a caste-name.
Lōhbyā	607	9,748	...	IX	iv	250, 325	A form of the Garhwālī Dialect (604) of Central Pahāṛī (784) spoken in Garhwal and Almora
Loleirh	...	...	...	III	iii	388	A Chinese name for Kwi (277).
Lōhorōng	93	...	...	III	i	242 (Vocab.), 359	A dialect of Khambū (37), spoken in Nepal.
Lohtaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of 'Lawt'a' (2356), *q.v.*
Loi Lin	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Ruby Mines District.
Loilong	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Zayein (41), *q.v.*
Lokan	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Lakan, *q.v.*
Lolo	978	...	769	III	iii	388	A Lolo-Mos'o language spoken in Sze-ch'wan and Yünnan. A few speakers are found in the Northern Shan States.
Lolo-Mos'o Group	...	...	75,683	III	iii	388	A Group of Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Burma and beyond the frontier, and not dealt with in this Survey. Particulars reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey will be found under the separate languages.
Lōnārī	...	...	...				Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Sahara. Probably the Marāṭhī spoken by people of the Lōnārī caste.
Lōrī Chinī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1921 Baluchistan Census Report as the Gipsy slang argot of the Lōrīs.
Lū	46	...	26,106	...	...	...	A Tai language, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 17,331 people in the Southern Shan State of Kēngtāng.
Ludha	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 C. P. Census Report as a form of Oriyā (502). Not identified.
Lodhiyāntī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Lodhāntī (618).
Luhupā or Luppā	...	...	...	III	ii	135, 451, 463	A name sometimes given to Tāngkhul (198).
Lūi	278	...	...	III	iii	43	A group of languages reported to be spoken in Manipur State (Assam). Too little is known about it to permit of its being definitely classified. It contains three languages,—Andro (279), Sengmai (279), and Chairel (280). Kada (281), spoken in Burma, is closely connected with the two first. The connexion of Chairel with the other two is very doubtful.
Lumyang Kuki	...	...	...	III	iii	281	Probably the same as Hirōi-Langūng (248).
Lungchaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 500 people in the Chin Hills.
Lūnī	856	...	...	X	...	112	A form of the South-Western Dialect (848) of Pashtō (837) spoken in Baluchistan.
Luppā	...	...	...	III	ii	135, 451, 463	Another form of the name 'Lohūpā,' *q.v.*
Lushēi or Dulien	224	40,539	77,160	III	iii	2, 10 (Comparative Vocab.), 107, 127, 160 (L.).	A Central Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the Lushai Hills and Cachar (Assam).
Luṭkho-t-wār	...	...	...	X	...	518	Incorrect for Leṭkuh-t-wār, *i.e.* Yūdgha (678).
Lu-tse	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Nung (277*a*), *q.v.*
Lwekun	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 91 people in the Möng Long Northern Shan State.
Lyem-lyem	...	...	...	III	iii	109	Another name for Zahao (325).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Lyonte	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Lai (219), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Chin Hills. The number of speakers is not stated. It may be merely the name of a village.
Lyng-ngam	10	1,850	..	II	..	4, 17, 38 (L.)	A dialect of Khāsi (8), spoken in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Assam).
Macharīā, or Mancharīā	864	30	...	XI	...	2, 3	A Gipsy language spoken in the Panjab by a tribe of fowlers from Sind. A mixture of Sindhi (445) and Panjabi (482).
Mā-chi	...	...	...	III	ii	73	Another name for the Achik or Standard Dialect (135) of Garō (134).
Madhēsī	527	1,714,036	...	V	ii	42, 44, 400, 289 (L.).	A form of the Bhojpuri Dialect (519) of Bihārī (500) spoken in Champaran (Bihar).
Madrāsī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Tamil (285).
Māgadhī	...	...		V	ii	30	Another name for Magahi (516)
Magahī	516	6,506,817	...	V	ii	5, 30, 123, 326 (L.).	A dialect of Bihārī (506), spoken in South Bihar and North Chota Nagpur (Bihar and Orissa).
Magahi, Eastern	518	313,954	...	V	ii	31, 140, 145	Spoken in the east of the Magahi tract.
Magahi, Standard	517	5,926,103	...	V	ii	31	
Magamasā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A generic name used among the Bodos for the Nāgā languages (154 ff.).
Magar	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Māgari (114).
Magarī	693	44,500	...	IX	iii	6, 31	A dialect of Bhīlī (677†), spoken in Marwara.
Magari	...	...	...	III	i	206	Another spelling of Māgari (114).
Māgari	114	16,979	20,536	III	i	177, 180, 206, 254 (L.).	A Non-Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language, the home of which is in Nepal.
Māghā	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Oriyā (502) spoken by the Māghās of the Orissa Tributary States.
Maghi	...	...	...	III	iii	379	Another name for Arakanese (356).
Maghiā	...	...	...	..	.	..	Another (incorrect) spelling of Magahi (516)
Mah'rī or Mēhacī	...	...	...	VII	..	331, 350	A form of Hal'bi (490).
Māhārī or Dhēdī	485	19,600	...	VII	..	218, 248, 290	A form of the Central Provinces Dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken by Mahārs in Chanda and Chhindwara (C. P.). In the Bombay Presidency these people speak a dialect called by the same name, but it is the ordinary Konkan Standard Marāṭhī (457) (Vol. VII, p. 157).
Mahēwī	...	...	...	..	...	...	A form of Mārwārī (713) spoken in Chanda (C. P.) by Mahēwārīs.
Māhilī	...	..	...	IV	...	74	Another name for the Māhlē form of Santālī (15).
Mahl	691	..		...	...	..	A dialect of Singhalese (499), spoken in the Maldive Islands and Minicoy. It is not dealt with in the Survey.
Māhlē or Māhlī	..	..	20,568	IV	...	27, 29, 32, 74, 240 (L.).	A form of Santālī (15), spoken in the Santal Parganas, Manbhum, and Morbhanj (Bihar and Orissa), and Birbhum (Bengal).
Maihtal	...	...	...	III	iii	▬	The Assamese name for Meithei (206).
Maingtha	240	...	839	III	iii	▬	Classed in the Census of 1911 as a Kachin-Burma Hybrid language, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 2,781 people in the Northern Shan States. The name is a Burmese corruption of Möngpu, the Shān term. For the correct classification see Kachin-Burma Hybrids.
Mai-tai or Mi-tei	...	..	..	III	iii	21	The Dacca name for Meithei (206).
Maitarīā or Matcal	150	1,000	..	III	ii	102	A dialect of Rābhā (148), spoken in the Garo Hills (Assam).
Maithilī	507	10,263,257	...	V	ii	5, 13, 54	A dialect of Bihārī (506), spoken in North and East Bihar.
Maithilī, Eastern	510, 511	1,302,100	...	V	ii	13, 14, 86	Spoken in Central and Western Purnea (Bihar and Orissa). The Survey speakers include 2,800 Tharūs of the Nepal Tarai.
Maithilī, Southern Standard.	509	3,800,000	...	V	ii	13, 54, 79	Spoken in South Darbhanga, North Monghyr, and the Madhipura Sub-Division of Bhagalpur (Bihar and Orissa).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Maithilī, Standard	308	1,940,800	...	V	ii	13, 54, 326 (L.)	Spoken in North and Central Darbhanga (Bihar and Orissa), and to the east.
Maithilī, Western	314	1,783,495	...	V	ii	14, 166	Spoken in Muzaffarpur and East Champaran (Bihar and Orissa).
Malwārhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a Bhīlī language (677) spoken in Khandesh. Not since identified.
Malyē	411	...	...	VIII	ii	3, 307, 532, 581 (L.).	A dialect of Kōhistānī (407), spoken in the south of the Indus Kohistan.
Mājhī	484	3,397,688	...	IX	i	609, 651, 806 (L.).	A form of the Standard Dialect (638) of Paṅjābī (632), spoken in Lahore, Amritsar, and Gurdaspur (Panjab).
Mālji-Kumaiyā	510	39,011	...	IX	iv	830, 832	A form of the Garhwālī Dialect (504) of Central Pahāṛī (784), spoken in Garhwal and Almora (U. P.). It is a mixture of Garhwali and Kumauni (785), and is also called Dō-sandhi.
Makrānī	—	...	...	X	...	229, 362, 376, 434 (L.).	Another name for Western Balōchī (362).
Makrānī (Kēchī)	363	...	...	X	...	385	A form of Western Balōchī (362), spoken in West Baluchistan.
Makrānī (Panjgūrī)	364	...	...	X	...	385	A form of Western Balōchī (362), spoken in West Baluchistan.
Malabar	...	...	...	...	...	...	An old name for Tamil (235) and Malayāḷam (293).
Mālai-bāḷō	...	...	...	IX	ii	33	A name used in Shekhawati for a speaker of Jaipurī (741).
Malkānī	...	...	...	III	i	443	Another name for Kanaujhī (76).
Malār	865	2,809	...	XI	...	2, 5, 6, 153	A Gipsy language spoken in Chota Nagpur (Bihar and Orissa).
Malāsar	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Tamil (235) spoken by a forest tribe.
Malay	2	...	3,610	...	...	...	A language of the Malay Group of the Indo-Nesian Branch of the Austro-Nesian languages. Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 3,659 people, principally in Mergui.
Malay Group	...	...	5,501	...	...	...	A Group of the Indo-Nesian Branch of the Austro-Nesian Sub-Family of the Austric Family of languages. Two languages of this Group are spoken in British India, viz. Sulēn (1) and Malay (2).
Malayāḷam	293	5,425,979	7,497,638	IV	...	286, 293, 348, 647 (L.).	A language of the Dravida Group of the Dravidian languages, spoken in the south-west of the Madras Presidency
Malayāḷam, Standard	294	5,422,292	...	IV	...	288, 348	
Malayārma	...	...	...	IV	...	348	Another name for Malayāḷam (293).
Malayāyma	...	...	...	IV	...	348	Another name for Malayāḷam (293).
Malekudi	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Tuḷu (302). A Madras caste-name.
Maler	...	...	...	IV	...	446	Another name for Malto (307).
Malhar	306	...	344	IV	...	410	Spoken in Chota Nagpur. Apparently a form of Kurukh (305).
Malhesī	...	...	...	III	i	430	A local name for Kanauji (77).
Mālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras caste-name, used as a name for Oṛiyā (502).
Māl Pahāṛiā	528	27,908	...	V	i	19, 99	A form of the Western Dialect (521) of Bengali (529), spoken in the Santal Parganas (Bihar and Orissa). The figures 13,501 given on p. 99 of Vol. V, Pt. I of the Survey are wrong.
				IV	...	446	
Malto or Maler	307	13,801	65,264	IV	...	288, 446, 648 (L.).	A language of the Intermediate Group of the Dravidian Family, spoken in the Santal Parganas (Bihar and Orissa). The figures for this language have also been erroneously given for Mā. Pahāṛiā (528) in Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 99, instead of the correct figures for that language. See the preceding.
Mālvanī	...	...	...	VII	...	163	A name given to the Kōkānī Dialect (434) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Ratnagiri. The same as Kuṇbī (436).
Malvī (P Mālvī)	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (652). Probably the same as the next.
Mālvī	760	4,859,507	...	IX	ii	3, 4, 52, 240	A dialect of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Central India and the adjoining Districts of the Central Provinces

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1931.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Mālvī, Mixed Sub-Dialects	764	274,722		IX	ii	52, 283	Various hybrid forms of Mālvī (760) spoken in Hoshangabad, Betul, Chhindwara, and Chanda (C. P.)
Mālvī, of Hoshangabad	765	126,523	...	IX	ii	283, 289	A mixture of Mālvī (760), Bundēlī (610), and Nimāḍī (770), spoken in Hoshangabad (C. P.).
Mālvī, Standard or Ahīrī	761	3,372,223	...	IX	ii	53 (Gram.), 240, 253, 268, 305 (L.)	The Survey figures include those for Rāngṛī (762).
Mālwāī, Jangalī, or Jaṭkī	641	2,130,054	...	IX	i	610, 709, 806 (L.).	A form of the Standard Dialect (633) of Pañjābī (632) spoken in the South-Eastern Panjab.
Mamtādī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1931 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Khandesh. Not identified.
Mancharīā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported to be spoken by a tribe of fowlers in Kapurthala (Panjab), who are said to have come from Sind. The same as Macharīā (864), *q.v.*
Mancharīī or Faṭal	72	2,894		III	i	177, 438, 452, 532 (L.).	A Western Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in British Lahul.
Maṇḍēāṭī	837	150,000	...	IX	iv	674, 715, 721, 759 (L.).	One of the Mandī Group of Dialects (836) of Western Pahārī (814) spoken in Mandī and Suket States (Panjab). The Survey figures include those for Chhōtā Banghāṭī (838).
Maṇḍēāṭī Pahāṛī or Maṇḍī Sirājī.	839	10,000	...	IX	iv	715, 746, 759 (L.).	Another of the same Group of dialects, spoken in Mandi State (Panjab).
Māṇḍī Kudīk	...	...	...	III	ii	2, 65	A name for Gārō (134) used by the Gārōs themselves.
Mandī Group	836	212,184	237,934	IX	iv	715	A Group of Dialects of Western Pahārī (814), spoken in Mandi and Suket States (Panjab).
Maṇḍī Sirajī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Maṇḍēāṭī Pahāṛī (839)
Maṇḍīāṭā or Ōḍḥwānī	...	...	...	VI	...	158	A corrupt form of Baghēlī (559) spoken in Mandla (C. P.).
Mandēāṭhāī Dialect	258		...	X	...	112	A form of the South-Western Dialect (348) of Pashtō (327), spoken in Baluchistan.
Man Family	...	...	692	...	...	...	A family of languages mainly spoken in Western China, and distinct alike from Mōn Khmēr, Tai, and Tibeto-Burman. It includes Miao (42) in its various dialects and Yao (43).
Mangarī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Māgarī (114), *q.v.*
Mangēlā	...	...	...	VII	...	153	A mixture of Gujarātī (652) and Marāṭhī (455), spoken by Māngēlās of Thana (Bombay).
Mangīāī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Malayālam (298).
Mang Tam	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Mo-s'a, *q.v.*
Manipurī	206	249,637	342,945	III	iii	20	Another name for Meithei (206).
Mānjhī (1)	...	...	...	IX	i	651	Incorrect for Mājhī (634), *q.v.*
Mānjhī (2)	120	...	632	III	i	178	A Non-Pronominalized language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Its classification is doubtful. It is spoken in Nupal.
Māñjhī (1)	...	...	...	IV	...	20	Another name for Santālī (16).
Māñjhī (2)	...	...	...	IV	...	125	Another name for Asurī (22).
Māñjhī (3)	...	...	...	IV	...	147	Another name for Korwā (35).
Mānjh-Kumaiyā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Mājh-Kumaiyā (810), *q.v.*
Manloi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4), *q.v.*
Man-Nawng	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Inḍha (268), *q.v.*
Manō	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Karen (31) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 2,455 people in Karenni. *Cf.* Manō.
Manō	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Red Dialect (32) of Karen (31) spoken in the Southern Shan States. It is not certain that this is not really the same as Manō.
Manpum	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 46 people in the Möng Long Northern Shan State.
Manthanī	...	...	...	IV	...	394	A form of Telugu (319) spoken in Chanda (C. P.).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Manton	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale Dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 170 people in the Hsipaw Northern Shan State.
Man-Tong-Awe	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale Dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 4,009 people in the South Hsenwi Northern Shan State.
Man-Tong-Long	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale Dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 1,700 people in the South Hsenwi Northern Shan State.
Man Tun	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Wa (5) spoken by 1,730 people in the Maughun East Northern Shan State.
Manu-Mahaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Karenni (40), q.v.
Mānyāk	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Tibetan (58) spoken in Eastern Tibet.
Māoli	470	35,000	...	VII	...	61, 64	A form of the Konkan Standard Dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (450), spoken in the Māval, or country above the Sahyadri, between Poona and Thana (Bombay). Probably the same as Ghāṭī (469) (VII, p. 64).
Māo Nōga	...	...	...	III	ii	193, 451	Another name for Sopvoma (194).
Māplē or Māppilī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Malayāḷam (293), as spoken by the Māppilas or Moplas.
Mara	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Lakher (223).
Marahu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a Bodo language (137 L.), but not reported for this Survey.
Marām	195	2,500	3,522	III	ii	193, 431, 462, 480 (L.).	A Nāgā-Kuki language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Manipur State (Assam).
Maran	...	...	...	III	ii	502	A Kachin (203) tribe found in Bhamo District (Burma). The name is sometimes used to indicate the dialect used by them and their neighbours.
Marārī	568	52,700	...	VI	...	19,174	A form of the Baghēlī Dialect (559) of Eastern Hindī (557), spoken in Mandla (C. P.).
Marāṭhī	455	18,011,948	18,797,881	VII	...	1	The Southern Language of the Outer Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is spoken in the south of the Bombay Presidency, in Berar, and in the C. P.
Marāṭhī, Berar Dialect	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Berar Dialect of Marāṭhī.
Marāṭhī, Central Provinces Dialect	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Central Provinces Dialect of Marāṭhī.
Marāṭhī, Standard Dialect	456	6,193,083	...	VII	...	32, 34, 42ff., 393 (L.).	Also called Dakhinī Marāṭhī or Puṇḍkarī (VII, 33). Also Deśī Marāṭhī (VII, 32).
Marhōtī	486	...	...	VII	...	318, 304	A local name for the Marāṭhī spoken in Balaghāt (C. P.). The number of speakers is not known.
Māṛī	...	...	...	IV	...	472	Another name for Maṛiā (317)
Maṛiā	317	104,340	...	IV	...	472, 476, 528, 529, 532, 533.	A dialect of Gōṇḍī (312), spoken in Bastar State (C. P.).
Maṛiā or Muriā	...	...	...	VII		331	Said to be a form of Halbī (490). Probably the same as Maṛiā (317).
Marjhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Ghāṭ language reported in the 1891 Panjab Census Report. Not identified.
Maring	202	1,500	2,356	III	ii	193, 431, 472, 481 (L.).	A Nāgā-Kuki language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Manipur State (Assam).
Marip	...	...	...	III	ii	500	A Kachin (203) tribe.
Machabanees	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Mōn (3) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken in Amherst.
Maru	263	...	20,577	III III	ii iii	502 [redacted]	Classed in the Census of 1911 as a Kachin-Burma Hybrid, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 35,591 people in the Northern Burma Hill Districts and in the Northern Shan States. For the correct classification, see Kachin-Burma Hybrids.
Mārwāṛī	713	6,088,289	...	IX	ii	3, 4, 16, 20 (Grammar).	A dialect of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Marwar (Rajputana) and the neighbourhood.
Mārwāṛī, Eastern	715	1,974,864	...	IX	ii	16, 70	

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Mārwāṛī, Northern	736	1,356,146	...	IX	ii	16, 150	
Mārwāṛī, Southern	734	477,570	...	IX	ii	16, 87	
Mārwāṛī, Standard	714	1,591,160	...	IX	ii	16, 20 (Gr.), 63, 204 (L.).	
Mārwāṛī, Western	732	685,649	...	IX	ii	16, 109	
Mārwāṛī-Dhundhāṛī	716	42,300	...	IX	ii	17, 71, 72	Spoken on the common border of the Jodhpur and Jaipur States (Rajputana).
Mārwāṛī-Gujarātī	731	65,270	...	IX	ii	16, 87, 105	Spoken in South Marwar and in Palanpur State (Bombay)
Mārwāṛī-Sindhī	734	131,960	...	IX	ii	16	Spoken in West Marwar and Sind.
Marwat	353	...	...	X	...	85	A form of the South-Western Dialect (348) of Pashtō (337), spoken by Marwats in Bonun (N.-W. Frontier Province).
Mashkēl	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as a form of Balōchī (361) spoken in the Chagai Agency of Baluchistan and in the Karachi, Shikarpur, and Upper Sind Frontier Districts of Sind. Not identified.
Mastung Dēhwārī	333	...	...	X	...	452	A form of the Dēhwārī Dialect (332) of Persian (351) spoken in Baluchistan.
Mathawāḍī	...	...	...	IX	iii	157	A form of Bhīlī (677), spoken in the Satpuras by about 20,000 people.
Mathundi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Bhil language (677f.) reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Khandesh. Probably the same as Mathawāḍī, q.v.
Mathurī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Braj Bhākhā (492).
Matiā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Oriyā (502). A Madras caste-name.
Matrai	...	...	...	III	ii	109	Another name for the Maitharia Dialect (150) of Rābhā (148), q.v.
Matu	2596	...	51	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language spoken in Kyaukpyu (Burma).
Matwang	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Nung or Khanung (277c), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 2,000 people in Putao District.
Maunbepaka	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as a form of Sgaw Karen (34)
Māwchī	694	30,000	...	IX	iii	c, 65, 108	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Khandesh. Cf. Gāmaṭ'ī.
Mawken	...	...	...	—	...	...	The name for Salēn (1) used by the people themselves.
Maw-teit	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Kadu (231) spoken in Katha District (Burma).
Mayāng	555	23,500	...	V	i	394, 412, 457 (L.).	A dialect of Assamese (552) spoken in Manipur State (Assam).
Māyi	164	2,750	...	III	ii	235	A dialect of Rengmā (163) spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Mazārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as a form of Balōchī (361) spoken by Mazārīs and southern tribes of the lower Dasajat and adjacent hills. It is a form of the Eastern Dialect.
Mech or Mes	129	93,911	...	III	ii	2, 5, 36, 133 (L.).	A dialect of Bārā (127), spoken in Goalpara (Assam) and Cooch Behar State and Jalpaiguri (Bengal)
Mediate Group	...	34,511,047	1,339,526	VI	...	1	A Group of dialects of a single language, Eastern Hindī (557),—spoken in the east of the U. P. and of the C. P. It is the only Group of the Mediate Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages.
Media Languages	...	...	...	X	...	2	The same as Non-Persic languages.
Me-gyaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Phōn or Phun (273a), q.v.
Mēhari or Mahrī	...	...	...	VII	...	331, 350	A form of Hal'bī (490).
Mei-ṭei	...	...	...	III	iii	20	The Thādo name for Meithei (206).
Meithei, Manipuri, Kathē, or Fūnā	206	340,627	342,645	III	ii	195 (Comparative Vocab.).	A Kuki-Chin language of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Manipur State (Assam), and, according to the Burma Linguistic Survey, in Upper Chindwin (Burma). This language constitutes a Sub-Group by itself, known as the Meithei Sub-Group
				III	iii	2, 3, 10 (Comparative Vocab.), 20, 45 (L.).	
Méju	...	...	—	III	i	618	Another name for Mijū Mishmi. See Mishmi (186).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Mēkhalī	...	...	...	III	iii	20	Another name for Meithei (206).
Mēkī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of 'Hindi.'
Mēkīē	...	...	...	III	iii	20	Another name for Meithei (206).
Mekrānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Makrānī (363, 364)
Mēmānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Surtī Gujarātī (657) spoken by Memons of Surat (Bombay), or any other language spoken by Memons in Cutch, Bombay City, or elsewhere.
Mene	...	...	...	III	i	618	Another name for Digāru Mishmi. See Mishmi (126).
Men	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of speech mentioned in the Burma Census Report for 1921. Apparently a form of Yindu (258), *q.v.*
Mēndānī	...	...			...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Sindhī (441) spoken in Poona.
Mēngwārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Rājasthānī (712) spoken by Mēngwārs, an untouchable caste in Sindh.
Mēr	...	...	...	III	iii	129	The Chin name for Lushēi (234).
Merguese	272 *a*	...	177	...	...	...	A dialect of Burmese (265). Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by about 500 people in Mergui.
Merwara Mārwārī	710	17,000	...	IX	ii	71, 76	A form of Mārwārī (713) spoken in Merwara (Rajputana)
Mēwārī	721	54,500	...	IX	ii	16, 70, 76, 78, 84	A variety of the Mēwārī (720) form of Mārwārī (713) spoken in Mewara (Rajputana)
Mea	...	...	...	III	ii	36	Another form of the word Meeh (129), *q.v.*
Meungna	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Maingēna (260).
Mēwārī	720	1,337,100	.	IX	ii	16, 71, 78	A form of Mārwārī (713) spoken in Mewar (Rajputana) and the adjacent country.
Mēwāsi	...	...		...	...	...	A Bhīl language (677*a*) spoken in north west Khandesh. It is the same as Dehāwali (685), *q.v.* *Mewāsi* is the technical name for a Bhīl stronghold.
Mēwātī	754, 755	253,300	...	IX	ii	8, 43, 44, 45 (Gramm.), 221, 304 (L.).	A form of the North-Eastern dialect (753) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Alwar, Bharatpur, Gurgaon, and the neighbourhood.
Mewaw	...	...	256	...	...	...	
M'hang	259	...	...	...	...	...	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken in Akyab and Kyaukpyu. The number of speakers in Akyab is unknown, but 200 are reported from Kyaukpyu.
Mhār	...	...	...	III	iii	256	Another spelling of Hmār (242). In the Survey it is spelt Mhār, with Hmār as a variant. The latter spelling is that which is correct.
Mi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Chin language spoken in the Chin Hills, mentioned in the Burma Linguistic Survey, p. 58, as referred to in the 1901 Census Report.
Miao	43	...	394	III	ii	334	A member of a family of languages including Yao, Miao, and others spoken in Indo-China. These languages are provisionally named 'Mas' languages, from the Chinese name used for their speakers. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, Miao is spoken by 655 people in the Southern Shan States. It is also called Khepek, Mindya and Minotu. Dialects are Hō Miao, Hmōng, and Pē Miao, *q.v.*
Mīdu	...	...	...	III	i	612	Another name for Chulikātā Mishmi. See Mishmi (126).
Miem	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Myen, *q.v.*
Mi Ker	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kwelshin, *q.v.*
Mijū	...	...	...	III	i	618, 623 (L.)	A form of Mishmi (126).
Mikū	189	89,516	109,183	III	ii	193, 195*a* (Comparative Vocab.), 372, 380, 433 (L.).	A Nāgā-Kuki language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the Mikir Hills (Assam), and the neighbourhood. In the Survey, this language is classed as Nāgā-Bodo, but subsequent investigation has shown that it is a Nāgā-Kuki language.
Mikir, Standard	190	77,286	...	III	ii	380	

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Miklai	...	...	...	III	ii	265, 284	Another name for Lhōtā (169).
Milomtasang	...	...	...	III	i	430	A local name for Kamauri (77). A corruption of Min-chhāṅāng.
Milchang	...	...	...	III	i	430	A local name for Kamauri (77). A corruption of Min-chhāṅ.
Minā	...	...	...	III	ii	205	Another name for Nāli (158), q.v.
Min-chhāṅ, Min-chhāṅāng	...	...	...	III	i	430	Other names for Kamauri (77).
Mingānī	...	...	...	VII	...	231	A form of Hal'bi (490).
Miri (1)	...		...	III	ii	233	A name sometimes given to Chāng or Mojung (179)
Miri (2)	124	35,510	65,239	III	i	568, 584, 622 (L.).	A language of the North Assam Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in Assam, but mostly outside settled British Territory. The Census figures include also speakers of Abor (123).
Mirzāpurī	...	...	3,117	...	...	...	Reported in the 1921 Central India Census Report as another name for Awadhi (658), q.v.
Mishmi	126	220	846	III	i	568, 613, 638 (L.).	A language of the North Assam Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in Assam, but almost entirely outside settled British Territory. Cf. Khamen.
Mi-shing	...	...	...	III	i	584	Another name for Miri (124).
Mishra	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Bijapur. The same as Sikalgārī (872), q.v.
Mi-tāl or Mai-tāl	...	...	...	III	iii	21	A Deccan name for Meithei (206).
Mito	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Karenu (40), q.v.
Mithan Nāgā	...	...	...	III	ii	233	Another name for Matonīā (176)
Mithun	...	...	...	III	i	613	Another name for Bebejiya Mishmi. See Mishmi (126)
Mixed Dialects of Kashmīrī.	402	45,316	...	VIII	ii	402ff.	Mixed forms of Kāshmīrī (399) spoken in the North of the Jammu State.
Mixed Oriyā	504	532,708	...	V	ii	309	Mixtures of Oriyā (503) and Bengali (539) spoken in the North of Orissa and in Midnapur (Bengal)
Miyang	...	...	...	...	...	...	An incorrect spelling of Mayāng, q.v.
Miyāngkhāng	196	5,000	...	III	ii	192, 431, 462	A Nāgā-Kuki language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages, spoken in Manipur State (Assam).
Mōdī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras name for Maraṭhī (455). Really, the name of a written character
Mōghiā	...	...	...	...	...	...	In the Panjab, the equivalent of Bāori (381). In the Orissa Tributary States the Oriyā (503) spoken by Māghiā.
Moglai	...	...	...	III	iii	10	The Bengali name for Meithei (206).
Mogūl	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1921 Bombay Census Report as a name given to the Hindōstānī (532) spoken in the Nizām's territories.
Mogulsch	...	...	...	IX	i	9	An old German Latin name for Hindōstānī (532). Cf. Indostanics, Hindustanics, and Mourics.
Mohongtā, Bordumsā, or Pāndumsā.	177	1,600	...	III	ii	198, 329, 334	An Eastern Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages, spoken in Sibsagar (Assam). The Survey figures include also speakers of Banparā (175) and Matonīā (176).
Mohtsik, Motsi, Mahtsik	...	...	...	...	...	...	Forms of Pwo Karen (25), q.v.
Moojung	...	...	...	III	ii	198, 329	Another name for Chāng (179).
Molo	...	...	...	IV	...	107	The name of a sub-caste speaking Kōḍā (19).
Mōnyin Tayōk	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name used in Burma for Yūnānese.
Mōn or Talaing	?	...	129,262	...	...	...	A language of the Mōn-Khmēr Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken by 224,424 people, principally in Amherst and Thatōn.
Mong Long	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Shāngale, q.v.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Möng Lwe	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Palaung-Wa dialect spoken by a hill tribe in Kèng-tàng Southern Shan State (Burma). From the one Vocabulary that I have seen, it appears to be a form of Wa (5). It is said to be a form of Khamuk (7a), q.v.
Mönguve	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be a form of Palaung (4), spoken by 778 people in the Möng Long Northern Shan State.
Möngua	...	...	...	...	...	...	According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, another name for Maingtha (360), used in Ehmo. It is the form used by Shàno, and Maingtha is the Burmese corruption of this.
Môn-Khmêr	...	177,298	549,917	II	...	1, 29 (L.)	A Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages. Four Groups of this Branch are spoken in British India, viz., the Môn-Khmêr Group proper, the Palaung Wa Group, the Khasi Group, and the Nicobar Group. In this Survey, the only Group dealt with is the Khasi. For the relationship of this Branch to the Munḍā languages, see Vol. IV, p. 12.
Mongolisch-Indostanisch	...	...	...	IX	i	11	An old German name for Urdū (585).
Mongsen	168	6,200	...	III	ii	265, 269, 281, 298 (L.).	A dialect of Ao Nāgā (166), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Monnepwa or Monnepga	410	...	73	...	...		A Karen language reported from Toungoo (Burma)
Mopgā or Mopwā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as a form of Pwo-Karen (35)
Morāu	153	...	1	III	ii	2, 180	A language of the Bārk Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, formerly spoken in Assam. It is said to have died out.
Mōshāng	181	...	.	III	ii	192, 229, 240, 245 (L.).	An Eastern Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken beyond the eastern frontier of Assam.
Mo-s'o, Mosso, Muhsō, Moso, or Musu.	274	..	22,742	III	iii	383	A Lolo-Mos'o language spoken in Western China. The correct name is Mo-s'o. The people themselves use the word 'Luhu,' when referring to themselves.
Mothai or Motle	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Wa (5) spoken by 10,414 people in the Northern Shan States.
Motle	...	...	...	...	...	...	See the preceding.
Mouriea	...	...	...	IX	i	9	An old Latin name for Hindōstānī (582). Cf. Indostanica, Hindustanica, and Moguisch.
Mrang	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Mrung, q.v.
Mramma	...	...	...	...	...	...	The literary name of Burmese (364), q.v. In colloquial use it has become Bama, q.v.
Mrō	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Mrū, q.v.
Mrū	364	17,901	22,907	III	iii	379, 380, 385, 395 (L.).	Classed in this Survey and in the Census of 1911 as a language of the Burma Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Under the name of Mrō, it is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 15,157 people in Akyab and North Arakan. Its classification is doubtful. In the Census of 1921 it is shown as unclassed.
Mrung	...	...	...	III	ii	109	A name used in the Chittagong Hill Tracts for Tipurā (151).
Mudi	...	...	...	IV	...	107	Another name for Kōḍā (12).
Muhsō	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of 'Mo-s'o' (274), q.v.
Muhti, Muhteik	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Mohteik.
Mulki	...	...	...	VIII	i	241, 381, 404	Another name for the Thalī Lahndā (482) spoken in Bisawali (Panjab) and Bannu (N.-W. Frontier Province).
Mullakurumaṇ	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to Malayālam (298). Properly, the name of a Madras tribe speaking a corrupt form of that language.
Mūltānī (1)	...	...	...	VIII	i	238	Another name for Lahndā (415).
Mūltānī (2)	...	...	...	VIII	i	261	Another name for Sirāiki Hindkī (429).
Mūltānī (3)	428	2,176,968	2,842,954	VIII	i	269, 301	The southern dialect of Lahndā (415).
Mūltānī, Standard	427	1,709,838	...	VIII	i	301, 412 (L.)	
Multhānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kanauri (37).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1931.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Mulung and Sima	...	...	...	III	ii	331, 342 (L.)	A name sometimes used for Angwānku (173).
Munḍā	...	2,874,755	3,973,573	IV	...	2 (compared with Dravidian), 7, 11 (relationship to Môn-Khmēr), 16 (relationship to Australian languages), 28 (general character).	A branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages, consisting of six languages, viz. Kherwārī (14), Kūrkū (20), Khariā (27), Juāng (28), Savara (29), and Gadabā (30). They are spoken in the hill country separating the Gangetic Plain from the Deccan. These languages were formerly called Kolarian, but that name has been abandoned in the Survey.
Muṇḍārī (1)	.	.	.	IV	...	135	A name used in Raigarh for Asurī (22)
Muṇḍārī (2)	16	406,524	624,506	IV	...	21, 26, 79, 240 (L.).	A dialect of Kherwārī (14) spoken in Chota Nagpur (Bihar and Orissa)
Mung	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Hmông, *q.v.*
Mungī	..	...	...	X	...	455, 509	Another name for Munjānī (377).
Munjānī or Mungī	377	...	...	X	...	455, 509, 538 (L.).	A Ghalchah language of the Eastern Group of the Iranian languages. It is spoken in Munjan, which is outside British India.
Muntok	244	...	...	III	iii	161, 362	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the Manipur State (Assam).
Munnan	..	...	...	..	...	...	Another name for Tamil (235). Properly, the name of a Madras caste, the members of which are said to speak a corrupt form of that language.
Munjā or Marjā	.	.		VII	...	331	Said to be a form of Halebī (490). Probably the same as Marjā (317).
Murmi	112	36,848	38,512	III	i	177, 190, 189, 254 (L.).	A Non-Pronominalized Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in Darjiling and Sikkim (Bengal) and in Nepal. The figures here given do not include the speakers in Nepal.
MusalmānĪ	...	..	.	IX	i	58	Another name for Dakhinī Hindūstānī (587).
				IX	i	171	Also used for the corrupt Hindūstānī (582) used by Musalmans of Birbhum (Bengal), and for Eastern Bengali (546).
				V	i	202	
Mus'o, Musu, Mosso, or Musu.	...	.	..	III	iii	388	See Mo-s'o.
Muthun	.	...	...	III	ii	232	Another name for Mutonā (173).
Mutonā	176	1,600	...	III	ii	193, 331, 333, 344 (L.).	An Eastern Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken beyond the eastern frontier of Assam. The Survey figures also include those for speakers of Banpuā (179) and Mohongā (177).
Muwāsī	.	...	.	IV	...	167, 168	A form of Kūrkū (20), spoken in Chhindwara (C. P.).
Myamma	...	...	...	.	...	...	A name of Burmese (265), *q.v.*
Myānwālī or Lhārī	966	.	...	XI	..	2, 5, 6, 29	A Gipsy language, spoken in Belgaum (Bombay).
Myelic	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Mergnese (272*a*), *q.v.*
Myon or Mien	..		...	III	iii	388	A Shān name for Kwi (277), a Shān name for Burmese (265), and also the Chinese name for Burma.
Myū	...	..	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Mrū (264).
Nāchhereūng	160	...		III	i	243 (Vocab.), 265	A dialect of Khambū (37) spoken in Nepal.
Na-chi or Na-charī	...	...	.	III	iii	388	Another name for Mo-s'o, Musu, or Musu, *q.v.*
Nāgā-Bodo	...	36,353	37,169	III	ii	193, 379	A sub-group of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It includes three languages, viz. Empēo (183), Kabui (187), and Khoirāo (186).
Nāgā Group	...	252,799	338,534	III	i	2, 11	A Group of languages of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It includes five sub-groups, viz. a Western, a Central, an Eastern, a Nāgā-Bodo, and a Nāgā-Kuki. All the languages of this Group are spoken in Assam, or beyond the eastern frontier.
				III	ii	158	
				III	iii	3 (compared with Kuki-Chin).	
Nāgā-Kuki	..	139,516	152,266	III	ii	193, 451	A sub-group of the above Nāgā Group. It includes six languages, viz. Mikir (189), Sopoma (194), Maram (195), Miyāngkhāng (196), Kwairung (197), and Tāngkhul (198). All are spoken in Assam, and, except the first, all in the Manipur State.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Nāgarchāl	746	71,575	...	IX	ii	31, 191	A form of the Central Eastern Dialect (740) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Jaipur State (Rajputana).
Nāgarī (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of the well-known script, hence sometimes reported as a form of 'Hindī.'
Nāgarī (2)	654	...	...	IX	ii	316, 378	A dialect of Gujarātī (652) spoken by Nāgar Brāhmans.
Nagliā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy dialect reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in the Panch Mahals. Not identified.
Nāghōrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Mārwārī (713) reported in the 1891 Baroda Census Report.
Nāgpurī	478	1,823,475	...	VII	...	217, 243, 396 (L.).	A form of the Central Provinces Dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in the Nagpur District (C. P.) and neighbourhood.
Nāgpurī 'Hindī'	631	106,900	...	IX	i	88, 547, 558	A form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (581) spoken by settlers in the Nagpur District (C. P.). It is much mixed with Marāṭhī (455).
Nagpuriā	526	594,257	...	V	ii	42, 43, 277, 339 (L.).	A form of the Bhojpurī Dialect (519) of Bihārī (506), spoken in Palamau (Bihar and Orissa).
Nagpuriyā	611	51,831	...	IX	iv	260, 334	A form of the Gangwārī Dialect (604) of Central Pahārī (784), spoken in Garhwal (U. P.).
Nāgrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Nāgarī, *q.v.*
Nahālī	...	...	...	IV	...	9, 167, 185, 244 (L.).	A broken form of Kōrkū (36).
Nāhasī (1)	492	432	...	VII	...	2, 219, 320, 379	A form of the Central Provinces Dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken in the Kanker State (C. P.). It is closely related to Halbī (480)
Nāhasī (2) or Bāglānī	695	13,000	...	IX	iii	6, 148	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Nasik and Surgana (Bombay).
Nahēra Mēwātī	757	169,300	...	IX	ii	44	A form of the North-Eastern Dialect (753) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Alwar State.
Naik'dā	686	12,100	...	IX	iii	6, 88, 108	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Rewakantha, Panch Mahals, and Surat (Bombay).
Naikī (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Banjārī (771) used in the Central Provinces and Bihar.
Naikī (2)	312	195	...	IV	...	236, 474, 561, 570.	A dialect of Kōlāmī (309), spoken by Darwe Gonds of Chanda (C. P.).
Naikī	...	...	...	IX	i	610, 696	Another name for Pachhādī (640).
Naipālī	...	...	...	IX	iv	1, 17	Another name for Eastern Pahārī (781).
Nakrui	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Taungthu (36), *q.v.*
Nālāgaṛhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to the Panjābī (632) of Nalagarh.
Nāli	...	...	...	IX	iii	157	A form of Bhīlī (677) spoken in the Satpuras by about 10,000 people.
Nali or Mimā	168	600	...	III	ii	205, 220, 248 (L.)	A dialect of Angāmi (154), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Nalkōri	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Tuḷu (302). A Madras caste-name, possibly indicating a separate dialect.
Namfau	...	...	...	III	iii	272	Another name for Anāi (247).
Namsan	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Katurr, *q.v.*
Nāmsaong, Southern	...	...	...	III	ii	331	A name sometimes used for Angwēnka (173)
Namsangiā	175	1,870	...	III	ii	193, 329, 335, 345 (L.)	An Eastern Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Lakhimpur (Assam
Nanqāsh	...	...	...	XI	...	3	A Gipsy tribe. Their language is not described in the Survey.
Narā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Norā (66), *q.v.*
Naring	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 4,600 people (including speakers of unspecified dialects) in the Chin Hills.
Nasival	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in 1921 Bombay Census Report as a form of Sirāiki spoken in the Upper Sind Frontier District. It is not clear whether this is Sirāiki Hindkī (423) or Sirāiki Sindhī (447).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Naraiḍī	...	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 80	Another name for Gawar-bati (384).
Naṭakānī	487	180	...	VII	...	216, 513	A form of the Central Provinces Dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Chanda (C. P.).
Naṭī	367	11,534	...	XI	...	2, 5, 6, 121	One of the Gipsy languages (354) spoken in Bihar and the United Provinces.
Nawāīt	...	...	...	VII	...	260	The same as the Dāldi sub-dialect (497) of the Kōṅkaṇī Dialect (494) of Marāṭhī (455). The Nawāīts are a caste of Musalman fishermen. Their language is called Dāldi.
Nāgar	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name, used in Ceorg, for Malayāḷam (293).
Nedu	...	...	...	III	i	613	Another name for Chulikāṭā Michmi. See Michmi (136).
Ne-du	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Chinbōk (253), spoken, according to the Burma Linguistic Survey, by 2,846 people in Palōkku.
Nāgānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported from Mymensingh (Bengal) as a dialect of Gāro (134), but believed to be now non-existent.
Neontō	...	...	...	...	...	—	Another spelling of Ngeontō (326).
Nēwārī	115	5,979	10,184	III	i	177, 180, 214, 255 (L.).	A Non-Prenasalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Eastern and Central Nepal, and in Darjiling and Sikkim (Bengal).
Nēwārī, Standard	116	5,979	...	III	i	177, 180, 214, 255 (L.).	
New Kuki	...	...	...	III	iii	2	A name sometimes given to Thādo (307) and other Northern Chin languages. This name is not employed in the Survey.
Ngachang	...	...	...	III	iii	282	Another name for Maingthe (260). This is the term used by the speakers themselves.
Ngamei	...	...	...	III	ii	204	The Manipuri name for Angāmi (154).
Ngaipai	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 900 people in the Chin [illegible]
Ngāri Khorsum	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Tibetan (68) spoken in Central Tibet.
Ngawn-nawk	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of the Palē dialect of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 5,190 people in Tawngpeng Northern Shan State.
Ngentō	224	...	...	III	iii	107, 123, 139	A dialect of Lushāi (324), spoken in the South Lushai Hills (Assam).
Ngoahawk	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 515 people in the Northern Shan States.
Ngorn	2505		3,332	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 5,500 (including speakers of Sweikwa and Tapong) people in the Chin Hills. In the Census classed as Kuki-Chin.
Nihālī	613	10,200		IX	i	87, 422, 479, 529	A form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindi (531) spoken in Jalaun (U. P.).
Nicobarese	19	...	8,062	IV	...	15 (Relationship to Munḍā).	The language of the Nicobar Islands. It forms a group by itself in the Môn Khmēr Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages. It is a group of dialects, not of languages.
Nīdu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Yindu (253), q.v.
Nihālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Nahālī, q.v.
Nimāḍī	770	474,777	...	IX	ii	3, 60, 296, 905 (L.).	A dialect of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Nimar (C. P.) and the neighbourhood.
Nisoumeh	...	...	...	III	ii	269	Another name for Ao (168).
Niswānī	422	9,432	...	VIII	i	239, 280, 298	A form of the Standard Dialect (416) of Lahndā (415), spoken in Jhang (Panjab).
Nizam's Dominions, Marāṭhī of	476	7,677,832	...	VII	...	1, 217	The same as the Marāṭhī of the Central Provinces. See Central Provinces Dialect. The figures include those for the Central Provinces and Berar.
*Nkhum	...	...	...	III	ii	502	A Kachin (303) tribe.

Language or Dialect.	Number of Speakers.			Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey.			Remarks.
	Number in Classified List.	According to the Linguistic Survey.	According to the Census of 1921.	Volume.	Part.	Page.	
Nogmung	205a	...	168	...	...	...	A form of Kachin (203) spoken in Putao.
Nokaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Nāgā language, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 2,700 people in Upper Chindwin.
Nokhwi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Taungthu (36) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Southern Shan States.
Nokkyo	205a	...	131	...	...		A form of Kachin (203) spoken in Putao.
Non-Parsic Languages	...	...	...	X	...	1, 2	A branch of the Iranian languages.
Non-Pronominalized Himalayan Group.	...	100,956	100,537	III	i	180	A Group of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
Nori	56	300	...	II	...	64, 179, 215 (L.)	A dialect of Khāmti (52), spoken in Assam.
Nōrī	697	...	...	IX	iii	105	A dialect of Bhili (677) spoken in Ali Rajpur State (Central India). According to the Census of 1901, the number of speakers was 346.
North Assam Branch	...	36,910	30,482	III	i	2, 11, 563	A branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the hills north of the Assam Valley.
North Baluchistan, Balōchi of.	357	105,522		X		364, 435 (L.)	A form of the Eastern Dialect (365) of Balōchi (361), spoken in North Baluchistan.
North-Eastern Lahndā	436	1,752,755	...	VIII	i	239, 431 (compared with North-Western Dialects)	A Group of forms of Lahndā (415) spoken in part of the North-Western Panjab. The Census figures are too low.
North-Eastern Pashtō	218	806,974	...	X	...	7, 11, 24, 112 (L.).	One of the two main dialects of Pashtō (327).
Northern Chin	...	60,345	88,033	III	iii	2, 8, 59	A sub-group of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It includes Thādo (207), Sokté (212), Siyin (213), Ralté (214), and Paité (215)
North-Western Dravidian	...	165,500	134,363	IV	.	236, 619	The same as Brāhūī (326) the only Dravidian language spoken in the North-West, *i.e.* in Baluchistan.
North-Western Group	...	10,162,251	9,023,972	VIII	i	1, 6	A Group of the Outer Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in Sind and the Western Panjab. The Census figures are much too low
North-Western Lahndā	433	881,425	...	VIII	i	239, 431 (compared with the North-Eastern Dialect), 541.	The same as Hindkō, *q.v.*
North Western Shina	393	...	...	VIII	ii	150	The Punjābī dialect of Shinā (391).
Nowgeng Nāgā	...	...	...	III	ii	265, 271	A name sometimes given to Ao (166).
Nōyrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Bhīl (677) dialect spoken in West Khandesh. See 1921 Bombay Census Report, App. B, p. v.
Nūk	205a	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Kachin (203) spoken in Putao.
Numbeve	...	...	...	...	...	...	An unclassed language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 240 people in Northern Arakan.
Num-ian	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Chinbōn (354), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 50 people in Pakōkku.
Nung or Khunung	277a	...	64	...	...	...	A Lolo-Moso language reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 9,017 people, principally in Putao District. The Burma Linguistic Survey spells the alternative name 'Hkunung.'
Nunyās	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy dialect mentioned in the 1891 C. P Census Report. Not identified.
Nyamkat	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bhāṭiā of Upper Kanawar (64), *q.v.*
Nyār-kī Bōlī	...	...	...	IX IX	ii iii	70, 87, 89 98	Another name for Gīrāsiā (689), *q.v.*
Nyi-sing	...	...	...	III	i	585	Another name for Dafla (125), *q.v.*
Oḍḍā or Voḍḍā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Ōḍḍkī (368), *q.v.*
Oḍḍar	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ditto.
Odiyā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Oriyā (502). *q.v.*

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Ōḍki	868	2,814	...	XI IX	... II	2, 6, 81 18	A Gipsy language (854), spoken by a vagrant tribe in Western and North-Western India.
Oḍnī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Oḍkī (868), q.v.
Ōḍrī	...	...	...	V	II	387	Another name for Oṛyā (502), q.v.
Oiyan	...	...	...	III	I	584	A form of Miri (124) spoken in East Assam.
Ojhī	571	100	...	VI	...	19, 174, 181	A form of the Baghēli Dialect (559) of Eastern Hindī (597), spoken in Chhatdwara (C. P.).
Ōkhal	...	...	70	...	...	...	A name mentioned in the 1921 Baroda Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Okhamandal.
Old Kuki	...	48,814	26,245	III	III	2, 2, 181	A sub-group of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It includes sixteen languages (220-249).
Old Pūrbī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to the Awadhī (558) used in old writings, such as the poems of Tulsī Dās.
Omyerr	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Kēturr, q.v.
Orāō	...	...	...	IV	...	406	Another name for Kurukh (805), q.v.
Oriyā	502	9,042,525	10,143,165	V V	I II	2, 135 (traces of, in N. Bengali). 367	A language of the Eastern Group of the Outer Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in Orissa and the neighbouring Districts of Madras and the C. P. For a further note on Oṛiyā literature, and also for a corrected list of words, see Addenda Majora, pp. 224ff.
Oriyā, Standard	503	3,352,238	...	V	II	382, 441 (L.)	
Ormuṛī or Bargistā	360	...	...	X	...	3, 4, 128, 127 (Grammar), 247 (L.), 253 (Vocab.).	An Eranian language spoken in Afghanistan. See also Addenda Majora, pp. 285ff.
Ōshō	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Mārwāṛī (718).
Ōshmiyā	...	...	...	V	I	398	Another name for Assamese (552), q.v.
Ōswāṛī	...	...	...	IX	II	19	A form of Mārwāṛī (718) spoken in Chanda (C. P.).
Outer Sirāji	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Sirāji, Outer (881).
Outer Sub-Branch	...	117,778,842	123,328,835	VIII	I	2	One of the Sub-Branches of the Indo-Aryan Branch of the Aryan Sub-Family of the Indo-European Family of languages. The languages of this Sub-Branch are spoken in North-Western and Eastern India, and in the country in which Marāṭhī (455) is spoken.
Pacharuā	...	...	...	IX	I	390	A name given to the Kanaujī (604) of the North-East of Etawah District (U. P.).
Pachhādī, 1, or Dōābī		...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Vernacular Hindōstānī (632); also used for the Panjābī (632,646) spoken west of Lahore.
Pachhādī, 2, Rāṭhī, Jāṭū, or Nāili.	640	38,960	...	IX	I	610, 606	A form of the Standard Dialect (632) of Panjābī (632) spoken in the Eastern Panjab.
Pachhāṛ	783	95,750	...	IX	IV	110, 206	A form of the Kumaunī Dialect (783) of Central Pahāṛī (784) spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Pachhāṛī	...	...	...	IX	I	313	A form of North-Western Braj Bhākhā (597) spoken in Bulandshahr (U. P.).
Pāch Pargaṇā or Tamaṛia.	...	...	...	V	II	140, 146, 166, 327 (L.).	A form of Eastern Magahī (518).
Pāḍarī	349	4,540	...	IX	IV	881, 903 (Grammar), 915 (L.).	One of the Bhadrawāh Group (846) of dialects of Western Pahāṛī (814), spoken in Padar (Kashmir), on the Upper Chenab.
Padaung	87	...	13,743	...	...		A dialect of Karen (81), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 13,839 people in the Southern Shan States, Karenni, and the neighbourhood.
Padaw	...		...	...	...	...	Another name for Padaung (87), q.v.
Paḍhī, Pahrī, or Pahī	117	...	...	III	I	177, 183, 227, 255 (L.).	A dialect of Nēwārī (115) spoken in the central hills of Nepal.
Pagudiā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Bombay Census Report for 1891 as a form of 'Hindī' spoken in Ahmedabad.
Pahāḍī	...	...	...	IX	III	5, 47	Another name for Anāsya (680). The word is another spelling of Pahāṛī.
Pahār	...	...	...	IX	IV	715	A form of Sukēṭī (840).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Pahāṛī (1)	...	...	...	IX	i	671, 677	A form of Jullundur Dōābī (635) Panjabī (632) spoken in Hoshiarpur.
Pahāṛī (2)	...	...	...	IX	iv	513	A name given in Paḍiala to Baghāṭī (830).
Pahāṛī (3)	...	...	...	IX	iv	518	A name given in Paḍiala to Kiṭhaḷī (821)
Pahāṛīā	...	...	...	IV	...	30	A name sometimes given to Santālī (16).
Pahāṛiā-ṭhār	535	462	...	V	i	69, 90	A form of the Western Dialect (531) of Bengali (529), spoken in Manbhum (Bihar and Orissa).
Pahāṛī Bhāhar	...	...	...	XI	...	121, 132	A form of Naṭī (367).
Pahāṛī Group	...	2,104,801	1,917,537	IX	iv	1	A Group of languages of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Āryan languages, spoken in the lower Himalayas from Bhadrawāh to Nepal. It includes Eastern Pahāṛī, Khas-kurā, or Nairpalī (781), Central Pahāṛī (784), and Western Pahāṛī (814). The Survey figures are more correct than those of the Census.
Pahāṛī Pōṭhwārī	436	87,777	...	VIII	i	242, 482, 495	A dialect of Lahndā (413) spoken in the Murree Hills (N.-W. Frontier Province and Panjab). The Survey and the Census figures both include those for Dhundī (439).
Pahl	...	...	...	...	...		See Paḍhī.
Pahirā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Pahāṛiā-ṭhār (535), *q.v.*
Pa-khra	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey (where it is spelt 'Pa-khra') to be a form of Wa (5) spoken by 1,110 people in the Northern Shan State of Mangkun East.
Pahlavī	...	...	...	X	...	2, 9	An ancient Iranian language spoken in Persia in the time of the Sassanides.
Pahrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Paḍhī.
Pakhī	...	...	...	...	...		*I.q.* Pa-khi, *q.v.*
Paidī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Oriyā (502). The name of a caste of hill Pariahs in North-East Madras.
Paik	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1901 Bombay Census Report as a form of Kanarese (296); spoken in Kanara.
Pakhā	215	...	10,460	III	iii	2, 59, 81, 127-8	A Northern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the Lushai Hills (Assam). The name is sometimes spelt 'Paiche.'
Pai-yi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Pai-yi, *q.v.*
Pajbanārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Khandesh. A corruption of Vanjhārī, *i.e.* Banjārī (771). See 1921 Report, App. B, p. v.
Pakhtō	338	806,974	...	X	...	5, 7, 11, 118 (L.)	The North-Eastern Dialect of Paṭhō (337), spoken in Bajaur, Swat, and Bunor, Attock, Peshawar, North-West Kohat, the Afridi Country, and the country to the west thereof.
Pākhya	...	...	...	...	...	...	A language spoken by the Pākhyas of the Northern Ghāṭa of Nepal. The vocabulary borrows largely from Khas-kurā (781) and (perhaps) from Bihārī (506)
Pākī	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Oriyā (502). Properly the name of a Madras caste which speaks broken Oriyā largely mixed with Telugu.
Paku	41a	...	1,208	...	...	...	A dialect of Sgaw Karen (34) spoken in Karenni and Toungoo. Also called Bugo.
Palaung	4	...	117,773	II	...	29 (L.)	A language of the Palaung-Wa Group of the Mōn-Khmēr languages. In the Burma Linguistic Survey it is reported to be spoken by 110,294 people, mainly in the Ruby Mines District and in the Northern Shan States. The Census figures include those for Pale, *q.v.*
Palaung-Wa Group	...	...	147,889	...	...	...	A Group of the Mōn-Khmēr languages spoken in Eastern Burma.
Pale	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect, or form, of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 26,587 people in the Northern Shan States.
Pallak	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a Bodo (127) language, but I have not succeeded in identifying it.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Padaung		..	..	III	iii	429	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is mentioned, but not described in the Survey. It is referred to on p. 54 of the Burma Linguistic Survey Preparatory Stage Report as not reported since 1901
Pālpā	783			III	iv	19, 75	A dialect of Khas-kura, Eastern Pahāṛī, or Naipālī (781) spoken in Western Nepal. The number of speakers is unknown.
Pambada		..	..			...	See Pombada.
Panchāḷī	698	560	..	IX	iii	6, 138	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Baldana (Berar).
Pānch Pargana	...	...	...				Another spelling of Pāch Pargaṇā, q.v.
Pangal	...	...	...	...		...	An incorrect spelling of Pingal, q.v.
Pangiāḷī		...	...	..	..	...	Another name for Paṅgwāḷī (845), q.v. Also used as a name for the Bhōṭiā of Lahul (62)
Panguim	...	..	...	...		..	A form of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 3,665 people in Hai-paw Northern Shan State.
Pangwa	205c	...		...	...	...	A form of Kachin (203) spoken in Putao.
Paṅgwāḷī	845	3,701	..	IX	iv	769, 848 (Grammar), 868 (L.).	One of the Chambā Group (841) of dialects of Western Pahāṛī (814) spoken in Pangi of Chamba State (Panjab).
Panlā	...	...	...	...	..	..	The same as Malayāḷam (288). Properly the name of a Madras caste which speaks a corrupt Malayāḷam
Pānkhanāṛā	...	...	...	III	ii	193, 324	Another name for Mohongiā (177), q.v.
Pāṇi Kōch		..	.	III	ii	98	Another name for Kōch (142), q.v.
Pañjābī (1)	...	...	...	VIII	i	361	Another name for Sirāiki Hindkī (429).
Pañjābī (2)	419	48,039	..	VIII	i	239, 290	A name given to one of the forms of Standard Lahndā (416) spoken in Lyallpur (Panjab)
Pañjābī (3)	632	12,763,639	16,233,536	IX	i	xiii, 607	A language of the Central Group of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in the Central Panjab. The Census figures are excessive and include many speakers of Lahndā (415).
Pañjābī, Standard	633	11,150,611	14,726,809	IX	i	602, 623 (Grammar), 646, 806 (L.)	
Pañjābī-Lahndā	648	2,432,024	..	IX	i	610, 743	A form of Standard Pañjābī (633) spoken in the west of the Central Panjab, where the language is gradually merging into Lahndā (415).
Pañjābī, Western			...	VIII	i	233	Another name for Lahndā (415), q.v.
Pañjābkī		...	...	VIII	i	361, 368	Another name for Sirāiki Hindkī (429).
Pañjgūrī	...	..	..	X	...	385	A form of Makrānī (364) Balōchī (361)
Pankāṛī	...	...	...	...	..	...	Reported in the 1891 C. P. Census Report as a form of 'Hindī.' Not identified.
Pānkhū	228	500	..	III	iii	8, 107, 144, 152, 161 (L.)	A Central Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal).
Pānō	...	-	...	..	...	...	Another name for Oriyā (502). Properly a Madras caste-name.
Pa-O	...		...	...	-	...	According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, a sub-dialect of Taungthu (36), spoken in the Southern Shan States.
Pāorī	...	-	..	...	...	...	Another spelling of Pāwṛī (701), q.v
Parbhī	456	160,000	...	VII	...	61, 62, 98	A form of the Konkan Standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken by Kāyasth Prabhus of Bombay, Thana, and Kolaba (Bombay). Also spoken by nearly the whole Marāṭhī-speaking population of Bombay and Thana, as far north as Daman. It is also called Kāyasthī and Damaṇī (VII, 63).
Parēchī	...	...	...	...	..	...	An Iranian language akin to Ōrmuṛī (360), spoken in Afghanistan. See Addenda Majora, pp. 385ff.
Pārdhī	699	8,648		IX XI	iii ...	6, 174, 188 2	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Chanda (C. P.) and Berar. The Survey figures include 3,228 speakers of Tākaṅkārī, which is the same language under another name.
Paṛan	...	...	...	III	iii	332	Apparently the Kachin name for Maingtha (260).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Paraya	...	...	...	...		...	The same as Tulu (303), properly a caste-name of South Canara.
Parbatiyā	...	...	...	IX	iv	18	Another name for Khas-kurā, Eastern Pahāṛī, or Naipālī (781)
Pardēsī	...	...	...				A name for Awadhī (658) used in Chanda (C. P.) and Central India.
Pārdhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling for Pardhī (639), *q.v.*
Pariah	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Tamil (365)
Parjī	318	17,387	...	IV	...	474, 477, 554	A dialect of Gōṇḍī (313) spoken in Bastar (C. P.) and North Madras, principally by Parjas.
Pārkarī	...	...	...				Another name for the Gujarātī of Thar and Parkar *q.v.*
Pārsī	...	...	...	XI	...	1	'Persian.' Hence commonly used for any secret argot. *Cf.* Pārsī and Pashtō.
				XI	...	119	Or used for the secret language of Kuchbandhi-Kañjarī (861)
				IV	...	20	Or used for Santālī (15) by non-speakers of the language. *Cf.* Phārsī.
Pārsī Gōṇḍī	...	...	...	IV		488	A name used in Mandla (C. P.) for Gōṇḍī (313). *Cf.* the preceding.
Pārsī Gujarātī	660	...	...	IX	ii	326, 392	The dialect of Gujarātī (652) used by Pārsis.
Parvārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for the Mahār caste, whose language is Mahārī (485), *q.v.*
Pashai, Laghmānī, or Dēngānī.	335	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 63, 69, 113 (L.).	A language of the Kalāṣhā-Paṭalai Sub-Group of the Ēastern Group of the Dardic or Piśācha languages, spoken in Laghman. The Census figures are occidental. The name is more correctly spelt 'Paghnī'; see Aiḍhanda Majura, pp. 269ff.
Pashtō	347	3,905,725	1,490,267	X		3, 4, 5, 9, 113 (L.).	A language of the Afghanistan-Baluchistan Sub-Group of the Eastern Group of the Eranian languages. It is spoken in the North-West Frontier Province, and in Afghanistan. The Survey figures include those for persons speaking the language outside the limits of British India, in countries not subject to the operations of the Census.
Pashu	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Maiay (2) spoken in Mergui (Burma).
Pāsī (?)	...	...	...	XI	...	119	Another name for Kuchbandhī (861). The word is simply another form of Parsi, *q.v.*
Pāsi (?)	...	...	...		...	...	A Gipsy dialect reported to be spoken by the Gipsies of Fatehpur (U. P.). Not identified.
Pastō	...	...	...	XI		121	*i.e.* 'Pashtō,' in the sense of an unknown or secret language. *Cf.* the similar use of 'Pārsī,' *q.v.* Hence used as a name for Nati (867), the secret language of the Naṭs. In the Bombay Presidency, where there are no Naṭs, it simply means 'Pashtō.'
Patanī	...	...	...	...			A wrong spelling for Paṭṭanī (665), *q.v.*
Paṭānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Madras Census Report as identical with Hindūstānī (664 or 537). The word looks as if it were a corruption of 'Paṭhānī,' *i.e.* Pashtō (337).
Paṭṭaṇī	674	5,600	...	IX	ii	447	A dialect of Gujarātī (652), spoken by silk-weavers in Southern India. *Cf.* the two next.
Paṭṭvī	769	200	...	IX	ii	52, 288, 294	A form of Malvī (760) dialect of Rājasthānī (719), spoken by silk-weavers in Chanda (C. P.). *Cf.* the preceding and the next.
Paṭṭwāgārī	...	...	...	IX	ii	448	Reported as the language of silk-weavers of Belgaum, Dharwar, and Bijapur (Bombay). In Belgaum and Dharwar it is the same as Paṭṭvāṇī (674). In Bijapur, it is simply corrupt Marāṭhī (455). *Cf.* the two preceding.
Paṭhā	...	...	...	VI	...	149	A form of Gahōrē (564), *q.v.*
Paṭhāni	...	...	...	...	...	...	The language of Paṭhāns, *i.e.* Pashtō (337).
Pa-thi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name of Sgaw Karen (34), *q.v.* Also spelt Pahi. This name is used by the people themselves.
Pāṭhidārī	652	...	...	IX	ii	402	A form of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Kaira (Bombay)
Pātīgar	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Paṭṭvāṇī (674), *q.v.*, spoken in Dharwar and Bijapur (Bombay). *Cf.* Paṭṭwāgārī, above.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Paṭkarī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Hyderabad Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (652).
Pāḷī	...	...	1,619	...	...	...	A form of Bhīlī (677) reported in 1921 Census as spoken in Jhabua.
Paṭnī	...	...	...	III	i	463	Another name for Manchāṭī (72).
Paṭṇālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Paṭṭṇālī (674), *q.v.*
Paṭṭanī	665	...	...	IX	ii	412	A dialect of Gujarātī (652), spoken in South-West Marwar, Palanpur, and the neighbourhood.
Paṭnā	...	...	...	IV	...	209	Another name for Juāng (88).
Paṭvī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Paṭṭvī (769), *q.v.*
Pāwrī	701	25,000	...	IX	iii	6, 72	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Khandesh (Bombay).
Pāwārī	612	353,500	...	IX	i	37, 473	A form of the Bundēlī (610) dialect of Western Hindī (681) spoken by Pāwār Rājpūts in Gwalior State and the Bundelkhand Agency. *Cf.* Pāwārī.
Pegnan	...	...	...	...	...	...	According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, a form of Mōn (6) spoken in Amherst District.
Pé Mino, or 'White Mino'	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Mino (43) dialect spoken in the Southern Shan States (Burma). *Cf.* Hó Mino.
Pei yi or Pai-yi	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Chinese name for the Shan tribes. 'Yi' is the character which was forbidden to be used in the British Treaty of 1858. It is usually translated 'Barbarian' (*lit.* 'squatter') and is commonly applied to the aboriginal tribes of South-West China.
Peṇḍhārī	369	1,250	...	XI	...	2, 5, 12	A Gipsy language (854) spoken in Dharwar and Belgaum (Bombay).
Pēngu	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Kui (368) spoken by the Pēngu Porojas. See 1891 Madras Census Report, p. 299
Persian	331	7,579	9,268	X	...	3	An Iranian language spoken in Persia. The speakers recorded are visitors to India.
Persian Group	...	7,579	9,268	X	...	2	The Group of dialects forming the modern Persian languages.
Persic Languages	...	...	...	X	...	2	One of the two branches of the Iranian languages. The other is called the Non-Persic Branch.
Peshawar, Paṣhtō of	339	...	...	X	...	34, 113 (L.)	A form of the North-Eastern Dialect (338) of Paṣhtō (337), spoken in and about Peshawar (North-West Frontier Province).
Pēshāwarī	...	...	...	VIII	i	241, 541, 554, 576 (L.).	A name for the North-Western Lahndā (432) spoken in Peshawar City. The word sometimes appears as "Peshori."
Pesta	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Paṣhtō (337), *q.v.*
Phaḍāng	200	500	...	III	ii	463, 472, 481 (L.).	A dialect of Tāngkhul (193), spoken in Manipur State (Assam). The Survey figures are doubtful.
Phākō	...	...	...	II	...	213	Another name for Phākial (54).
Phākial or Phākō	54	625	...	II	...	213	A dialect of Khāmti (52), spoken in Assam.
Phalāsōṭyā	787	20,908	...	IX	iv	110, 202, 218	A form of the Kumaunī Dialect (755) of Central Pahāṛī (784), spoken in Almora and Naini Tal (U. P.).
Phārsī	...	...	...	IV	...	30	A name sometimes given to Santālī (15). *Cf.* Pārsī.
Phāsī Pārdh	...	...	...	IX	iii	168	Another name for Pārdhī (699), *q.v.*
Phin	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Pyin.
Phō	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Hó Mino. Also another name for Phōn (372a), *q.v.*
Phōn or Phun	372a	...	248	III	iii	332	A language of the Burma Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. In Burma the name is spelt 'Hpōn.' The language is spoken in Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken by 650 people in Bhamo and Myitkyina.
Phud'gi	474	1,000	...	VII	...	2, 65, 130, 147	A form of the Konkan Standard dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (453), spoken by a wandering tribe in Thana (Bombay).
Phun	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Phōn.
Phye	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Phōn (372a), *q.v.*
Piṇḍhārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Peṇḍhārī (889), *q.v.*

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Piągal		...		IX	ii	19	The name given in Mārwāṛī to Braj Bhākhā (592) when used by Mārwāṛis as a literary dialect.
Piśācha	...	...	...	VIII	ii	1, 3, etc.	See Dardic or Piśācha Branch.
Pishōrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Pēshāwarī, *q.v.*
Pitiṭ	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Bhōṭiā of Spiti (68), *q.v.*
Plains Kāchārī	...	...	...	III	ii	5	Another name for Bāṛā (127), *q.v.*
Pnār	...	...	...	II	...	4, 14	Another name for the Syntengi Dialect (11) of Khāsi (5), *q.v.*
Poeren	...	...	...	III	ii	413	A form of Kabui (127), *q.v.*
Pōgulī	409	8,158	...	VIII	ii	233, 234, 403, 436 (L.).	A dialect of Kishtwārī (389), spoken in Jammu State (Panjab).
Pol	...	...	...	III	iii	55, 81, 102, 115, 136.	Another (Lushēi) name for Chin.
Pombada or Pambada	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Tulu (302). Properly a caste-name of South Canara.
Pōṇyā	...	...	...	III	iii	20	A Burmese name for Brāhmans from Manipur who have settled in Burma, many of whom still speak Meithei (206) in their homes.
Ponnyo	...	...	...	...	...	...	According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, a Nāgā language spoken in Upper Chindwin by 2,700 people. ? really the same as Pōṇyā, *v.s.* Meithei (206).
Porojī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling, used in Madras, for Parjī. See Parji (818).
Porwad	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (653).
Pōṭhwārī	437	684,362	433,302	VIII	i	242, 482, 477, 523 (L.).	A dialect of Lahndā (415), spoken in the North-West Panjab.
Pōwādhī	639	1,897,146	...	IX	i	610, 672, 306 (L.).	A form of the Standard Dialect (638) of Panjabī (632), spoken in the Eastern Panjab.
Pōwārī	625	3,000	...	IX	i	530	A form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (531). It is a mixed dialect spoken in Chhindwara (C. P.)
Pōwārī	569	43,000	...	VI	...	19, 174, 177	A form of the Baghēlī Dialect (559) of Eastern Hindī (557), spoken in Balaghat and Bhandara (C. P.) *Cf.* Pāwārī.
Prakritī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Marāṭhī (455).
Prasū	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Prēsun.
Prè	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Brek (41c).
Prēsun	...	...	...	VIII	ii	39	Another name for Waṭī-veṛī (381), *q.v.* A better spelling is Prasū. See Addenda Majora, pp. 248ff.
Pronominalized Himalayan Group	...	23,978	107,841	III	i	278	A group of about 22 languages belonging to the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. They are all spoken in the Sub-Himalaya. They fall into two sub-groups, a Western and an Eastern.
Pulaiyar	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of a forest tribe in Coimbatore. Used as a name for Tamil (285).
P'um	...	...	...	...	...	...	The 1921 Census spelling of 'Pfum' (272a), *q.v.*
Punchhī	441	220,069	...	VIII	i	242, 483, 505, 523 (L.).	A dialect of Lahndā (415), spoken in Punch State (Kashmir and Jammu).
Punēkarī	...	...	...	VII	...	38	Another name for Standard, or Dēśī, Marāṭhī (456).
Pumāli	338	...	...	VIII	ii	150	The name of the North-Western Dialect of Shinā (391).
Pūrba Śribhūmiyā	...	...	...	V	i	224	Another name for Sylhettia (548), *q.v.*
Pūrbī	...	...	...	VI	...	10, 78, 100	A name sometimes used for Awadhī (558).
				V	ii	43, 243	Another name for Western Bhojpurī (535) The word literally means 'the language of the East,' and is used by people living to the west of the languages referred to.
Purik	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Bhōṭiā of Purik (60).
Puru	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Baroda Census Report as a form of 'Hindī.' Probably Pūrbī (see above) is intended.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers: According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers: According to the Census of 1921	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey: Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Pārdīm	244	50	1,152	III	iii	3, 181, 263, 295 (L.).	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Manipur State (Assam).
Pwo Karen	35	...	352,466	...	...	...	A dialect of Karen (31), spoken in Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey. It is spoken in many districts detailed in the Burma Linguistic Survey. Also called Taïaing-Kayin. The speakers call themselves 'Mukheit' or 'Shu.'
Pyin or Phin	277a	...	927	III	iii	384	A Lolo-Moso language spoken in the Southern Shan States.
Qaizarānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Qasrānī.
Qaqīī	870	2,700	...	XI	...	2, 5, 6, 156	A Gipsy language (854) spoken by the Qaqīīs of Karma. Also called Qaqīlyō-kī Fārsī. *Cf.* Fārsī.
Qaqīīī Urdū	...	...	...	IX	i	122	A form of Urdū (585) spoken in Lucknow City.
Qāqīqārī	...	...	...	VIII	ii	183	Another name for Khowār (390).
Qasrānī or Qaizarānī	...	...	...	...	...		Another spelling of Kusrānī (368), *q.v.* Qaizarānī is said to mean 'Imperial.'
Quoirong	...	...	...	...	...	...	An incorrect spelling of Kwoirong (197), *q.v.*
Ra-eng	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaeng (4) spoken in the Ruby Mines District.
Rābhā	145	31,970	23,545	III	ii	2, 4, 102	A language of the Bārā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the west of the Assam Valley.
Rāghōbansī	637	3,114	...	IX	i	550, 554, 556	A form of the Bundēlī Dialect (610) of Western Hindī (581). It is a broken form of Bundēlī spoken by the Rāghōbansī caste in Chhindwārā (C. P.).
Rahtōrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A spelling of Rāthōrī (613) used in the 1891 Hyderabad Census Report.
Rāi or Jimdār	88	41,490	56,242	III	i	173, 276, 373	A language of the Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan Group of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Nepal between the Dud Kosi and Tambor Rivers. The Survey figures include those for Khambū (67).
Raikārā-tikārā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Dīgar-wārī (601), *q.v.*
Raingkosa	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an unclassed language spoken by 240 people in Northern Arakan.
Rāj	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Gōgōī (312).
Rājopcrā	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Kōnkanī (494). Properly the name of a caste in South Canara (Madras).
Rājasthānī	712	16,293,350	12,680,562	IX IX	i ii	xiii 1ff.	A language of the Central Group of the Inner Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Rājputana. The Census figures are incomplete.
Rājasthānī, Central Eastern	740	2,907,200	...	IX	ii	2, 31	
Rājasthānī, North-Eastern	752	1,570,059	...	IX	ii	2, 43	
Rājawātī	747	173,449	...	IX	ii	21, 195	A form of the Central Eastern Dialect (740) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Jaipur State.
Rājbangsī	542	3,509,171	...	V	i	19, 153	A dialect of Bengali, spoken in North-Eastern Bengal and in Goalpara (Assam).
Rājbangsī, Standard	543	3,461,786	...	V	i	164	
Rajhārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Central Provinces Census Report as a form of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Betul.
Rājmahālī	...	...	...	IV	...	446	Another name for Malto (307).
Rājpurānī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Rājasthānī (712).
Rājwarī	...	...	...	IX	ii	52	Another name for Rāngrī (762). Also spelt Rājwārī and Rājwār.
Rakhaing-tha	...	...	...	III	iii	279	The Burmese name for Arakanese (266). *Cf.* Rakhine and Yakaing.
Rakhine	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Arakanese (266) spoken by 50,168 people in Akyab. *Cf* the preceding.
Rakshani	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Balōchī (361) reported as spoken in the Chagai Agency (Baluchistan).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Raltè	314	18,138	5,539	III	iii	2, 59, 75, 127-8	A Northern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the Lushai Hills and Cachar (Assam).
Rāmbahī	405	2,174	..	VIII	ii	233, 234, 438, 439 (L.)	A dialect of Kāshmīrī (300), spoken in the Jammu State (Panjab).
Rāmgaṛhiyā	793	3,957	...	IX	iv	118	A form of the Kumaunī Dialect (785) of Central Pahāṛī (784), spoken in Naini Tal (U. P.).
Ramōshī		...	..	...	..	...	A caste language reported from Poona. The people originally spoke Telugu (319) but have now generally adopted Marāṭhī (455). See 1921 Bombay Census Report, App. B, p v.
Rāmpurī		...	...	IX	iv	Addenda minora to page 613	The form of Bīmla Sīnjī (824) or Kōchī (828) spoken in Bashahr State (Panjab) of which the capital is Rampur.
Ranrre	...	...	...	..	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Arakanese (366) spoken by 59,024 people in Akyab. The same as Yaukye (372), q.v.
Rānsāṛī	...	...	...	..	...	..	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Khandesh. The word means 'Jungly,' and here probably indicates Bhīl (677). See 1921 Report, App. B, p. vi.
Rānīwat	702	500	...	IX	iii	6, 142	A dialect of Bhīl (677) spoken in Nimar (C. P.).
Randhāṛī		...		IV	.	637	Another name for Ladhāṛī (329)
Rangāṛī (L)	...	...	...	VII	...	298	The name given to the Kōshī Sub-Dialect (482) of Marāṭhī (455) when spoken by Rangāṛis, or dyers, of Ellichpur (Berar). It is merely the ordinary Marāṭhī of the District.
Rangāṛī (II)	711	3,630	.	IX	iii	203, 229	A dialect of Khāndēśī (707) spoken in Berar.
Rangaroi	...	..	...	...	..	..	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 100 people in Kaunhsu Northern Shan State.
Rangdānīā	149	30,270	...	III	ii	102	A dialect of Rābhā (148) spoken in Goalpara, Kamrup, and the Garo Hills (Assam).
Rangkas	78	614	.	III	i	177, 423, 479, 534 (L.).	A Western Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Rāngkhōl	...	.		III	iii	161	This is the spelling employed in the Survey for Hrāngkhol (229), which latter is the correct spelling.
Rangkōṛ, Gōndlā, or Tinan	75	3,957	...	III	i	437	A Western Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Lahul. The Survey figures also include those for speakers of Bunān (74).
Rangpuri	..	...	..	V	i	163	Another name for Rājbangṛī (542), q.v.
Rāngṛī or Rājwāṛī	[redacted]	3,872,228	...	IX	ii	52, 246, 270, 305 (L.).	A form of the Mālvī Dialect (700) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken by Rājpūts of Malwa (Central India) The Survey figures also include the speakers of ordinary Mālvī.
Rangṛī Bhīl	703	37,540	...	IX	iii	6, 109, 110	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Nawsari of Baroda State.
Rao-kwang	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken in the Ruby Mines District.
Rao-kyin	...	..	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken in the Ruby Mines District.
Rao-mai	...	...	...	...	..	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken in the Ruby Mines District.
Rao-ping	...	...	...	..	...	..	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken in the Ruby Mines District
Ratan	...	...	...	...	...	...	A synonym for Banjārī (771) used in the C. P
Ratawdī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1901 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Poona. Not identified.
Rāṭh	...		...	...	...	...	See Rāṭhī Mēwāṛī.
Rāṭhmī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (652) spoken in the Panch Mahals. Perhaps the same as Rāṭhwī Bhīl (704).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Rāthawī	645	38,000	..	IX	i	610, 734, 741	A form of the Standard dialect (633) of Pañjābī (632) spoken in Ferozepore (Panjab). In the 1901 Bombay Census Report, the same name is given to a Gypsy language of Kolaba.
Rāṭhavī	704	3,000	...	IX	iii	6, 60	A dialect of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Rewa Kantha State (Bombay).
Rāṭhavī Bhīlālī	...	...	...	IX	iii	51	Another name for the Bhīlī (677) of Barwānī State (Central India)
Rāṭhī (1)	...	...	...	IX	ii	90, 98	Another name for Ābū Lōk-kī Bōlī (736), a form of Sirōhī (723).
Rāṭhī (2)	...	...	...	IX	i	610, 696	Another name for Pachhādī, Jāṇd, or Nadī (640)
Rāṭhī (3)	643	22,000	...	IX	i	734, 735	A form of the Standard dialect (633) of Pañjābī (632) spoken in Bikaner State (Rajputana).
Rāṭhī (4) or Rāṭhawālī	806	63,057	...	IX	iv	280, 311 (Grammar), 155 (L.).	A form of the Garhwālī dialect (804) of Central Pahārī (784), spoken in Garhwal and Almora (U. P.).
Rāṭhī Mēwātī	756	223,200	...	IX	ii	44	A form of the North-Eastern dialect (753) of Rājasthānī (713), spoken in Alwar State (Rajputana). It is also called Rāṭhī.
Rāṭhōrā	...	...	..	IX	i	87, 495	Another name for Lodhānī (613)
Rāṭhawālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Rāṭhī (4).
Rathyāl	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a form of Kumaunī (785). It is probably the same as Rāṭhī (4) (806), which is here classed as a form of Garhwālī (804).
Rauc-Chaubhāṭsī	789, 790, 791.	55,679	...	IX	iv	218	A form of the Kumaunī dialect (785) of Central Pahārī (784), spoken in the Naini Tal District (U. P.). It includes several sub-dialects. Rauc-Chaubhāṭsī proper is spoken in the east of the District by 6,875 people. There are also included under this head the corrupt form of standard Kumaunī (791) locally spoken by 18,047 people, Chhakāṭiyā (792) by 25,800, Rāmgarhiyā (793) by 2,957, and the Bāhārī (794) jargon of Naini Tal town by 2,000.
Rawang	...	...	...	...	..	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Ñang or Khaneng (q.v.) spoken by 1,500 people in Putao District.
Rawvan	...	...	..	...	..	...	Reported in Burma 1921 Census as a Kuki-Chin language spoken by 600 people in Tahōkkn. Also called Chin-mā, q.v.
Reang	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Tipurā (151), spoken in Hill Tippeah (Bengal).
Red Karen	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Karenni (40), q.v.
Red Riang or Red Yin	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for the Shang-Yang-Sak dialect of Yin or Riang, qq v.
Rēgarī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Western Hindī (531) used by the town Rēgars of Kishangarh (Rajputana).
Rein-Indoeuslach	...	...	...	IX	i	11	An old German name for Western and Eastern Hindī (531, 557) and Bihārī (506).
Rēkhta	...	...	...	IX	i	44, 45, 147	The form taken by Urdū (535) when used in poetry
Rēkhtī	...	...	...	IX	i	45	A form of Urdū (535) used in poems written in the women's dialect.
Relli	...	...	..	..	...	...	Another name for Oriyā (502). Properly a Madras caste-name.
Rengkhāl	...	...	...	III	iii	181	An incorrect spelling of Hrīngkhol (922), spelt thus, or as Rāngkhōl, in this Survey. The passage referred to should be corrected accordingly.
Rengchang	198	725	...	III	ii	280	A dialect of Mikir (189). It is a mongrel mixture of Mikir with the languages of neighbouring tribes, spoken in North Cachar (Assam)
Rengmā or Unzā	162	5,500	5,102	III	ii	192, 202, 235, 247 (L.).	A Western Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages, spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Riang	...	...	..	..	..	...	Another name for Yin or Yang, q.v.. Red Riang and Black Riang are names of dialects. Cf, Vol. II, p. 1.
Riang-long	...	...	...	..	...	...	Red Riang. See the preceding and Shang-Yang-Sak.
Rīsī Dialects	406	20,252	...	VIII	ii	233, 234	A group of dialects of Kāshmīrī (399), spoken in the country south of the Pir Panjal Range.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Rāwāl	...	...	...	VI	...	18	Another name for Bagheli (559).
Rēdōng or Chāmling	99	...	...	III	i	343 (Vocab.), 368	A dialect of Khambū (87) spoken in Nepal.
Rōhilkhaṇḍī	...	...	...	IX	i	44, 213	The form of Vernacular Hindōstānī (583) spoken in Rohilkhand (U. P.)
Rohilla	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Pashtō (337). It occurs in the 1891 Hyderabad Census Report.
Rōhrā	...	...	...	IX	iv	Addenda errata to page 613.	A town which gives its name to one of the dialects of Kōchī (328).
Romalu	...		...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Urdū (585).
Romany	...	...	...	VIII	ii	9	The language of the European Gipsies. The reference to the Survey deals with its connection with the Dard languages.
Rong	...	...	...	III	i	52	A form of Bhōtiā of Ladakh or Ladākhī (61). It is the most eastern dialect of that language.
Rōng or Lepcha	116	34,894	20,539	III	i	178, 180, 233, 255 (L.).	A Non-Prosonualized language of the Himalayan Group of the Tibeto-Burmese languages, spoken in Sikkim, Darjiling, Eastern Nepal, and Western Bhutan.
Rong-tu	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name by which the Taungthus (255) call themselves.
Rubrang	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of the Pale Dialect of Palaung (4), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 456 people in Hsipaw Northern Shan State.
Rugā	141	500	...	III	ii	68, 135 (L.)	A dialect of Garō (134) spoken in the Garo Hills (Assam).
Ruhok	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 78 people in Hsumhsai Northern Shan State.
Rumai (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken by 100 people in Ebando.
Rumai (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale dialect of Palaung (4) spoken by 89 people in the Hsumhsai Northern Shan State.
Rūrgchōbūng	97	...	...	III	i	343 (Vocab.), 360	A dialect of Khambū (87) spoken in Nepal.
Saharī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of 'Hindī' spoken in Khandesh.
Sadān or Sadrī	...	...	...	V	ii	277	Another name for Nagpurīā (526)
Sadhūchī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A common spelling of Śōdōchī (580), q.v.
Sadri or Sadān	...	...	...	V	ii	277 (meaning of the word).	Another name for Nagpurīā (526).
Sadri Kōl	...	...	...	V	ii	143, 158	A form of Eastern Magahi (518) spoken by aboriginal tribes in the Bamra State (Bihar and Orissa).
Sadrī Korwā	574	4,000	...	VI	...	25, 222	The form of Chhattīsgaṛhī (572), spoken by Korwās in Jashpur State (C. P.).
Sāsīṭh-kī Bōlī	729	6,000	...	IX	ii	90, 101	A form of the Sirōhī Sub-Dialect (726) of the Mārwārī Dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Sirōhī (Rajputana).
Sagnum	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a dialect of Ramanrī (77). Not identified. Cf. Samchu.
Saharanpurī	...	...	...	IX	i	64, 212	The name for the Vernacular Hindōstānī (583) spoken in Saharanpur (U. P.).
Saberiā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Bundēlī (610) as spoken by Saberiās in the Shopur District of the Gwalior State. The main language is the corrupt Sipārī Hāṣṣāṭī (752), for which see Vol. IX, Pt. ii, p. 216.
Sailō	...	...	...	III	iii	197n.	A form of Lushāī (224)
Saimar	...	138	...	III	iii	61	A form of Thādo (207) spoken by a few people in the Cachar Plains (Assam).
Saim	...	...	...	III	...	189	Another name for Murmi (112), q.v.
Saingbaung	2596	...	7,232	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language, spoken in Kyaukpyu (Burma).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Sainji	385	10,000	...	IX	iv	669, 701, 705 (L.).	One of the Kulu Group of Dialects (332) of Western Pahāṛi (314), spoken in Kulu (Panjab). The Census figures include also those for Outer Sirāji (331) of the Satlaj Group (329) and for Inner Sirāji (334) of this Group.
Sairang	311	5,270	...	III	iii	31, 88 (L.)	A dialect of Thādo (207) spoken in the Cachar Plains (Assam).
Sak	284	...	614	III	iii	329	Another name for Thet *q.v.*
Sak (Lāi) Group	...	...	25,145				
Sakājab or Shekasip	235	315	...	III	iii	192	A dialect of Hallām (232) spoken in North Cachar (Assam).
Salāṛi	813	129,758	...	IX	iv	230, 336	A form of Gaḍhwāli (804) spoken in Garhwal, Almora, and the neighbourhood to the south (U. P.).
Sāléwāṛi	322	3,660	...	IV	...	577, 594	A dialect of Telugu (319) spoken by Sāléwāṛs in Chanda (C. P.).
Selón	1	...	1,951	...	...	...	A language of the Malay Group of the Indo-Nesian Branch of the Austro-Nesian languages. It is also (incorrectly) called Selung. The people call themselves Mawken. It is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 630 people in Mergui.
Salt Range Dialect, Western	442	25,000	...	VIII	i	432, 433, 522 (L.).	A form of the North-Eastern Dialect (436) of Lahndā (415), spoken in the Salt Range (Panjab).
Sāṇ	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of 'Shāṇ,' *q.v.*
Samaina	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Ao (186).
Samohn	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a dialect of Kansari (77). Not identified. *Cf.* Sagiam.
Samong	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Phōn or Phun (372a), *q.v.*
Sāmvēdi	475	2,700	...	VII	...	2, 65, 130, 148	A form of the Konkani Standard Dialect (457) of Marāṭhi (455), spoken by Sāmvēdi Brāhmans of Thana (Bombay).
Sangamēśvari	467	1,382,300	...	VII	...	61, 64, 122	A form of the Konkani Standard Dialect (457) of Marāṭhi (455) spoken in the Konkan between Rajapur and Bombay.
Sanglolā	373	...	...	X	...	465, 480	A dialect of Lahkēṭhmi (373), spoken in the Pāmirs.
Sāngpáng	92	...	...	III	i	248 (Vocab.), 351	A dialect of Kisanbā (87), spoken in Nepal.
Sangtamura	...	...	...	III	ii	290	The Ao name for Thukumi (171).
Sangyas	...	...	...	III	i	86	A name sometimes used instead of Nyamiat for the Bōtiā of Upper Kanawar (64).
Sankara	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name applied to the Yerukalas, and hence also used to indicate their language (288)
Sankotha	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Coorg name for Tamil (285).
Sānsi or Sānsiyā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Sāṛi (371), *q.v.*
Sanskrit	–	...	355	...	...	...	
Santāli	15	1,614,832	2,232,572	IV	...	21, 33, 30, 240 (L.).	A dialect of Kherwāri (14), often considered to be an independent language. Spoken in Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring country of Bengal and of Bihar and Orissa.
Sāntāli or Sāntāṛ	...	...	...	IV	...	30	Other, and more correct, spellings of 'Santāli.'
Sarāchali	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Sōrāchāli (326), *q.v.*
Sarāki	532	43,127	...	V	i	16, 86, 358 (L.)	A form of the Western Dialect (531) of Bengali (529), spoken by Jains of Ranchi (Bihar and Orissa).
Saram	...	...		...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken by 132 people in the Ngipaw Northern Shan State.
Saran Dialect	523	1,504,500	...	V	ii	44, 186, 218, 224, 328 (L.).	A form of the Bhojpuri Dialect (519) of Bihāri (506) spoken in Saran (Bihar and Orissa) and in the east of Gorakhpur (U. P.).
Sarāwaki	...	...	...	V	i	69, 86	Another name for Sarāki Bengali (532). See Sarāki.
Sarikoli	271	...	...	X	...	455, 471, 532 (L.).	A dialect of Shighni (371), spoken in the Taghdumbash Pamir. Sometimes incorrectly spelt Sariqōli.
Sarwaria	524	3,358,151	...	V	ii	42, 224, 232, 328 (L.).	A form of the Bhojpuri Dialect (519) of Bihāri (506), spoken in Gorakhpur and Basti (U. P.).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Sarwāṛī	722	15,000	...	IX	ii	78	A form of the Mārwāṛī Dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Kishangarh (Rajputana).
Sāsi or Sāsiyā	871	51,550	...	XI	...	2, 5, 6, 49, 60 (criminal argot).	A Gipsy language (854), spoken principally in the Punjab and the U. P.
Sassan	...	...	...	III	ii	502	Reported to be a Kachin (202) hybrid.
Satī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes given to Mālvī (760), *q.v.*
Satlaj Group	829	33,893	...	IX	iv	374, 647	A Group of dialects of Western Pahāṛī (814) spoken on both sides of the Satlaj in Kulu and the Simla Hills (Punjab). The Census figures also include those for the Kulu Group of dialects.
Satnāmī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A religious sect of Chamārs numerous in Chhattīsgarh. Hence sometimes used as a synonym for Chhattīsgaṛhī (678).
Satpariyā	144	1,100	...	III	ii	36	A dialect of Kōch (142), spoken in the Garo Hills (Assam).
Saukiyā Khun	...	...	...	III	i	479	Another name for Rangkas (76).
Saungpa	...	...	...		...		Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Nung or Khamung spoken by 1,228 people in Putao District.
Saurāshṭrī	...	...	...	IX	ii	447	Another name for Pat'nūlī (674), used in the Madras Presidency.
Sauriā	...	...	...	IV	...	446	Another name for Mauto (307).
Savara	19	162,639	168,442	IV	...	21, 217, 243 (L.).	A Munḍā language, spoken in the North-East Hills of the Madras Presidency.
Sawain	...	...	...	VIII	i	241, 449, 468, 541, 543.	A form of the North-Western Dialect (433) of Lāndā (415), spoken in Attock (Punjab)
Sawara	...	...	...	IV	...	217	Another spelling of Savara, *q.v.*
S'aw-ko Karen	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Karen (31) spoken by 1,763 people in the Toungoo District. The Burma Linguistic Survey spells the name Hsaw-ko.
Sawn	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Wa (5) spoken by 1,260 people in the Mangtun East, Northern Shan State.
Sawpana	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale Dialect of Palaung (4), spoken by 3,006 people in Tawnpeng Northern Shan State.
Scythian Family	...	...	...	IV	...	282	
Selon (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Salôn (1), *q.v.*
Selon (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4), spoken by 836 people in the Northern Shan States.
Seinng	...	...	...	...	...	...	An incorrect spelling of Salôn (1), *q.v.*
S'em	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey, where the name is spelt 'Hsem,' as an unclassed language, probably a form of Wa (5), spoken by 215 people in the Ketogtung Southern Shan State. In the Census of 1931, it is spelt Hsen, and is classed as a form of Wa. *Cf.* S'en S'um.
Semā	169	26,400	34,823	III	ii	193, 208, 222, 246 (L.).	A Western Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages. Spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam). A corrected List of Words will be found in Addenda Majora, pp. 2036.
S'en	...	...	...	...	...	...	See S'em.
Sengimā (1)	...		...	III	ii	411	Another name for Ēmpeo (183)
Sengimā (2)	185	...	...	III	ii	411	The name of one of the dialects of Ēmpeo (185).
Sengmai	279	...	...	III	iii	43, 45 (L.).	A Lūi (278) language, spoken in Mahipur State (Assam) Closely related to Andro (279) and Kadu (281).
Senkadong	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a Nāgā language spoken by 2,000 people in Upper Chindwin.
S'en S'um	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey, where the name is spelt 'Hsen Hsum,' as an unclassed language, probably a form of Wa (5), spoken by 1,365 people in the Ketogtung Southern Shan State, *Cf.* S'em.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
S'entung	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey, where the name is spelt 'Hsentung,' as an unclassed language spoken by 3,000 people (including speakers of unspecified dialects) in the Chin Hills.
See-Bauktai	414	...	...	VIII	ii	522	A form of the Maiyā Dialect (411) of Kōhistānī (407) spoken in the Indus Kohistan.
Sāri	...	...	...	III	iii	59	A form of Tādo (207).
Sgaw Karen	34	...	368,282	...	...	...	A dialect of Karen (31), spoken in many Districts of Burma. See Burma Linguistic Survey. The people call themselves 'Pa-Ghi,' *q.v.*
Shalyōng	...	...	...	III	i	384	A form of Miri (124)
Shalgno	...	...	...	III	i	72	A name sometimes given to Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan (38).
Sham			...	III	i	52	A form of Bhōṭiā of Ladakh or Ladakhī (61)
Shām	...	...	...	II	...	59, 198	Another name for the Tai Group of languages. See Tai. The word is the same as 'Shān.'
Shām Doōn	...	...	...	II	...	198	Another name for Aiton (50), *q.v.*
Shām Turūng	...	...	...	II	...	64, 167	Another name for Turung (55), *q.v.*
Shān	49	200	843,810	...	...	...	A language of the Tai Group of the Siamese-Chinese languages, spoken over the greater part of Burma, and principally in the Shan States. There are a few speakers of the Aiton dialect (50) found in Assam; and these also fell under the operations of this Survey. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, the number of speakers in Burma is 918,995.
Shān-Bama	...		5	...	...	...	The Burmese name for Shāno (49) long settled in Upper Burma.
Shān, Big	...		...	...	...	...	See Tai Lōng.
Shān-Chinese	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Shān Tayok, *q.v.* As the speakers are Shāns, not Chinese, the name 'Chinese-Shān' would be more appropriate.
Shendu or Shendu	...	...	...	III	iii	55, 126	Another name for Chin, *q.v.*
Shāngale	...	...	474,878	...	...	...	A form of Shān (49).
Shānggē	182	...	...	III	ii	193, 329, 340, 345 (L.).	An Eastern Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken beyond the North-Eastern Frontier of Assam.
Shangkhipo	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported to be a form of Pwo Karen (86). Not mentioned in the Burma Linguistic Survey
Shang-Yang-Sok or Red Kiang.	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Yin or Kiang (*q.v.*), spoken by 2,325 people in the Southern Shan States.
Shāngyi	...	...	13,074	...	...	...	A form of Shān (49). The same as Tai-Lōng, *q.v.*
Shān, Small	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Tai Noi.
Shān-Tayok	...	...	23,473	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Shān (49) spoken in Lower Chindwin, Bhamo, and Katha. The number of speakers is not stated. It is said to be 'markedly different from ordinary Shān.' See Tayok.
Shān-tso	...	...	...	III	ii	500	A Chinese name for Kachin (203), *q.v.*
Shang-Yang-Lam, Yang-Wan-Kun, Kam-Lang, or Black Kiang.	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Yin or Kiang, *q.v.*, spoken by 25,474 people in the Southern Shan States.
Sharpa Bhōṭiā	67	900	5,180	III	i	118, 148 (L.)	A dialect of Bhōṭiā (67) spoken in Eastern Nepal, Darjiling, and Sikkim (Bengal).
Shekasip or Sakrājāb	...	...	...	III	iii	192	Probably the same as Hallām (232).
Shekhai (1)	...	...	...	VI	...	119, 120	A name given to the Awadhī (558) spoken by Musalmāns of the Champaran District (Bihar and Orissa).
Shekhai (2)	...	...	...	V	ii	14	Another name for Jokhā Bōlī (515), *q.v.*
Shēkhāwāṭī	738	488,017	...	IX	ii	16, 130, 140	A form of the Mārwārī Dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Bīkaner and North-West Jaipur States (Rajputana).
Shendu or Shendu	...	...	...	III	iii	55, 126	Another name for Chin, *q.v.*
Shentapy	2695	...	5,720	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language spoken in the Chin Hills.
Shighnī	371	...	...	X	...	455, 466, 583 (L.).	A Ghalchah language of the Eastern Group of the Iranian languages.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Shikāri	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 C. P. Census Report. Not identified.
Shik-Shashum	...	...	...	III	iii	59	A form of Thādo (307), *q.v.*
Shaupī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Marāṭhī (455) used in Hyderabad
Shiṇā	391	...	28,483	VIII	ii	2, 3, 10 (L.), 133 (compared with Khowār), 142, 150, 224 (L.), 351 (compared with Kāshmirī).	A language of the Dard Group of the Dardic or Piśācha languages, spoken in Gilgit and the neighbourhood. For a corrected account of Gilgiti Shiṇā, with a specimen, see Addenda Majura, pp. 322ff.
Shingpraw	...	...	...	...	...	...	A variant pronunciation of Chingpaw, *q.v.*
Shingsol	...	...	...	III	iii	59	A form of Thādo (307), *q.v.*
Shopurī	...	...	...	IX	ii	31, 216	Another name for Sipōrī (752), *q.v.*
Shīrāni	337	...	...	X	...	112	A form of the South-Western Dialect (246) of Pashtō (337), spoken in Baluchistan.
Shi-zāng	...	...	...	III	iii	73	Another name for Siyin (318), *q.v.*
Shō	...	...	...	III	iii	9, 231	Another name for Khyang (256), *q.v.*
Shoa	...	...	...	III	iii	331	Another name for Khyang or Shō (256), *q.v.*
Shotaga	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Solaga.
Shōmwāng	...	...	...	III	i	584	A form of Miri (124).
Shonsbe	...	...	...	III	iii	116, 160 (L.)	A form of Lai (319)
Shou	...	...	...	III	iii	331	Another name for Khyang or Shō (256), *q.v.*
Shu	...	...	...	...	...	...	One of the names by which the Pwo Karens (26) call themselves.
Shunkla or Tashōn	216	41,215	20,754	III	iii	107	A Central Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the Chin Hills. Also reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken, under the name of Tashōn, by 340 people on the Chin Hills border.
Shunkla or Tashōn, Standard.	217	39,216	10,709	III	iii	107	
Shweli Shān	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Shingale, *q.v.*
Shyū	...	...	...	III	iii	331	Another name for Khyang or Shō (256), *q.v.*
Siamese	45	...	8,744	...	...	...	A language of the Siamese-Chinese Sub-Family of the Tibeto-Chinese Family. Its proper home is in Siam, but it is also spoken in Burma. It is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 10,269 people in Eastern Burma, from the Shan States southwards to Mergui.
Siamese-Chinese Sub-Family.	...	4,205	926,335	II	...	56	Most of the Indian speakers of this Sub-Family of the Tibeto-Chinese Family belong to Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey.
Si-hia	...	...	...	...	...	...	An ancient, long extinct, Tibeto-Burman language, of which fragments still survive in literature. It is mentioned by Marco Polo as spoken in Tangut See B. Laufer, 'The Si-hia Language,' in *T'oung-pao*, 2e Série, Vol. xvii, No. 1, Mars, 1916.
Sijabu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of 'Hindī' spoken in Khandesh.
Sikalgārī	372	25	...	XI	...	2, 5, 6, 167	A Gipsy language (554) spoken in Belgaum (Bombay). Also called 'Mishra.' See 1921 Bombay Census Report, Appendix B, p. v.
Sikarwārī	596	127,000	...	IX	i	70, 309	A form of the Braj Bhākhā Dialect (532) of Western Hindī (531) spoken in Gwalior State.
Sikhariā	...	...	...	IV	...	107	The name of a sub-caste speaking Kōḍā (32).
Sikhī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Panjābī (632) mentioned in the 1891 Hyderabad Census Report.
Sikkim Bhōṭiā	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Bhōṭiā of Sikkim (63).
Sima and Mulang	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Mulang and Sima.
Simi	160	...	...	III	ii	122	A dialect of Semā (159), *q.v.*
Simla Sirāji	824	33,333	...	...	...	...	See Sirāji of Simla (824).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1931.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Sind Balōchī	369	145,790	...	X	...	413, 428, 435 (L.).	A mixed form of the Eastern Dialect (365) of Balōchī (361) spoken in Sind. The Survey figures include those for the Balōchī spoken in Las Bela and in Bahawalpur.
Sindhī	445	3,069,470	3,371,208	VIII	i	1, 5, 14 (Grammar).	A language of the North-Western Group of the Outer Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in Sind and Cutch.
Sindhī, Standard	446	1,375,686	...	VIII	i	9, 114 (L.)	Another name for Vichōlī (446), *q.v.*
Singhalese	489	...	3,437			...	A language of the Southern Group of the Outer Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is not dealt with in this Survey
Singhalese, Standard	500	...	...	...	...	—	Not dealt with in this Survey
Singōl or Ārōgā	...	...	...	IV	...	148, 163	A form of Korwā (25).
Singpho	206	1,020	...	III	ii	459, 505, 519 (L.)	A dialect of Kachin (203) spoken in Assam. The figures of the 1911 Census are included in those for Chingpaw.
Sin-hnā Māpawk	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Karenni (40), *q.v.*
Sinlam	...	...	...	...	...		Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Wa (5), spoken by 4,352 people in the Maingtan East, Northern Shan State. In that Survey, the name is spelt 'Hsanlam.'
Sinleng	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey,—where the name is spelt 'Hsinleng,'—as a form of Wa (5) spoken by 2,535 people in the Maingtan East, Northern Shan State.
Sinsin	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Karen (31), reported in the Linguistic Survey of Burma as spoken in Karenni. The number of speakers is not there mentioned.
Sipārī	752	48,000	...	IX	ii	31, 216	A form of the Central Eastern Dialect (740) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Gwalior State.
Sirāchalī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Incorrect for Śirāchōlī (836), *q.v.*
Sirāiki or Sināiki	...	...	...	VIII	i	2	Literally, the language of the Sirō, or country up-stream. Hence used to designate the two following languages, both spoken in Upper Sind.
Sirāiki Hindki or Sirāiki Lahndā	429	104,375	...	VIII	i	9, 240, 359	A form of the Multānī Dialect (426) of Lahndā (415) spoken in Upper Sind. The word 'Sirāiki' is also spelt 'Siraiki.'
Sirāiki Sindhī	447	1,112,926	...	VIII	i	9, 138, 140	A dialect of Sindhī (445) spoken in Upper Sind. The word 'Sirāiki' is also spelt 'Siraiki.'
Sirāji	...	...	...	IX	iv	593	The word 'Sirāj' means 'the Kingdom of Śiva,' and hence any mountainous country. It thus follows that 'Sirāji' is used to indicate several dialects spoken in different rugged hill tracts.
Sirāji, Inner	834	20,551	...	IX	iv	669, 688, 705 (L.)	One of the Kulu Group of Dialects (832) of Western Pahārī (814) spoken in Kulu (Panjab). The Census figures also include those for Outer Sirāji (831) of the Satlaj Group (829) and for Seinji (835) of the Kulu Group.
Sirāji of Dōdā	404	14,732	...	VIII	ii	283, 284, 483, 489 (L.).	A dialect of Kāshmīrī (369) spoken in Jammu State (Panjab).
Sirāji of Mandi	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Manḍēāli Pahārī or Manḍī Sirāji (839).
Sirāji of Simla	824	28,838	...	IX	iv	549, 593, 629 (L.)	A form of the Kiūthalī Dialect (821) of Western Pahārī (814), spoken in the Simla Hills (Panjab).
Sirāji, Outer	831	29,000	...	IX	iv	647	One of the Satlaj Group of Dialects (829) of Western Pahārī (814) spoken in Kulu, on the north bank of the Satlaj. The Census figures also include those for Inner Sirāji (834) and Sainji (835), both of the Kulu Group (832).
Sirāli	802	12,651	...	IX	iv	110, 246	A form of the Kumaonī Dialect (755) of Central Pahārī (784) spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Sirāwāli	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Sirāli (802), *q.v.*
Sirpuriā	541	603,625	...	V	i	19, 119, 130, 354 (L.).	A form of the Northern Dialect (535) of Bengali (529) spoken in Eastern Purnea (Bihar and Orissa).
Sirmaurī	816	134,562	...	IX	iv	374, 456, 530 (L.)	A dialect of Western Pahārī (814) spoken in Sirmur State (Panjab).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Sirōhī	726	172,300	...	IX	ii	17, 87, 90	A form of the Mārwāṛī Dialect (713) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Sirōhī (Rajputana). It has two sub-varieties—Ākhū Lōk-kī Bōlī (728) and Sāsōh-kī Bōlī (729)—besides the Standard, *q.v.*
Sirōhī, Standard	727	171,300	...	IX	ii	90	
Sī-yālī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Sirālī (802), *q.v.*
Sitū	2596	.	3,918	...	...	...	A Kuki-Chin language spoken in Kyaukpyu (Burma).
Siyālgirī	706	120	...	IX XI	iii ...	6, 174, 197 2	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Midnapur (Bengal).
Sī-yāng	...	...	...	III	iii	73	Another name for Siyin (713).
Siyin	712	1,770	3,143	III	iii	2, 59, 73, 88 (L.)	A Northern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken by 3,160 people in the Chin Hills.
Small Shān	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Tai Noi.
Śōḍōchī	830	12,693	...	IX	iv	647, 663 (L.)	One of the Satlaj Group (829) of dialects of Western Pahāṛī (814), spoken on the south bank of the Satlaj in the Simla Hills (Panjab).
Solaga or Sholaga	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Tamil (895). Properly the name of a Madras forest tribe speaking that language.
Soktē	212	9,005	30,633	III	iii	2, 59, 72	A Northern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken by 21,460 people in the Chin Hills.
Son	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as probably a Wa (5) language, spoken by 465 people in the Kēngtāng Southern Shan State.
Sōnārkhā	...	...	...	IV	...	107	The name of a sub-caste speaking Kōḍā (19).
Sōndwārī	763	108,556	...	IX	ii	52, 273, 278	A form of the Mālvī Dialect (760) of Rājasthānī (712) spoken in Jhalawar (Rajputana) and in Western Malwa.
Songbu	...	...	...	III	ii	416	A form of Kabui (187) spoken in Manipur State (Assam).
Songlong	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Wa (5) spoken by 330 people in the Mangkin East, Northern Shan State.
Sopvomā or Mão Nāgā	194	10,000	15,098	III	ii	193, 431, 480 (L.).	A Nāgā-Kuki language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Manipur State (Assam). It may with equal propriety be classed as belonging to the Western Nāgā Sub-Group.
Śōrāchhālī	836	2,428	...	IX	iv	549, 602, 639 (L.).	A form of the Kiṭhchalī Dialect (832) of Western Pahāṛī (814), spoken in the Simla Hills (Panjab).
Sōraṭhī	668	732,000	...	IX	ii	425	A form of the Kāṭhiyāwāḍī Dialect (666) of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Kāṭhiāwar (Bombay).
Sōriyālī	800	12,566	...	IX	iv	110, 258, 354 (L.).	A form of the Kumaunī Dialect (785) of Central Pahāṛī (784) spoken in Almora (U. P.).
Sōriyālī Gorkhālī	...	...	...	IX	iv	19, 238	A form of Khas-kurā, Eastern Pahāṛī, or Naipālī (781) spoken by Nepalese settlers in Kumaun (U. P.).
Southern Chin	.	110,225	35,206	III	iii	3, 8, 329	A Sub-Group of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Most of the languages of this Sub-Group belong to Burma, and were not subject to the operations of this Survey. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, in that Province, there are 84,175 speakers of Chin, most of whom appear to fall under this Sub-Group.
Southern (Indo-Aryan) Group	...	18,011,948	18,767,891	VII	..	1	A group of languages belonging to the Outer Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. It includes two languages,—Marāṭhī (455) and Singhalese (409), of which only the first is dealt with in this Survey.
Southern Namsang			...	III	ii	331	A name sometimes used for Angwānka (173), *q.v.*
South-Western Paṣhtō	348	676,402	...	X	...	7, 11, 658.	A dialect of Paṣhtō (357), spoken in the south-west of the Paṣhtō-speaking tract.
Spiti Bhōṭiā	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Bhōṭiā of Spiti.
Srinagarīyā	805	13,093	...	IX	iv	281, 288, 355 (L.).	A form of the Garhwālī Dialect (804) of Central Pahāṛī (784), spoken in Garhwal (U. P.).
Stieng	...	...	...	II	...	1	A Mōn-Khmēr language spoken in Indo-China.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Sudā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name given to the Oriyā (603) spoken by the Sudās of Athmallik State (Orissa)
Sudie	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gōmāntaki, *i.e.* Konkani (294). See the next.
Sudra	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāthī (455). This and the preceding are the dialects spoken by the Sudir or Shudra caste. See 1921 Report, App. B, p. vi.
Sukāli	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported to be spoken in Mysore.
Sukēti	840	53,134	...	IX	iv	715, 757	One of the Mandi Group of dialects (838) of Western Pahāri (814) spoken in Suket State (Panjab)
Sulaimāni	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Eastern Balōchi (365).
Sunpit	...	...	...	VII	...	331	A form of Halbi (490).
Sunuwār	...	...	...	III	i	198, 254 (L.).	Another name for Sunwār (113), *q.v.*
Sunwār	113	5,356	4,132	III	i	177, 180, 198	A Non-Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Eastern Nepal, Darjiling, and Sikkim State (Bengal). *Cf.* the preceding
Surati	657	...	...	IX	ii	362, 460 (L.).	A dialect of Gujarāti (652), spoken in Surat (Bombay).
Surgujiā	574	334,546	...	VI	...	24, 212	A form of the Chhattisgarhi Dialect (572) of Eastern Hindi (567), spoken in the Korea, Surguja, Udaipur, and Jashpur States of Chota Nagpur.
Surkhuli	...	...	...	IX	iv	Addenda Minora to page 613.	A dialect of Kōchi (828).
Surat Dialect	242	...	...	X	...	25	A form of the North-Eastern Dialect (238) of Paghīō (237) spoken in Swat.
Sylhettiā	548	906,221	...	V	i	202, 221, 224, 355 (L.).	A form of the Eastern Dialect (545) of Bengali (529) spoken in East Sylhet and in Cachar (Assam)
Syloo	...	...	...	III	iii	127	Another spelling of Sālō, *q.v.*
Syntang or Pnār	11	51,740	...	II	...	4, 24, 38 (L.).	A dialect of Khāsi (8), spoken in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Assam).
Szi, Tsi, or *Atal*	261	...	5,662	...	...	...	Formerly regarded as a Kachin-Burma Hybrid, *q.v.*, but now provisionally classed as a language of the Burma Group.
Szi Lepai	...	...	...	III III	ii iii	502 382	The same as Szi, *q.v.*
Ta-Ang				...	...		Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken in the Ruby Mines District. The number of speakers is not stated.
Tabaang	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Zayein (41), *q.v.*
Tabara	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Karenbyu (33), *q.v.*
Tabaung	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an unclassed language spoken by a few people in the Loi Long Southern Shan State.
Tabil	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as another name for Tamil (285).
Tablong	...	...	...	III	ii	198, 329, 331	Another name for Angwānku (173)
Tadavi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a Bhil language spoken in Khandesh. *Cf.* Tawadi. The language is Bhili (677) with a Hindustani (582) mixture, as the speakers are Musalmāns. See 1921 Bombay Report, App. B, p. vi.
Tado, Tadoi	...	...	...	III	iii	59	Other spellings of Thādo (207), *q.v.*
Tagali	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Pashtō (237) spoken in Khandesh.
Tai-Awn	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Shān name for Shāngale, *q.v.*
Tai-Chaung	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Shingale, *q.v.*
Tai Group	...	4,205	226,335	II	...	58, 67	A Group of the Siamese-Chinese languages, including Siamese (45), Lē (46), Khūn (47), Shān (49), Ahom (51), and Khāmti (52). Most of the languages of this Group are spoken in Burma, which was not subject to the operations of this Survey

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Tai Khawng, Tai-Khe	...	...	...	...	...	...	Shān names for Shān Tayok, *q.v.* See Khe.
Tai-Lem	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Tai language reported in the 1921 Burma Census Report. *Cf.* Lem.
Tai-Loi (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Shān (49), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 20,991 people in the Shan States.
Tai-Loi (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Môn-Khmēr dialect akin to Wa (5) spoken in the Kengtung Southern Shan States.
Tai-Lông	...	.	13,074	...	...	...	The Shān (49) name for Shān-gyi or 'Big Shān.' See Gazetteer of Upper Burma, I, i, 195. *Cf.* Tairong.
Tai-Man	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Shān name for Shān-Burma, *q.v.*
Tai-Nawng	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Shān name for Ladha (268), *q.v.*
Tai-Nè	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Shān name for Shān-Tayok, *q.v.* See the next.
Tai-Noi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported as 'Small Shān' in the Burma Linguistic Survey. In that Survey, Tai-Nò, as distinct from 'Small Shān,' is reported as spoken by 6,084 people in the Shan States. See Gazetteer of Upper Burma, I, i, 195.
Tai-Ou	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of 'Tai Awa,' *q.v.*
Tai-rong	55	150	..	II	...	34, 167, 215 (L.)	A dialect of Khāmti (52), spoken in Assam. The name is the Khāmti form of Tai-Lông, *q.v.* It is also called Turāng or Shān Turāng.
Taiu	...	.	...	III	i	613	Another name for Digāru Mishmi. See Mishmi (126).
Takankari	...	...	...	IX XI	ii ...	165 2	Another name for Pārdhi (699).
Takpā	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Bhōṭiā of Tibet (58) spoken in Eastern Tibet.
Talaing	...	...	...	.	..	...	The Burmese name for Môn (3), *q.v.*
Talaing-Kalasi	...	...	..	...	...	...	A Karen language, reported in the 1921 Burma Census Report as spoken in Yamethin.
Talaing-Kayin	...	...	...	..	...	...	Another name for Pwo Karen (35), *q.v.*
Talok	..	...	...	...	...	...	See Tayok
Taman	1596	.	92	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an unclassed language (probably Kuki-Chin) spoken by 1,350 people in Upper Chindwin.
Tāmāng Bhōṭiā	...	..	..	III	i	189	Another name for Murmi (112), *q.v.*
Tamar	..	.	...	...	...	...	Another name for the preceding.
Tamariā (1)	...	...	...	IV	...	94	A form of Bhumij (17), *q.v.*
Tamariā (2) or Pīch Parganiā.	...	...	..	V	ii	140, 146, 186	A form of Eastern Magahi (518), see Magahi, Eastern.
Tamil	285	15,272,856	19,779,577	IV	...	286, 298, 646 (L.)	A language of the Dravida Group of the Dravidian languages, spoken in South-East and South Madras.
Tamil, Standard	286	15,207,956	. .	IV	..	286, 298	
Tamir	.	...	...	IV	...	298	Another spelling of Tamil (285), *q.v.*
Tamlu	...	.	...	III	ii	198, 339, 361	Another name for Chingrāngnu (174), *q.v.*
Tamulian	...	.	...	IV	.	7, *cf.* 278	A name used by Hodgson for the Munḍā languages.
Tāmurīā		-	...	...	...	...	The same as Tamariā (1), *q.v.*
Tānda		..	...	...	...	..	A Madras name for Banjāri (771), *q.v.*
Tanegsari		..	...	...	...	...	Said to be the same as Tawyan (270), *q.v.*
Tāngkhul	198	26,000	24,170	III	ii	431, 463, 480 (L.)	A Nāgā-Koki language, spoken in Manipur State (Assam), and (according to the Burma Linguistic Survey) also by 5,500 people in Upper Chindwin. A corrected List of Words will be found in Addenda Majora, pp. 216ff.
Tāngkhul Proper	199	25,000	24,170	...	...	...	The principal dialect of Tāngkhul (198), *q.v.*
Tangsir or Kwinpang	277*a*	...	...	...	...	...	A Lolo-Mesò language spoken in Putao (Burma) outside the Census area
Tanguta	...	...	...	III	i	14	An old name for Bhōṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan (58).
Tao-Kai	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of the Pale Dialect of Palaung (4), spoken by 3,571 people in Tawpeang Northern Shan States.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Tapong	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an unclassed language spoken by 5,000 people (including speakers also of Ngora and Bwelkwe) in the Chin Hills.
Tār	...	...	...	IV	...	33	Apparently a name used in Bonai State (Orissa) for Santāli (15). Cf. Thār.
Tarau	...	...	...	...	...	...	The language of a small Old Kuki clan in Manipur State. It is closely allied to Lushāi (224).
Taren or Tareng	...	...	...	III	iii	282	Another name for Maingtha (250), q.v.
Tārimāki or Ghisādi	676	1,069	...	IX XI	ii ...	335, 453, 461 (L.). 2	A dialect of Gujarāti (652) used by a wandering tribe of blacksmiths.
Tarīnā or Chalgarī	359	...	...	X	...	112	A form of the South-Western Dialect (348) of Pashtō (337) spoken in Baluchistan.
Tarō̆	...	...	...	III	i	613	Another name for Digāru Mishmi. See Mishmi (136).
Tarok	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Tayok.
Taru	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Karenni (40), q.v.
Tāru	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name by which the Taungyo (267) people call themselves.
Taubōn	...	...	...	III	iii	107	Another name for Shanukla (216), q.v.
Tasmahāri	...	...	...	XI	...	121	A form of Naiī (867).
Taukte or Tauto	...	...	...	III	iii	73	A Manipur name for Siyin (212), q.v.
Taungbo	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an unclassed language spoken by 240 people in Northern Arakan.
Taunghlu or Tunglāu	...	...	...	...	...	...	A ghost-name of a non-existent language, founded on a misprint or misreading of the name 'Taunglhu' (36), q.v.
Taung-sin	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a nickname given by Burmans to a variety of Chin spoken in the Magwe District. The number of speakers is said to be few.
Taungtha	255	...	6,253	III	iii	330, 360 (L.)	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey it is spoken by 9,713 people in Falekka District. The speakers call themselves 'Rong-tu.'
Taungthu	56	...	210,585	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Karen (31), spoken by 198,409 people in Thatōn, Amherst, Karenni, the Southern Shan States, and the neighbourhood.
Taungyo	267	...	22,532	III	iii	360	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 26,884 people in Meiktila and the Southern Shan States. It is a dialect of Burmese. The speakers call themselves 'Tāru.'
Taute or Tauktu	...	...	...	III	iii	73	The Manipur name for Siyin (212), q.v.
Tavoyan	270	...	131,748	III	iii	270	A dialect of Burmese spoken in Amherst, Tavoy, and Mergui. It is closely connected with Intha (268), q.v.
Tawadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāthi (455), spoken in Khandesh. Probably the same as Tadavi, q.v. See 1921 Report, App. B, p. vi.
Tawargadhi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Tāwargaḍhi, i.e. Bhaḍauri (629), q.v.
Tawbya Karen	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Karen (31), spoken by 646 people in Toungoo District.
Tawhawng	305a	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Kachin (203) spoken in Putao.
Tawngme	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Palaung (4) spoken by 224 people in the Northern Shan States.
Tawtha	...	...	...	...	...	...	I.q. Taungthu (36), q.v.
Tawyan	...	...	...	III	iii	107	A form of Shanukla (216)
Tayang	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Karenbyu (32), q.v.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Taying	...	...	...	III	i	618	Another name for Digāru Mishmi. See Mishmi (126).
Tayok	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Burmese word for Chinese, also spelt Tarok and Talok. *cf.* Anya Tayok, Monyin Tayok, and Shān Tayok.
Tehrī or Gaṅgāpāriyā	318	240,281	...	IX	iv	289, 343, 355 (L.)	A form of the Garhwālī Dialect (304) of Central Pahāṛī (784), spoken in Tehri Garhwal (U. P.).
Tekari	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Khandesh.
Telinga	...	...	...	IV	...	576	Another name for Telugu (319). *q.v.*
Telugu	319	19,785,201	23,601,432	IV	...	336, 576, 649 (L.)	A member of the Andhra Group of the Dravidian languages, spoken in Madras, the Nizam's Dominions, and parts of Mysore, the Central Provinces, and Berar.
Telugu, Standard	320	19,735,540	...	IV	...	336, 576	
Temulic	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455)
Tenae	...	...	...	III	i	573	Another name for Aka (122).
Tengimā	155	36,900	...	III	ii	204, 205, 246 (L.).	A dialect of Angāmi Nāgā (154), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Tengsa Nāgā (1)	...	...	...	III	ii	265, 290	A name sometimes wrongly given to Ao (166).
Tengsa Nāgā (2)	170	...	...	III	ii	193, 265, 290, 294 (L.).	A Central Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken beyond the North-Eastern Frontier of Assam.
Tenoga	...	...	...	IV	...	576	Another spelling of Telugu (319).
Thādo or Thādo-pao	207	31,437	33,258	III	iii	2, 10 (Comparative Vocab.), 59, 88 (L.).	A Northern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Manipur, the Naga Hills, Cachar, and Sylhet (Assam). According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is also spoken by 5,030 people in the Chin Hills and Upper Chindwin.
Thai or Thaiy	...	...	...	II	...	59	The Siamese form of the word 'Tai.' In Burma spelt Htai.
Thākurī	465	25,405	...	VII	...	61, 68, 109	A form of the Konkan Standard Dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (455) spoken by Thakurs of Kolaba and Nasik (Bombay).
Thākūrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarāti (652). Not identified.
Thākuya	110	...	...	III	i	398, 406	An Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Nepal. Its classification is doubtful.
Thaḷī (1) or Jaṭkī	432	769,210	...	VIII	i	239, 240, 251, 412 (L.).	A dialect of Lahndā (415), spoken in the Thal, south of the Salt Range (Panjab)
Thaḷī (2)	733	450,900	...	IX	ii	16, 109, 304 (L.)	A form of the Mārwāṛī Dialect (718) of Rajasthānī (712), spoken in the Thal of West Marwar (Rajputana).
Thalli	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name by which the Bēoṛis (681) and Sāṅsis (671) of the Panjab call themselves.
Thalōchrī	...	...	...	VIII	i	241, 280, 281, 363, 398.	Another name for the Thaḷī Dialect (432) of Lahndā (415) spoken in Jhang.
Thāmī	84	100	423	III	i	177, 274, 280	An Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, mainly spoken in Nepal, but also found in Sikkim, Darjiling and the neighbourhood (Bengal).
Thamudi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Korava (267) used in Coorg.
Tha-Mo	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Wa (5) reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey, where the name is spelt 'Hta-Mo,' as spoken by 9,318 people in the Mengtun East, Northern Shan State.
Thangsa	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey, where the name is spelt 'Htangsa,' as a form of Nung or Khumung (277*a*), *q.v.*, spoken by 1,500 people in the Putao District. Probably the same as Tangsa (277*a*), *q.v.*
Thaote	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Sō in (213). *q.v.*

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Thâr		..				.	A name frequently used in Eastern India as a general designation for any caste or tribal dialect.
				IV	..	20	In Rankara (Bengal) and Morbhanj (Orissa) it is specifically used to indicate Santâlî (15). Cf Târ.
Thar and Parkar, Gujarâtî of.	...	.	..	IX	ii	326	
Tharêli or Dhâtkî .	448			VIII	i	9, 10, 142	A dialect of Sindhî (445) spoken in the Sind-Rajputana Desert. It is a mixture of Mârwârî (713) and Sindhî, and the Survey figures for it are included under Mârwârî.
Tharôchi . . .	...		..	.	..	.	Another name for the Kirnâ (827) spoken in Taroch.
Thârû .		..		V	ii	311	The name of a wild tribe of the Nepal Tarai, which usually speaks a broken form of the speech of its Aryan neighbours.
				IX	i	319	Thus, we have it used as a synonym for Bhuksâ, a mongrel form of Braj Bhâkhâ (592) spoken in Naini Tal (U. P.).
				VI	..	121	Thârû Awadhî, a mongrel form of Awadhî (568) spoken in Khêri (U. P.).
	526	39,700	..	V	ii	42, 44, 300, 311, 320 (L.)	Thârû Bhojpurî, a form of Bhojpurî (519) spoken in Champaran (Bihar and Orissa) and the north east of the U. P.
	512	2,300	..	V	ii	96, 311	Thârû Maithilî, a form of Maithilî (507) spoken in the north of Purnea (Bihar and Orissa)
Thebôr Skadd . .	...	...	...	III	i	430	Another name for Kanauri (77)
Thelnhaw . . .	..		...	...		...	The Burmese pronunciation of 'Chingpaw' (204), q.v.
Thet, That, or Sak .	284	...	614	III	iii	329	Formerly classed as a Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken by 461 people in Akyab. The Census groups it as a member of the Sak (Lûsî) Group, and not as Kuki-Chin.
Thetta . .	..			III	iii	115	A form of Lai (219), q.v.
Theya or Tiyyar . .	.	...	..	..	.	..	Coorg names for Malayâlam (298)
Thitauk .	...	..		.	..		Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a sub-dialect of Tanugha (36) spoken in the Southern Shan States. Cf. Titauk.
Thochu . .		...			...		A form of Bhôtiâ of Tibet 58) spoken in Eastern Tibet.
Thukum . .	171			III	ii	193, 265, 290	A Central Nâgâ language of the Nâgâ Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken beyond the North-Eastern Frontier of Assam.
Thûlung . . .	103			III	i	343 (Vocab.), 368	An Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Nepal.
Tibarkad .	.	..		III	i	430	A local name for Kanauri (77) A corruption of Thebôr Skadd, q.v.
Tibetan . . .	..	...		III	i	14	Another name for the Bhôtiâ of Tibet (58), q.v.
Tibetan Group .	..	205,508	221,235	III	i	2	A group of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
Tibetan Lama . .	...	..	.	III	i	73	A name sometimes given to Bhôtiâ of Tibet or Tibetan (58).
Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family.	...	1,980,307	11,959,011	III	i	1	A Sub-Family of the Tibeto-Chinese Family of languages. Most of the languages belonging to it are spoken in Burma, and hence were not subject to the operations of the Survey
Tibeto-Chinese Family .	..	1,984,513	12,385,346	..	..	.	It includes two Sub-Families, the Siamese-Chinese and the Tibeto-Burman. Most of the languages of this family belong to Burma, and hence were not subject to the operations of the Survey.
Tibeto-Himalayan Branch	...	399,742	446,223	...	.	.	A Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken mainly in the Sub-Himalaya. Many are spoken in Nepal, a country which was not subject to the operations of this Survey.
Tigalar or Tigniar .	.	..	..	IV	...	298	A Kanarese name for Tamil (285). Also spelt Tigalu, Tigiaru.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Ṭhūlihārī	...	...	...	VI	...	118	A name given to the Awadhī (558) spoken by Ṭhūlihārs in the Champaran District (Bihar and Orissa).
Tilwandī	...	...	...	...	...		Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Poona.
Tīma	...	...	...	III	i	407	Another name for Rengiā (78), q.v.
Tināni	435	5,425	...	VIII	i	241, 541, 570	A form of the Hindkō Dialect (482) of Lahndā (415), spoken in the western part of Hazara District (N.-W. Frontier Province).
Tintekiyā	147	1,400	...	III	ii	98, 106	A dialect of Kōch (142), spoken in Goalpara and the Garo Hills (Assam).
Tiṇin	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Tinan, q.v.
Tipurā or Mrung	151	105,850	168,720	III	ii	2, 4, 109, 137 (L.).	A language of the Bārā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages, spoken in Hill Tipperah (Bengal) and the neighbouring British Districts
Tirāhī	389	...	...	VIII	ii	2	A language of the Kalāṣhā-Pathan Sub-Group of the Kāfir Group of the Dardic or Pisācha languages spoken in Nigrahar (Afghanistan). For an account of the language, with a specimen and vocabulary, see Addenda Majora, pp. 265ff.
Tirhutiyā	...	...	...	V	ii	13, 54	Another name for Maithilī (507), q.v.
Tirgulī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891, 1901, and 1911 Bombay Census Reports as a Gipsy language spoken in Ahmednagar, Poona, Sholapur, and Satara and elsewhere. See 1921 Report, Appendix B, p. vi, where its existence is doubted.
Tīrhārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	'The language of the River-bank.' Hence used to indicate riparian dialects spoken along the Ganges or Jamnā, viz. :—
	552	225,700	...	VI	...	19, 182	A form of the Baghēlī Dialect (559) of Eastern Hindī (557), spoken in Fatehpur, Banda, and Hamirpur (U. P.), on the Jamnā.
	603	40,000	...	IX	i	82, 401, 409	Tirhārī of Cawnpur (U. P.), on the Ganges. It is a form of the Kanaujī Dialect (604) of Western Hindī (581).
Tiṭauk	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a sub-dialect of Taungṭha (36) spoken by 4,900 people in the Southern Shan States. *Cf.* Thitauk.
Tivā Nāchā	...	...	...	...	...	...	'Island language.' The same as Mahl (502).
Tyyar	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Theya.
Tlantlang	231	4,921	...	III	iii	115, 126	A dialect of Lai (219) spoken in the Chin Hills. It is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey under the name of 'Klang-klang,' the number of speakers not being stated.
Tlongai	...	...	...	III	iii	126	Another name for Laitber (222), q.v.
Toda	303	736	663	IV	...	286	A language of the Dravida Group of the Dravidian languages, spoken in the Nīgiri Hills (Madras).
Todava	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Toda (303).
Tongan	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a Nāgā language spoken by 4,000 people in Upper Chindwin.
Tōrāwāṭī	748	343,554	...	IX	ii	31, 173	A form of the Central Eastern Dialect (740) of Rājasthānī (712), spoken in Jaipur State (Rajputana).
Tōra	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Taungyo (187), q.v.
Tōrwālāk	...	...	...	VIII	ii	514	Another name for Tōrwālī (409), q.v.
Tōrwālī or Tōrwālāk	409	...	...	VIII	ii	3, 507, 514, 530 (L.).	A dialect of Kohistānī (407), spoken in the Swat and Panjkora Kohistans.
Totāga	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of a sub-division of Brāhmans of South Canara (Madras), who speak Marāṭhī (455).
Tōṭō	131	200	271	III	i	178, 190, 250, 265 (L.).	A Non-Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages, spoken in the Baxa Sub-Division of Jalpaiguri (Bengal)
Toung-Mrū	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Hrū (264), q.v.
Tōwangphī	...	...	...	IX	i	581	Another name for Bhadauri (612), q.v.
Tozhumu	...	...	...	III	ii	290	Another name for Yachumi (172), q.v.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks
Trihôli	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Bengali (539) spoken in Ahmednagar.
Trimâli	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Bombay Census Reports as a Gipsy language spoken in Kolaba, Sholapur, Khandesh, Ahmednagar and elsewhere. The speakers are religious mendicants. From East Khandesh it is reported that their language is a mixture of Tamil (285) and Kanarese (298). See 1921 Bombay Census Report, App. B, p. vi.
Tsangho	...	...	...	III	ii	204	Another name for Angâmi (154), *q.v.*
Tsângpê or Tsângla	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Chângli, *q.v.*
Tsi	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Sri, *q.v.*
Tsin-pô	...	...	...	III	ii	506	Another name for Singpho (305), *q.v.*
Tsoghâmi	...	...	...	III	ii	204	Another name for Angâmi (154), *q.v.*
Tsôutsâ	...	...	...	III	ii	193	Another name for Lhôtâ (169), *q.v.*
Tsungromi	...	...	...	III	ii	204	Another name for Angâmi (154), *q.v.*
Tuda	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Toda (303), *q.v.*
Tukamaro	...	...	...	III	ii	424	Apparently the same as Khôrlo (188), *q.v.*
Tuḷu, Tuḷuva, or Tuḷvi	303	491,738	592,325	IV	...	286	A language of the Dravida group of the Dravidian languages, spoken in South Canara (Madras)
Tuluku or Turaka	...	...	...	...	...	...	The common Dravidian corruption of the word 'Turk.' Hence used in Madras as a synonym for Hindôstânî (532)
Tunghlu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Taunghlu, *q.v.*
Tûrî or Turiyâ	21	3,737	11,932	IV	...	21, 23, 123	A dialect of Khetwârî (14), spoken in the south of Chota Nagpur and the adjoining part of the C. P.
Turâng	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Tarrong (45), *q.v.*
Tuwângî	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Bhôtiâ of Tibet or Tibetan (55) spoken in the Eastern Himalaya.
Twi-li-chang	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Chinbôk (252), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 7,942 people in Yamêthin.
Twi-shoop (P Twi-ship)	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Chinbôn (254), reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 986 people in Falêkku.
Ubhâchî, Ubhâjî, or Ubhâkî.	...	...	...	VIII	i	128, 350, 361, 363.	Literally 'the Language of Up-the-River,' and hence used in Sind for the Sirâiki Hindkî (429), *q.v.*, spoken in the north of that Province.
Ubhâchî Bôlî	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Gujarî (776). A name sometimes used in the Panjab, especially in Gujrat District.
Uchalîâ or Uchlîâ	...	...	...	XI	...	17	A corrupt Telugu (319) mixed with Marâṭhî (455) spoken in Poona and Satara (Bombay) by a tribe of pickpockets. Perhaps the same as Bhamṭî (556). At any rate, its speakers are called Bhamṭîs.
Uchchhî	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Mûltânî (436). The name is taken from the Town of Uchchh or Ooch.
Uchen	...	...	...	...	...	...	The name of a written character used for writing Tibetan (58). Sometimes incorrectly used as a name for that language.
Uchlîâ	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Uchalîâ, *q.v.*
Udaipurî	...	...	...	IX	ii	4	Another name for Mêwârî (720), *q.v.*
Ujainî	...	...	...	IX	ii	4	Another name for Mâlvî (760), *q.v.*
Ujjanîâ	...	...	...	V	i	334	Another name for Sylhetiâ (548), *q.v.*
Ü-Khwombo	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Bhôtiâ of Tibet or Tibetan (58), spoken in Central Tibet.
Ulackhanḍî	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in 1921 Bombay Census Report as a dialect of Western Hindî (631) spoken in Nasik and Khandesh. Not identified.
Undro	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Andro (379), *q.v.*
Unzâ	163	2,750	...	III	ii	193, 235	A dialect of Bongmâ (163), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Upparakārī	...	...	...	...	...		A corrupt form of Kōlāmpī (494) used in South Canara (Madras) by a fishing caste.
Upper Sind Frontier Balōchī of.	266	125,510	...	X	...	401, 485 (L.)	A form of the Eastern Dialect (265) of Balōchī (267). It is also called the Jacobabad Sub-Dialect. The Survey figures also include those for Dera Ghazi Khan (Panjab).
Urāli	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Kurumba (299). Really, the name of a tribe of Kurumbas in the Nilgiri Hills (Madras).
Urang	...	...	...	IV	...	406	Another name for Kurukh (305). The name was returned from Patna State (Orissa).
Urāō	...	...	...	IV	...	406	Another name for Kurukh (305).
Urdū	585	...	...	IX	i	44, 47 (meaning of name), 116, 124.	A form of the Hindōstānī Dialect (582) of Western Hindi (581). It is generally written in the Persian character, and is distinguished by the free use of words borrowed from Persian or Arabic.
Uriyā	...	...	...	V	ii	367	An incorrect spelling of Oriyā (502), *q.v.*
Urmurī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Ormurī (360), *q.v.*
Ur-pōr	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Chinbōn (254), spoken by 443 people in Pakōkku.
Urudu	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Coorg spelling of Urdū (585), *q.v.*
Utkalī	...	...	...	V	ii	367	Another name for Oriyā (502), *q.v.*
Utrōchī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Mentioned in the 1891 N.-W. P. Census Report as the name of the dialect of Tarnoch (Panjab Hill State). The same as Kiānī (587), *q.v.*
Uttarī or Uttarkhaṇḍī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name for Awadhī (558) used in Rewa.
Vaḍaga, Vaḍuga, or Vaḍuka.	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Tamil name for Telugu (319). *Cf.* Waraga.
Vaḍarī (1)	...	...	...	XI	...	17	Another name for Bhantā. *Cf.* Bhantī (356).
Vaḍarī (2)	325	27,099	...	IV XI	... ...	577, 607 1	A dialect of Telugu (319). Widely spoken by wandering tribes in Central and Western India. By some considered a Gipsy language. *Cf.* Vadra.
Vāḍvaḷ	472	3,500	...	VII		2, 55, 130, 144	A form of the Konkan Standard Dialect (467) of Marāṭhī (455), spoken by Vāḍvaḷs of the coast parts of Thana District (Bombay).
Vaḍḷī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Madras mis-spelling of Oriyā (502).
Vaḍōdarī	663	...	...	IX	ii	409	A dialect of Gujarātī (652) spoken in Baroda.
Vadra	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Kanara. Probably the same as Vaḍarī (2) (325).
Vaḍugu	...	...	...	IV	...	577	A Tamil name for Telugu (319). See Vaḍaga.
Vāgḍī or Vāgrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Bāgrī or Vāgḍī. Also spelt Vāghḍī or Wāghrī. Also another spelling of Wāg'dī (706), *q.v.*
Vāghḍī, Vāgrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See the preceding.
Vāghirkī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in 1921 Bombay Census Report, Appendix B, p. vi, as spoken in Sukkur. It is classed as Sindhī, (445), but Mr. Sedgwick adds that it was most likely returned by members of the Vāghrī caste, who probably speak Gujarātī.
Vāgnrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Gipsy language reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report. Probably the same as Bāgrī or Vāgḍī, *q.v.*
Vaiphei	249	...	2,883	...	...	...	An Old Kuki language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is not dealt with in this Survey, and is not mentioned in the Burma Linguistic Survey.
Valavḍī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1921 Baroda Census Report as a form of Chōdhrī (684).
Valvadī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Gujarātī (652). Not identified.
Vangcha	...	...	...	...	...	...	Said to be a Kuki-Chin language of the Lushai Hills (Assam). Not identified.
Vāṇī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Mārwāṛī (713).

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Vaujārī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Banjārī (771), q.v.
Varayel	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Bhīl language (677) reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as spoken in Khandesh. Not identified.
Varhāḍī or Berārī	277	2,084,023	...	VII	...	1, 217, 248, 398 (L.).	A form of the Berar Dialect (476) of Marāṭhī (456) spoken in Berar.
Vārlī	472	22,000	...	VII IX	... iii	2, 65, 130, 141 95, 108, 151, 157	A form of the Konkan Standard Dialect (457) of Marāṭhī (456), spoken in Thana and Khandesh (Bombay).
Varōḍī		...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Khandesh. Probably a misspelling of Vachāḍī, q.v.
Vasal	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of Marāṭhī (455) spoken in Khandesh.
Vasava	—	...	...	...	...	...	Name of a tract in North-West Khandesh, and of the Bhīl dialect spoken there. The latter is Dēhwālī (685) q.v. See 1921 Bombay Census Report, App. B, p. vi.
Vaṭṭezhuttu	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Malayālam (293). It is properly the name of the ancient alphabet of the language.
Vaṭuka	...	...	...	...	...	...	A Tamil name for Telugu (319). See Vaḍagu.
Vāyu or Hāyu	106	...	...	III	i	176, 276, 382	An Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Spoken in Nepal.
Veron	...	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 59	Another name for Wadī-vari (381), q.v.
Vhōrvāḍī	672	10,150	...	IX	ii	436	A dialect of Gujarātī (653). It is a caste-language of Bohrās, and is also called Bōharī.
Vichōlī	446	1,375,686	...	VIII	i	9, 14 (Grammar), 96, 214 (L.).	The standard dialect of Sindhī (445), spoken in the country round Hyderabad (Sind).
Vilāyatī	...	...	...	...	...	...	A name sometimes used for Pashto (337), q.v.
Vitṭhlwa, Viṭṭhlā	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Kōvālī.
Voḍda or Voḍḍar	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for Ōḍki (368), q.v.
Vōḷivkā	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a Bhīl dialect spoken in West Khandesh.
Vrasli	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the 1891 Bombay Census Report as a form of 'Hindī' spoken in Thana. Probably a corruption of 'Braj'. See Braj Bhakhā.
Vuite	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Paitē (215) spoken in the Chin Hills.
Wa or Lā	5	...	13,648	...	...	...	A language of the Palaung-Wa Group of the Mōn-Khmēr Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages. It is reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey to be spoken by 28,731 people in the Shan States. It is not dealt with in this Survey.
Waḍarī, Waḍārī, or Bodōrī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Various spellings of the name Vaḍarī (3) (325), q.v.
Wāḍwaḷ	...	...	...		...		Another spelling of Vāḍ'raḷ (473), q.v.
Wāg'ḍī	706	525,375	...	IX	iii	6, 38	A dialect of Bhīlī (677), spoken in Mewar (Rajputana) and the adjoining country. Also spelt Bāgaṛī, Vāgḍī, or Vāgṛī.
Wāgḍī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Vāgḍī.
Wai-alā	330	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 29, 45, 112 (L.).	A language of the Kāfir Group of the Dardic or Piśācha languages spoken in the valley of the Waigal River in Kafiristan. Also called Wai-galī or Wai.
Wai-galī	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Wai-alā.
Wakhī	370	...	...	X	...	455, 457, 532 (L.).	A language of the Ghalchah Sub-Group of the Eastern Group of the Iranian languages. Spoken in Wakhan.
Wālīng	95	...	...	III	i	343 (Vocab.), 357	A dialect of Khambū (87), spoken in Nepal.
Wālvī	...	...	...	IX	iii	103	A form of Bhīlī (677) spoken in Baroda. Probably a form of Rānī Bhīl (703).
Wanāng	148	1,100	...	III	ii	96	A dialect of Kōch (142), spoken in the Garo Hills (Assam).
Waṇjārī	...	...	...	IX	iii	255, 261	Another name for Banjārī (771), used in Berar.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks
Wār	12	7,900	...	II	...	4, 30, 39 (L.)	A dialect of Khāsi (8), spoken in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Assam).
Warhādī	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another spelling of Varhādī (477), *q.v.*
Wārlī	...	...	...	VII	...	141	Another spelling of Vārlī (472), *q.v.*
				IX	iii	95, 108, 151, 157	
Waeshikwār or Bilsum of Yāsin.	852	...	...	VIII	ii	559	A dialect of Burushaskī (850), spoken in Yasin.
Waruga	...	...	...	IV	...	377	A German name for Telugu (319), *q.v.* *Cf.* Vadēga.
Wasi-veri or Veron	381	...	...	VIII	ii	2, 10 (L.), 29, 59, 112 (L.).	A language of the Kāfir Group of the Dardic or Piśācha languages, spoken in Kafiristan.
Wat'so-Khum	277c	...	40	...	...	...	A Lolo-Mos'o language spoken in Myitkyina (Burma).
Waziri	358	...	...	X	...	91, 113 (L.)	A form of the South-Western Dialect (348) of Paštō (337), spoken in Waziristan (Afghanistan) and the neighbourhood.
We-Kut	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as probably only an alternative name for Tal-Lol (2), *q.v.*
Welam	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a Nāgā language, spoken by 1,000 people in Upper Chindwin.
Welaung	151	...	...	III	iii	2, 320	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is referred to in the Burma Linguistic Survey, p. 54, as not reported since 1901.
Western Balōchī	362	224,809	...	X	...	329, 336 (Grammar), 364 (specimens), 434 (L.).	A dialect of Balōchī (361) spoken in Western Baluchistan and in Persian Baluchistan. There are also some speakers in Karachi (Sind).
Western Hindī	581	38,018,928	36,714,369 (41,219,916)	IX	i	xiii, 1, 47 (meaning of name).	A language of the Central Group of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in the western end of the Gangetic Valley and the neighbourhood. Regarding the Census figures, see No. 581.
Western Nāgā	...	68,920	88,264	III	ii	193, 205	A Sub-Group of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, mainly spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Western Pahārī	814	853,468	1,633,915	IX	i	xiii	A language of the Pahārī Group of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in the Hills of the North-East Panjab. The Census figures are excessive.
				IX	iv	1, 373, 376 (compared with other languages).	
Western Pañjābī	...	...	...	VIII	i	233, etc.	Another name for Lahndā (415).
Western Paṣhai	337	...	...	VIII	ii	39, 113 (L.)	A dialect of Paṣhai (359), *q.v.*
Western Pronominalized languages.	...	27,093	22,733	III	i	427	A Sub-Group of the Pronominalized Himalayan Group of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in the Western Sub-Himalaya.
Wewa or Wewaw	41d	...	256	...	...	...	A form of Sgaw Karen (34), spoken in Tavoy and Karenni (Burma).
Whench	...	...	...	III	iii	107	A form of Shankla (216). It should properly be spelt Hwenu.
White Karen	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Karenbyu.
White Miao	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Pé Miao.
Yobaing	...	...	...	III	iii	379	Another spelling of Yabein, *q.v.*
Yubein	...	...	...	III	iii	379	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Burmese (365), spoken by 200 people in Pegu. Also sometimes spelt Yabaing, Zabein, or Labein. It has now apparently dropped out of use.
Yachumi	172	...	...	III	ii	193, 265, 280, 295 (L.).	A Central Nāgā language of the Nāgā Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken beyond the north-eastern frontier of Assam.
Yaghnōbī	...	...	...	X	...	455	A Ghalchah language of the Eastern Group of the Iranian languages, spoken in Zarafshān. Not dealt with in this Survey.
Yahow	...	...	...	III	iii	109	Another name for Zahao (213), *q.v.*

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Yakaing	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Burmese name for Arakanese (266), *q.v.*
Yakhá	93	1,250	1,087	III	i	178, 275, 305	An Eastern Pronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in Darjiling (Bengal) and the upper valleys of Nepal.
Yallaing	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a form of Shandu spoken by 300 people in North Arakan. Shandu is another name for Chin.
Yan-Laug	...	...	...	...	...	...	Another name for the Shang-Yang-Lam dialect of Yin or Riang, *q.v.*
Yānādi	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Telugu (319) spoken by Yānādis. It is described as Telugu with a drawling pronunciation of the long vowels.
Yanbye	272	...	250,016	...	...	...	A form of Arakanese (266), spoken in Kyaukpyu and Akyab. The Burmese pronunciation of 'Ramre,' *q. v.*
Yang	7a	...	1,127	...	...	...	See Yin.
Yang-kaw-leng	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Yangtam.
Yangtam	6	...	12,833	...	...	...	A Palaung-Wa language spoken in the Shan States. Also called Karennet, Yang-wan-kun, or Yang-kaw-leng.
Yangzek	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Riang-long, *q.v.*
Yangtalai	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Yintalai.
Yang-Wan-Kun	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Yangtam.
Yanyet	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an unclassed language spoken by 6,400 people in the Chin Hills.
Yao	42	...	197	III	iii	384	This language belongs, with Miao (43), to a group of languages spoken in Indo-China, and tentatively named the 'Man Languages.' According to the Burma Linguistic Survey it is spoken by 205 people in the Kēngtūng Southern Shan State.
Yaw	272a	...	2	...	...	...	A dialect of Burmese spoken, according to the Burma Linguistic Survey, by 24,351 people in Pakōkku, Lower Chindwin, and the neighbourhood.
Yawdwin	...	...	...	III	iii	339, 360 (L.)	Probably a form of Chinbōk (252). According to the Burma Linguistic Survey, it is spoken in the Chin Hills.
Yawyin	...	...	...	III	ii	502	Another name for Lisu or Lis'aw (275), *q.v.* This is the name by which the speakers call themselves.
Yeinbaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Yinbaw (38), *q.v.*
Yé-jēn	...	...	...	III	ii	500	A Chinese name for Kachin (303), *q.v.*
Yèmi or Jāmā	186	...	...	III	ii	411	A dialect of Ēmpèo (183), spoken in the Naga Hills and North Cachar (Assam).
Yemchoug	...	...	...	III	ii	290	Another name for Yachumi (172), *q.v.*
Yerava	294	2,587	...	IV	...	343	A dialect of Malayālam (293), spoken in Coorg.
Yerukala	288	55,116	...	IV XI	... ...	299, 318 1	A dialect of Tamil (285), probably the same as Korava (287). The Survey figures include those for Koravs.
Yechkun	...	...	...	VIII	ii	551	A name for Burushaski (350) used by the people of Nagar.
Yotun	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an unclassed language spoken by 4,600 people (including speakers of unspecified dialects) in the Chin Hills. Probably the same as Yotun, *q. v.*
Yūdghá	...	...	...	X	...	515	Incorrect for Yūdghá (378), *q.v.*
Yin or Riang	...	...	1,197	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a Mōn-Khmēr language, spoken by 27,959 people in the Southern Shan States. Cf. this Survey, Vol. II, p. 1, where the language is called Riang. In the Census of 1921 it is entered as 'Yang.'
Yinbaw	38	...	5,362	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Karen (31), spoken by 3,241 people in Karenni and the Southern Shan States.

Language or Dialect.	Number in Classified List.	Number of Speakers. According to the Linguistic Survey.	Number of Speakers. According to the Census of 1921.	Where dealt with in the Linguistic Survey. Volume.	Part.	Page.	Remarks.
Yindu	258	...	106	III	iii	3, 329	A Southern Chin language of the Kuki-Chin Group of the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken by 4,508 people in Pakôkku.
Yindalai or Yangdalai	...	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Karenni (40), *q. v.*
Yo or Zo	223*a*	...	5,449	...	...	...	See Zo.
Yodaya Shân	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Burmese name for Siamese (45).
Yokwa	233	3,675	313	III	iii	115	A dialect of Lai (219). Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as spoken in the Chin Hills, the number of speakers not being stated.
Yotun	259*b*	...	5,109	...	...	...	A Kuki-chin language spoken in the Chin Hills. See Yetun.
Yoya	205*a*	...	...	...	...	...	A form of Kachin (203) spoken in Putao.
Yûdghâ	378	...	...	X	...	3, 4, 455, 456, 518, 533 (L.).	A dialect of Munjânî (377), spoken in the Lunkho Valley of North Chitral.
Yun	...	...	...	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as an alternative name for Annamese. Hitherto Annamese has been classed as a language of the Môn-Khmêr Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages, but the latest researches show that its basis is some language of the Tai Group of the Siamese-Chinese languages. In the Census of 1921 it is said to be a form of Lao (44), *q. v.*
Yûnanese	...	...	55,616	...	...	...	The Chinese dialect spoken in Yûnan. In Burma, spoken mostly in the Shan States. *Cf.* Anya Tayok, Khe-long, and Momyin Tayok. See also Tayok.
Yûsufzai Pashtô	341	...	...	X	...	31	A form of the North-Eastern Dialect (338) of Pashtô (337), spoken in the north-east of Peshawar District (Panjab).
Zabein	...	...	...	...	...	...	The same as Yabein, *q. v.*
Zahao or Yahow	216	2,000	10,945	III	iii	107, 109	A dialect of Shanklin (216). In the Burma Linguistic Survey, reported as a dialect of Lai (219) spoken in the Chin Hills, the number of speakers not being stated.
Zamkacî	...	...	...	...	...	...	A dialect of Bhôtiâ (57) spoken in Western Tibet. Probably akin to Bhôtiâ of Purik (60).
Zao	...	...	...	III	iii	126	The Chin name for Lelcher (228).
Zarein	...	...	...	...	...	...	See Zayein.
Zargarî	...	...	...	XI	...	7, 10	An Indian schoolboy's argot.
Zarpî	...	...	...	...	...	...	An incorrect spelling of Dzârpî (480), *q.v.*
Zayein	41	...	3,911	...	...	...	Reported in the Burma Linguistic Survey as a dialect of Karen (31), spoken by 4,151 people in the Southern Shan States. Also spelt Zarein.
Zebakî	376	...	...	X	...	4, 455, 480, 533 (L.).	A dialect of Ishkâshmî (375), spoken in the country round Zebak.
Zend	...	...	...	X	...	9	Another name sometimes used for the Avesta language.
Zhimomi	161	...	...	III	ii	232	A dialect of Semâ (159), spoken in the Naga Hills (Assam).
Zo or Yo	223*a*	...	5,449	III	iii	109, 115, 126	A common name for the tribes of the Chin Hills (Burma). In the Burma Linguistic Survey, a language called Yo is reported as a Kuki-Chin language spoken by 4,500 people in the Chin Hills. So also in the Census, with 5,449 speakers.
Zungî	...	...	...	III	ii	265	Another name for Chungli (167), *q.v.*

M&IPC—S1—X-23—21-7-37.—1,855.

CALCUTTA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS
8, HASTINGS STREET